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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

VOL. XXXII

PART 1-8

JANUARY 1957

EDITED BY

DR. D. C. SIRCAR, M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S.,
Government Epigraphist for India



Published by the Manager of Publications, Delhi
Printed at the Government of India Press, Calcutta, India
1959

Price : Rs. 10 or 16 sh.

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49831
1957-1958

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Published by the Manager of Publications, Delhi
Printed at the Government of India Press, Calcutta, India
1962

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

VOLUME XXXI

Page 55, foot-note, 3.—*Read* 1953-54 *for* 1954-55

„ 55, foot-note, 4.—*Read* 424-25 *for* 224-25

„ 230, line 23.—*Add note*: The year 108 when the Kailvan inscription was engraved undoubtedly relates to a date long before the rise of the Imperial Guptas and the foundation of the Gupta era in 319 A. D. This fact shows that the theories assigning the beginning of the Kanishka era to 248 A.D. and later are improbable and that it should better be ascribed to the second half of the first century A.D. and not to the second century. That the Kanishka era is identical with the Śaka era of 78 A. D. is further indicated by the following evidence. The Chorasmian archives from Toprakkala in Central Asia contain documents dated in the years 207 and 231 of some era. Archaeological data suggest that the local palace and the archives were abandoned at the end of the third century and the beginning of the fourth. The capital of Chorasmia was transferred from Toprakkala to the city of Kyat on the Amu Darya during the reign of the Chorasmian king Afrig who came to power in 305 A.D. according to Birūnī. Thus the era used in the documents started in the last quarter of the first century A.D. This must be the same as the Śaka era of 78 A. D. and the years in the said documents referred to dates between 285 and 309 A. D. The use of the Śaka era in Central Asia can only be satisfactorily explained if it is identified with the Kanishka era. See *Modern Review*, December 1959, p. 452.

VOLUME XXXII

N. B.—We have ignored a large number of misprints in which the unilant sign has been printed for the macron.

Page 2, line 11.—*Read* Brāhmī *for* Brāhmī

„ 8, line 12.—*Read* (XVI) *for* (XVII)

„ „ text line 21.—*Read* (XVI) *for* (XVII)

„ 9, line 22.—*Read* Rāshtrika *for* Rāshtrika

„ 11, line 23.—*Read* *piya[sā] *for* *piya[ā]

„ 15, line 36.—*Read* Dharma *for* Dharm

„ 22, line 6.—*Read* ma[te]

„ „ line 7.—*Read* [yam sa]ki*

„ 25, foot-note 5.—*Read* bhāmīkī

- Page 29, line 27.—Read *boulders* for *slabs*
- line 29.—Read *Devā-* for *Devā*
- .. 30, foot-note 1, line 4.—Read in line 26
- .. 31, line 6.—Read to know
- .. 32, note 1, line 1.—Read °*chandra* for °*candra*
- foot-note 2, line 2.—Read °*rās-tē* for *rās-te*
- .. 33, line 4.—Read *Kākatīya* for *Kākatīya*
- line 9.—Read °*kamudi* for °*kamudi*
- foot-note 3, line 2.—Read *Singhapa* for *Singhana*
- foot-note 6.—Read *Jānakōja* for *Jānakōja*
- .. 34, line 13.—Read *grite* for *grite*
- .. 37, text line.—Read °*mārcim yath-vat*
- .. 38, text line 15.—Read at the end *nya*° for *nya*°
- foot-note 2.—Read 2 Read for Read
- .. 39, foot-note 1, line 2.—Read *Hammitra* for *Hammitra*
- .. 40, text line 47.—Read *sthitā*° for *sthitā*°
- text line 55.—Read *uddhūta* for *uddhūta*
- foot-note 4, line 5.—Read *king's* for *kings*
- .. 41, foot-note 3, line 5.—Read to *kriṣṭa* for to *kriṣṭa*
- .. 43, text line 110.—Read at the beginning : | for |
- .. 46, line 30.—Read 814-78 for 814-80
- .. 48, lines 14 ff.—Add note—The word *haṣṭamāna* occurs in Kannada inscriptions in the sense of 'the five artisan classes' (cf. *SII*, Vol. IX. Part II, No. 459) Cf. Tamil *aṣṭamāna* in T. N. Subramaniam's *SITI*, Glossary. For Fleet's views on the subject, see above, Vol. XII, pp. 258-59.
- .. 52, text line 22.—Read *torī-droyēna*
- .. 53, text line 41.—Read *dānāch-* for *danāch-*
- .. 54, text line 60.—Read *samva(samva)* for *samva(samva)*
- .. 55, line 8 from bottom.—Read 814-78 for 814-80
- .. 56, foot-note 2.—Read p. 383 for p. 283
- .. 58, foot-note 1. Read *Purāṇa* for *Purāṇa*
- .. 53, line 4.—Read *weak* for *weak*

Page 63 last line.—Read *born* for *horn*

65, last line.—Read *mathikā* for *mathikū*

69, line 23.—Read *Kautuka* for *Kutuka*

70, text line 6.—Read *y(yu)varāṅga* for *yuvrāṅga*

70, foot-note 3.—Read *Varishtha* for *Vasistha*

75, text line 20.—Read *-dharalita* for *dharalita*

76, text line 38.—Read *āu* for *eu*

79, line 18.—Read *pratiṣṭhī* for *pratiṣṭhī*

80, foot-note 3.—Read *note 3* for *note 2*

80, foot-note 1, line 4.—Read *note 3* for *note 2*

81, line 2.—Read *Text¹* for *Text¹¹*

81, text line 3.—Read *Sthiravāda¹¹* for *Sthiravāda¹¹*

81, foot-note 3.—Read 1932-33 for 1232-33

82, foot-note 1.—Read 1944-45 for 1944-55

83, line 6.—Read *Palnad* for *Paland*

87, line 31.—Read *line 4* for *line 5*

88, line 17 and 25.—Read *propitiatory* for *propiciatory*

88, line 19.—Read *Jiv^o* for *Jiv^o*

89, line 7.—Read *Dharaṇikōṭa* for *Dharaṇikōṭa*

91, last line.—Read *Tarnu* for *Tarnu*

92, lines 6 and 8.—Read *Kūram* for *Kurram*

93, lines 2 and 7.—Read *Kūram* for *Kurram*

94, foot-note 1.—Read *Sātanthanas* for *Sātanthanas*

95, line 12.—Read *Brāhmaṇabhyāḥ* for *Brāhmaṇabhyāḥ*

95, foot-note 1.—Read *have* for *veha*

97, text-line 10.—Read [*Mu*] for [*Mu*]

101, foot-notes 8 and 9.—Read *8* for *9* and *vice versa*.

102, text line 11.—Read *-idu* for *-idu*

104, foot-note 8, line 6.—Read *rook* for *roke*

111, line 6.—Read *Ālappirandān* for *Ālappirandān*

Page 111, line 34.—Read *Paṇiyamāliyar* for *Paṇiyamāliyar*

„ „ line 28.—Read *Māl-Vēlūr* for *Māl-vēlūr*

„ 117, foot-note 1.—Read *ābhīmukhaḥ*...*dattaḥ* for *ābhīmukhaḥ*...*dattaḥ*

„ 120, line 27.—Read *Ūhaṇa* for *Ūhēṇa*

„ „ line 40.—Read *Ḍavēha* for *Ḍavēha*

„ 123, text line 41.—Read *Vāstarya* for *Vāstarya*

„ „ text line 42.—Read *Ūhaṇō* for *Ūhēṇō*

„ 130, foot-note 3.—Read *merely* for *Merely*

„ 132, text line 28.—Read *bhrukūṭi* for *bhrukūṭi*

„ 133, text line 49.—Read *paramēvara* for *para-mēvara*

„ 135, foot-note 1.—Read *does* for *does*

„ „ text line 51.—Read *(hān)* for *(nukān)*

„ 137, text line 3.—Read *bhāpālāḥ* for *bhāpālāḥ*

„ „ text line 12.—Read *raṇḍ(ā)* for *raṇḍ*

„ 139, line 26.—Read *considerable* for *considerable*

„ 141, line 10.—Read *Tēṇi* for *Tēṇi*

„ 147, foot-note 2, line 13.—Read *book* for *book*

„ „ „ line 17.—Read *conquerors* for *conquerors*

„ 151, foot-note 3.—Read *paṭṭa* for *paṭṭa*

„ 153, text line 100.—Read *padam=* for *padam=*

„ 154, text line 105.—Read *śarmanāḥ* for *śarmanāḥ*

„ „ text line 107.—Read *Pārāṇy* for *Pārāṇy*

„ 156, text line 145.—Read *harita* for *harita*

„ 160, line 4.—Read *he figures* for *the figures*

„ 161, text line 5.—Read *āhavē* for *āhavē*

„ 163, text line 48.—Read *tata* for *tata*

„ „ foot-note 6.—Read *Ed.* for *ED.*

„ 164, text line 73.—Read *muk-ākaḥ* for *muk-ākaḥ*

„ 165, foot-note 2, line 2.—Read *Vijñānēvara* for *Vijñānēvara*

„ 167, foot-note 4.—Read *Vol. III* for *Vol. II*

- Page 171, line 10.—Read *Yñu-nārvāra* for *Yñanūre-vāra*
- „ 172, foot-note 5.—Read *Nāḷa* for *Nāḷa*
- „ 175, line 8.—Read *Polikēṣivallabha* for *Pōlikēṣivallabha*
- „ 180, foot-note 8, line 1.—Read *Śākta* for *Sākta*
- „ 182, line 14.—Read *Vaṅgūravāḍi* for *Vaṅguravāḍi*
- „ „ foot-note 3.—Read *tanayaḥ* for *anayaḥ*
- „ 183, foot-note 4.—Read *deaya* for *draya*
- „ 188, line 22.—Read 1079-80 A.D. for 1078-79 A.D.
- „ 193, line 17.—Read *Āḍuturai* for *Āḍutturai*
- „ „ line 7 from bottom.—Read *Bellary* for *same*
- „ 194, line 2.—Read *Guntar* for *same*
- „ 195, line 26.—Read *Krishna* for *Guntur*
- „ 196, text line 4.—Read *ḷuday* for *ḷuday*
- „ 197, line 4 from bottom.—Read *-ettu)mā* for *-ettu mā*
- „ 198, foot-note 3.—Read *letter* for *letters*
- „ 199, foot-note 3.—Read *meaning* for *meanis*
- „ 200, page number.—Read 200 for 290
- „ „ line 15.—Read *Tirukkuḷukkuṇṇam* for *Tirukkalikuṇṇam*
- „ „ foot-note 4.—Read *Ālavāyil* for *Ālavāil*
- „ 201 line 35.—Read *bhattārikā* for *bhattārikā*
- „ 202, foot-note 6.—Read *A. R. Ep.* for *R. Ep.*
- „ 205, text line 25.—Read *-vīksha** for *vīksha**
- „ 210, text line 22.—Read *-(pau)ṇṇamā** for *-(pau) ṇṇamā**
- „ 217, line 33.—Read *caused* for *caused*
- „ 219, text line 8.—Read *-ānaya(yā)* for *-ānaya(yā)*
- „ 220, line 17.—Read *records the grant* for *records of the grant*
- „ 223, foot-note 1.—Read *Brāhmaṇas* for *Brāhmaṇas*
- „ 231, line 41.—Read *Chaitra* for *Chaitra*
- „ 234, foot-note 25.—Read *clearer* for *clearer*
- „ 237, text line 22.—Read *-āga(ga)yil* for *-āga(ga)iyē*

Page 237, foot-note 6.—*Read revised ed. for reviseded.*

„ 243, line 31.—*Read Malik for Nalik*

„ 244, foot-note 1.—*Read taken for took*

„ 245, lines 24-25.—*Read Mussalmans for Eussalmans*

„ „ foot-note 4.—*Read Golachalama for Golachakam-*

„ 253, line 19.—*Read -vāhini- for -cāhini-*

„ 255, line 14.—*Read āgamas for āgama-*

„ „ line 15.—*Read scholiasts for scholarists*

„ „ line 21.—*Read subsequent to for subsequently to*

„ „ line 30.—*Read Tiliāga- for Tilinga-*

„ „ line 34.—*Read Kōna-rāshtra or for Kōna-rāshtra of*

„ „ line 36.—*Read Namdampūndi for Namdampūndi*

„ „ line 38.—*Read Kṛishnā for Kṛishvā*

„ „ 256, line 6.—*Read Warangal for Warangai*

„ 257, head line.—*Read Vilasa Grant for A Grant*

„ 269, lines 28 and 29.—*Read -Nakkan for -Nakkan*

„ 271, column 3, item 4.—*Insert a comma after Simha|arāja*

„ 283, line 7.—*Read Kāmarūpa for Kamarūpa*

„ 294, line 8 from bottom.—*Read family for famiy*

„ 296, foot-note 4.—*Read Appendix B for Appendix A*

„ „ foot-note 5.—*Read -Bhattārikāyā for Bhattārikayā*

„ 301, line 2.—*Add note: The reading of the name read Sadhadras may also be Sahadras.*

„ 303, text line 1.—*Read -janma for -jannma*

„ „ text line 3.—*Read Prithvībhate for Prithvībhate*

„ „ foot-note 2.—*Read Expressed for Expressed*

„ 311, line 7.—*Insert full-stop after Monday*

„ „ line 27.—*Add note: The reading of the name read as Aṭṭama may also be Ayitama.*

„ 312, line 11.—*Add note: The reading of the name read as Aṭṭama-nāyaka may also be Ayitama-nāyaka.*

„ 313, text line 25.—*Read -vāṭatā for vāṭatā*

- Page 316, text line 70.—Read *-chaturtha* for *-cha turttha*
- „ 318, last line.—Read *shrouded* for *shrounded*
- „ 319, line 26.—Read *-prahā(hlā)dana* for *prahādana*
- „ 320, line 11.—Read *-bund* for *-bound*
- „ „ line 11.—Read *Chāṇḍāla* for *chāṇḍāla*
- „ „ text line 4.—Add *kshaya* after *-ekshaya-*
- „ 321 — Add foot-note numbers 1 and 2
- „ 326, line 2.—Read *are* for *is*
- „ „ line 22.—Read *-vijā-* for *-vijā-*
- „ 329, foot-note 1.—Read *Dardhanga* for *Dardhanga*
- „ „ page number.—Read 333 for 33
- „ 330, line 21.—Read 1108 for 1119
- „ 331, line 7.—Read *bright* for *dark*
- „ 334, line 39.—Read *their* for *his*
- „ 335, line 15.—Read *Brāhmaṇa* dynasty of *Champāra* for *Karṇāṭa* dynasty of *Simra*
(*Samara-grāma*)
- „ 337, line 2.—Read *Palni* for *Palni*
- „ „ line 8.—Read *Māraṇjadayān* for *Māraṇjadayān*
- „ „ foot-note 5.—Read *Māraṇjadayān* for *Māraṇjadayān*
- Plate facing p. 338.—Read 792 for 972

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

VOL. XXXII

1957-1958

No. 1—ERRAGUDI EDICTS OF ASOKA

(5 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

The village of **Erragudi** lies approximately at 77° 39' E. and 15° 12' N. in the Pattikonda Taluk of the Kurnool District of the Andhra State, near the southern border of the District. It is about eight miles to the north-west of Gooty, headquarters of the Taluk of that name in the Anantapur District of the same State, on the Gooty-Pattikonda road. Gooty is a station on the Madras-Rajahmundry line of the Southern Railway. The name of the village is often written in English as *Yerragudi* in accordance with a peculiarity of regional pronunciation. The inscriptions of Asoka¹ are incised on six large boulders in a range of low hills stretching towards the west from the neighbourhood of the village. The hill containing the boulders is locally known as Yenakonda (i.e. 'elephant hillock') or Nallayenakonda (i.e. 'black elephant hillock'). It is difficult to determine whether this name was due to the existence of the figure of an elephant in the vicinity of the inscriptions as in the case of the Rock Edicts of Asoka on the hills at Dhanu, Girnar and Kāst. No representation of an elephant could be traced on the hill near Erragudi.

About the end of the year 1928, A. Ghose of Calcutta, an officer of the Geological Survey of India, discovered the inscriptions on the rocks near Erragudi while prospecting for precious minerals in the Kurnool District. He recognised the letters *Devānam . . . Paganāni* in one of the inscriptions and realised that they belong to the great Maurya emperor **Asoka** (c. 272-232 B.C.), whose records of the same kind are known from various places. In January 1929, Ghose communicated full information regarding the whereabouts of the inscriptions to H. Hargreaves, then officiating Director-General of Archaeology in India. A photograph of one of the inscribed rocks received from Ghose was supplied to D. R. Sahni, then Deputy Director-General of Archaeology for Explorations, who was deputed to examine and copy the inscriptions and submit a report on them to the Director-General. Sahni accompanied by H. Sastri, then Government Epigraphist for India, visited Erragudi in the second week of February and examined and copied all the inscriptions on the rocks excepting Rock Edicts VI and XII which were traced and copied in the following August by S. V. Viswanatha, then Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, attached to the Madras Circle. The discovery was announced by the Director-General of Archaeology in the newspapers in a communiqué dated the 11th February 1929.

Sahni and Sastri prepared transcripts of the edicts from the rocks and it was proposed that Sastri would edit the records in the *Epigraphia Indica*. Sastri's article on the subject, however, was not complete before his retirement from the post of Government Epigraphist for India in December 1933. Sahni then wanted to edit the records; but he passed away without finishing the work. N. P. Chakravarti, who succeeded Sastri as Government Epigraphist for India, then under-

¹ Mauryan over *c* and *s* has not been used in the article.

took the responsibility of editing the inscriptions. Chakravarti also visited Erragudi and prepared fresh transcripts of the edicts from the original rocks. But he was transferred from the Epigraphic Branch in May 1940 before the completion of his article on the records. About this time, B. M. Barua of the University of Calcutta appears to have received from Chakravarti a set of impressions of the Erragudi inscriptions and possibly also his tentative transcripts of the edicts. Barua's translation of the records appeared in his *Inscriptions of Asoka*, Part II, which was published by the University of Calcutta in 1943. But he could not publish Part I of the said work (pp. 1-178), in which he had incorporated the text of the Erragudi version of Asoka's edicts, as Chakravarti himself was inclined to publish them. After his retirement from the Department of Archaeology a few years ago, Chakravarti found time to complete his articles on the Hatun rock inscription of Patoladeva¹ and the Brāhmi inscriptions from Bandhugarah² and was going to take up the Erragudi inscriptions for study. In the meantime, in the first half of 1956, I was advised by the Director-General of Archaeology in India to arrange for the publication of all the unpublished inscriptions of Asoka as early as possible. Consequently I began to write on the Rājula-Mandagiri and Gujarrā inscriptions myself and was pressing Chakravarti for his article on the Erragudi inscriptions. I received from Chakravarti for scrutiny a copy of his transcripts of the records, which he had prepared long ago. Unfortunately, before the completion of the article, the cruel hand of death snatched him away from us in October 1956. I then tried to secure from Chakravarti's table whatever notes he might have left on the inscriptions, but received only 2½ pages of sparsely typed matter dealing with the story of the discovery of the Erragudi records and the circumstances leading to the delay in their publication.

My association with the study of the Erragudi inscriptions of Asoka dates back to my student days. About the end of 1929, shortly after I had been admitted to the post-graduate classes of the University of Calcutta in Ancient Indian History and Culture, my teacher, the late Professor D. R. Bhandarkar, showed me a copy of the Telugu periodical *Bhūratī* for September 1929. That issue contained a rather unsatisfactory facsimile of an inscription on one of the Erragudi rocks and I was advised to transcribe the epigraph. My tentative transcript of this inscription, containing a version of Asoka's Minor Rock Edicts I-II, was published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VII, 1931, pp. 737 ff. B. M. Barua later published an improved transcript of the edicts in the same journal, Vol. IX, 1933, pp. 113 ff. About this time, D. R. Sahni's transcript of the same inscription appeared with a good facsimile in his paper on the discovery of the Erragudi version of the edicts of Asoka in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for the year 1928-29*, 1933, pp. 161 ff. Barua again dealt with the inscription in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XIII, 1937, pp. 132 ff. It will thus be seen that the text of the Minor Rock Edicts I-II found at Erragudi has been published, but that the Erragudi version of the fourteen Rock Edicts remains as yet unpublished.

For the sake of convenience the inscribed boulders have been designated A, B, C, D, E and F by Sahni who has provided us with a good account of the whereabouts of the inscriptions that are scattered on the hill. Boulder A is the largest in size and occupies the summit of the hill. The other boulders lie on its eastern slope. The inscribed surfaces of the boulders are very rough and there is no trace of any attempt to smooth them before the inscriptions were engraved. With the exception of the records engraved on Boulders A (northern face), B (right half), D and F, the others are very unsatisfactorily incised or preserved and parts of them can be deciphered with very great difficulty. Many letters of some of these records are unrecognisable on the impressions. Some letters may be somehow discerned on one impression but not on another.

¹ Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 226 ff.

² Ibid., Vol. XXXI, pp. 160 ff.

Boulder A lies above a precipice about 20 feet high. Its lower portions are cut away at both the inscribed faces in the north and east. The eastern face is 17 feet 6 inches wide and contains Rock Edicts I-II at the left end, Rock Edicts III and VI in the middle and Rock Edict XIV in a depression at the upper right corner. Rock Edicts I-III and VI are not separated from one another and, owing to the unsatisfactory preservation of the writing, it is difficult to determine the end of one edict and the beginning of another. The northern face of this boulder (designated A-1) is 15 feet 6 inches wide and contains Rock Edicts XI, V and VII. Rock Edict XI is engraved at the left end. It comprises six lines of writing, of which lines 1-5 measure between 3 feet 3 inches and 4 feet in length while the last line is only 2 inches long. Rock Edict V, consisting of seven lines of writing, covers a rectangular space measuring 8 feet 6 inches by 1 foot 8 inches, although the last line is only 3 feet long. A blank space, about 3 feet in width, separates this area from the space occupied by Rock Edict XI. Rock Edict VII is engraved on the upper right corner and is separated from Rock Edict V by a blank space only 6 inches wide. It consists of five lines of writing which cover an area measuring 3 feet 3 inches by 1 foot 2 inches. The preservation of the writing of these edicts is fairly satisfactory although a portion at the right end of Rock Edict V is defaced.

Boulder B lies a little to the east of the east face of Boulder A. The inscribed eastern face of this boulder is 13 feet in width from north to south. It is pointed towards the top and is divided by a roughly chiselled line, running from top to bottom, into two triangular sections. The portion at the right contains Rock Edicts IV, VIII and X. These edicts are well preserved although three letters at the beginning of line 2 of Rock Edict VIII are defaced. The three edicts contain respectively fourteen, four and five lines of writing and are separated one from another by short chiselled horizontal lines at the left end. The lines of writing are fairly straight in the upper part but irregular in the lower. There is a crack which runs from the left just above the last line of Rock Edict IV upwards to the right. This may have existed before the incision of the edicts as the letters appear to have been engraved outside it. The preservation of the writing on the triangular section in the left part of this boulder (designated B-1) is unsatisfactory. It contains the first 29 lines of Rock Edict XIII, the writing being continued on Boulder C which is 5 feet 6 inches wide and lies a few feet to the south of Boulder B. The lines of Rock Edict XIII on Boulder B are very closely engraved and difficult to decipher. The decipherment is also rendered difficult by the existence of the crack referred to above. Boulder C contains the last seven lines (lines 30-36) of Rock Edict XIII.

Boulder D stands 27 feet to the south-east of the eastern face of Boulder A. It contains Rock Edict XII written in twelve lines. The preservation of the writing is fairly satisfactory. Sahni speaks of faint traces of one line of writing below the last line of the edict at the right extremity.

Boulder E lies 27 feet to the east of Boulder B. It contains Rock Edict IX on its vertical face looking west. The lines of writing (lines 1-11) are not straight and parallel.

Boulder F is situated between Boulders C and E; but its position is lower (i.e. nearer the ground) than that of the latter. It is the most easily accessible among the inscribed rocks near Erragudi and the inscription on it, representing a version of Minor Rock Edicts 1-II, seems to have been engraved earlier than the series of the fourteen Rock Edicts engraved on Boulders A-E. It is indeed worthy of note that the Minor Rock Edicts, which appear to have been issued earlier than any of the known edicts of Asoka, are engraved here on a boulder at the bottom of the hill while Boulder A, bearing the first few edicts (Rock Edicts I-III) of the series of fourteen Rock Edicts, stands on its summit. The Minor Rock Edicts on Boulder F are the most satisfactorily preserved among the edicts of Asoka at Erragudi.

The characters employed in the Erraguḍi edicts are Brāhmī and do not call for any special remark. But the writing of Minor Rock Edicts I-II on Boulder F exhibits some unique characteristics not hitherto noticed in any inscription discovered in India. In the first place, while most of the lines have to be read from left to right as is usual in Brāhmī and its derivatives, some of them are to be read from right to left as in Kharoṣṭhī. Secondly, there are some half lines to be read from left to right or from right to left. Thirdly, there are some lines, one part of which has to be read from the left but the other part from the right. Fourthly, there are several cases where a group of letters is engraved not in its proper place but elsewhere in a different line. Besides these peculiarities, the writing also exhibits several cases of the total omission of groups of letters. These irregularities show that the engraver of the inscription did not do his job carefully. The tendency to write passages to be read from right to left may have been due to the fact that the scribe or engraver was a person, who, like Chapāḍa¹ of the Mysore versions of the Minor Rock Edicts, hailed from North-Western Bhāratavaraha and was used to write in Kharoṣṭhī.

As regards the Prakrit language of the Erraguḍi edicts of Aśoka, a remarkable difference is noticed between the Minor Rock Edicts on the one hand and the Rock Edicts on the other. This seems to be due to the fact that the two sets of edicts were received at the place separately on different occasions and dates.

In respect of language and orthography, the Erraguḍi text of the Minor Rock Edicts resembles that of some other South Indian versions of the same records, such as those in Mysore, while the text of the Rock Edicts at Erraguḍi resembles their Dhauḷi and Jaṅgaḍa versions and also in many points the Kāśī version. There are some cases of inconsistency in the use of case-endings with reference to the number and gender of particular words in both the sets.² This feature is also noticed in other versions of the edicts of Aśoka.

The language of the Minor Rock Edicts of Aśoka is what is called the Magadha dialect. The Pillar Edicts and Pillar Inscriptions of Aśoka, the Dhauḷi and Jaṅgaḍa versions of his Rock Edicts and his Barabar Hill Cave Inscriptions are couched in this dialect, although the Kāśī text of the Rock Edicts also exhibits some features of the same dialect. But, while the chief characteristic of the Magadha dialect is the change of *r* of Sanskrit to *l*, the consonant *r* is retained in the text of the Minor Rock Edicts at Erraguḍi as also at some other places in South India. In this respect, the language of the Erraguḍi version of the Minor Rock Edicts resembles that of the Girnār, Shāhbāgarhī and Māusehra texts of the Rock Edicts.

In spite of the close resemblance of the language of the Erraguḍi version of the Minor Rock Edicts to that of their Mysore texts, referred to above, some differences are also noticed between the two. While the consonant *ṣ* is used in the Mysore versions in some places for Sanskrit *ṣ* or *s*, it is conspicuous by its absence in the Erraguḍi text of these edicts. In a few cases, the use of *ḥ* for Sanskrit *s* is noticed in the Mysore versions; but *s* is invariably used for the three sibilants in our text. In these respects, the language of the Erraguḍi version of the Minor Rock Edicts is closer to the Magadha dialect, in which *ṣ* is replaced by *s* and *ḥ* and *ś* by *s*. The interesting case of *śauḥi* in the expression *śau-ere* (Sanskrit *śau-ere*), exhibiting the elision of *au*, is found in both the Erraguḍi and Mysore versions; but the Erraguḍi text offers another similar case in the expression *śau-āha* (Sanskrit *śau-āha*) not found elsewhere excepting the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri copy of the same records.³ The Brahmagiri text of the Mysore versions has *śau-āha* in its place.

¹ This may stand for Sanskrit *Chapāḍa* (cf. *mahāḍa* for Sanskrit *mahāḍa* in the Girnār version of Rock Edict IX, line 3).

² Cf. *śiṣṭa-śiṣṭā*, *paṇḍu* (Minor Rock Edict I, lines 9-10), *ṭipi* *ṭiṭṭi* (Rock Edict I, line 5), *śauḥi* *śau-āha* (Rock Edict II, line 2), etc.

³ The Rājula-Maṇḍagiri text of the Minor Rock Edicts closely resembles their Erraguḍi version. See above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 211 ff.

The Erragudi text of Minor Rock Edict I closely follows the text of the Mysore versions. But the passages *sumānā, kāmānā ts llo, ipānā cha atha* and *valhiānā* are absent from our text (V, VIII and X), while we have *sakige* (VIII) for *sakye* or *sakē, dāgi cha upānā* (IX) for *elāy-athānā*, and *kudaka-mahalakā* (X) for *kudakā cha mahātāpā chā*. There is considerable difference between the Erragudi text of Minor Rock Edict II and its Mysore versions, from which a number of sentences as found in the Erragudi copy (II-IV, X-XII, etc.) are omitted. For *epā (prā) nesa* *dnahyitarānā* of the Mysore texts, we have *epā (prā) nesa dayitarige* (VII). The sentence mentioning the scribe is wanting in the Erragudi version.

A marked difference between the **language** of the Minor Rock Edicts and that of the Rock Edicts at Erragudi is that the latter exhibits the change of *r* of Sanskrit to *l* in all the cases. The Erragudi version of the Rock Edicts also exhibits other characteristics of the Magadha dialect.¹ It uses *n* for both *ñ* and *ṇ*, and *s* for *ś* and *ṣ*. The nominative singular case-ending for both masculine and neuter words ending in *a* is generally *e* and the locative singular case-ending for the same is *ā*. In point of language, the Erragudi copy of the Rock Edicts closely resembles that of the Dhauli and Jaugada versions; but its draft is in some places closer to the Kālsi text, although it does not exhibit the use of *ś* and *ṣ* and of the redundant subscript *y* noticed so often at Kālsi. An interesting fact about the **vocabulary** of the Erragudi text of the Rock Edicts is that the word *manu, mīm* or *minā* standing for Sanskrit *puruṣ* occurs in it for no less than seven times.² In many of these cases, the corresponding passages in the other versions of the edicts have *puru* or *puru* for Sanskrit *puruṣ*.³ But *puru* or *puru* (Sanskrit *puruṣ*) itself occurs several times in the Erragudi text of the edicts: cf. Rock Edict XIII, line 30 (XX); Rock Edict XIV, line 4 (V); and Minor Rock Edict II, line 21 (XV). The word *manu* or *minā*, however, occurs in the third sentence of Pillar Edict III of Asoka and it is generally taken to stand for Sanskrit *manūḥ*.⁴ But the sense of Sanskrit *puruṣ* in these cases would suit the context equally well.

The relation of the Erragudi text of the Rock Edicts with other versions of the records, especially the Dhauli, Jaugada and Kālsi texts, and some of its linguistic features may be illustrated by an analysis of a few of the edicts. Rock Edict I at Erragudi generally agrees with the Dhauli, Jaugada and Kālsi texts. But we have *ālabhica* (lines 4-5, VI) and *ālabhisānti* (line 5, IX) instead of *ālabhigra* and *ālabhigraṇti* respectively. The forms of the verb in our text may be compared with those found in the other versions, such as *ārabhica* (Girnār), *arabhica* (Mānsēhra) and *arabhisānti* (Shāhbāzgarhi). Similar is the case with Rock Edict II. But we have *Satika-pate* and *tsa sūmanāntā Antigogasa* (lines 1-2, I) and not *Satiga-pate* (or *Sātiga-pate*) *Kclala-pate* and *tsa Antigogasa sūmanāntā*, as also *manu-opakā cha puru-opakā cha* (line 3, III) instead of *manu-opagāni puru-opagāni cha*. The change of *y* to *k* in *opaka* (Sanskrit *opaga*), found also at Shāhbāzgarhi and Mānsēhra, is not a characteristic of the Magadha dialect. Our text (lines 4-5, IV) has *lakkhāni lōpāpitāni udupānānā cha khānāpitāni* after Kālsi and not *udupānāni khānāpitāni lakkhāni cha lōpāpitāni* as in Dhauli and Jaugada. In line 4 (III), we have *senāta ata ata nathā* instead of the

¹ In a few cases, our version exhibits the influence of the language of the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mānsēhra texts; cf. the use of the word *opaka* noticed below.

² Cf. *manu* in Rock Edict XII line 8 (VIII), Rock Edict XIII, line 22 (XVII); *manu* in Rock Edict VI, line 5 (X), Rock Edict IX, lines 8 (XII) and 9 (XVI); *minā* in Rock Edict VI, line 5 (VI), Rock Edict IX, line 10 (XVIII).

³ Cf. *puru* in the Shāhbāzgarhi Rock Edict VI, lines 14, 15; Mānsēhra Rock Edict IX, line 7; Dhauli Rock Edict VI, line 5; Jaugada Rock Edict VI, line 5; *puru* in the Girnār Rock Edict VI, lines 6 and 10; Rock Edict XII, line 9; Rock Edict XIII, line 10; Rock Edict XIV, line 4; Kālsi Rock Edict IX, line 26; Rock Edict XIV, line 21; Shāhbāzgarhi Rock Edict IX, lines 19 and 20; Rock Edict XII, line 6; Rock Edict XIII, lines 8 and 10; Rock Edict XIV, line 13; Mānsēhra Rock Edict VI, lines 28 and 30; Rock Edict IX, lines 6, 7 and 8; Rock Edict XII, line 15; Rock Edict XIII, line 9; Rock Edict XIV, line 4.

⁴ Above, Vol. II, p. 231, note 21; Hultzsch, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 122, note 1.

expected *śānta* with *śānta*. Rock Edict III of our version has *vijite* (line 2, III) instead of *vijitasi* after *Uruār* and *Shāhāgarhi* and *śāhāgarhi* (line 2, III) after *Kālai* in the place of *māhāgarhi* at *Dhauli* and *Jaugada*. The passage *imāye dharmānānūthiye athā anūthiye pi kammāne* in the *Kṛpāguṇī*-text (line 3, III) follows the order of the expressions as at *Kāśī*, while *Dhauli* and *Jaugada* have *athā anūthiye pi kammāne imāye dharmānānūthiye*. But *Kāśī* has *kammāne* for *kammāne*. Instead of the compound *māta-pita-susāsā* (line 3, IV), the *Dhauli*, *Jaugada* and *Kāśī* texts have *pitara* separately. For *śāla-samāhata-māhātman* (line 4, V), *Kāśī* has *śālikyānam* and *Dhauli* and *Jaugada* *śālika*. Similarly our text has *samāsa-bāhānānam* (line 4, V), while the order of the two words in the compound is the reverse in all the other texts, and *Dhauli* and *Jaugada* have *bāhānānam-samāsa* (Sanskrit *brāhmanya-samāyabhyāḥ*). The word *pāṇānā* (line 1, VI) follows *Kāśī*, while *Dhauli* and *Jaugada* have *jīvaṇa*. The order of the words in the expression *śāntāni pātāni* (line 3, VIII) is the reverse at *Dhauli* and *Jaugada*.

TEXT

MINOR ROCK EDICTS*

(BOULDER F)

Minor Rock Edict I

- 1 (I)* *Devānāmīye* *heva-āha** [(*)] (II) *adh[i]kkaṇi**
- 2* *ya* *hakkam apāsak(e)* [(*)] (III) *no* *tu* *kho* *ekam samvachharam* *pekā[m]te**
- 3 *Imāhi* [(*)] (IV) *ātirek(e)* *ch[u]** *kho* *savachhare* *yath* *mayā* *Sattighe* *upay-*
- 4 (a)* *te* *buddham* *cha* *me* *pakamite* [(*)] (V) *imā* *cha* *kālena* *a-*
- (b)* *mā* [(*)] *ruṇṇi*
- 5* *devehi* *te* *dhāt* *maibhūti* [(*)] (VI) *pakamasi* *hi*
- 6(a)* [(*)] *ya* [(*)] [(*)] (VII) *mahapten-eva* *sakiye* [(*)] (VIII) *klu-*
- (b)* *dhakkam* *pi* *paka-*

* From impressions. Chakravarti's readings have been quoted from his unpublished transcripts of the edicts. But in some cases his readings, originally preferred by us but discarded at a later stage on re-examination of the impressions, could not be indicated.

* While giving variant readings, we have referred to Sahni's and Barns' transcripts of these two edicts published respectively in *ARSI*, 1928-29, pp. 166-67, and in *IRI*, Vol. XIII, pp. 132-34. The text of these edicts quoted in my *School Inscriptions* follows Barns' transcript.

* Below *de* there is a tracing symbol as in the *Śājala* Maṇḍagiri version of these edicts. Sahni and Chakravarti take it to be the alshara *da* standing for Sanskrit *da* or *da*.

* Sahni: *dhakkam* *ka*; Barns: *dhakkam* *ka* *a* (*dhakkam* *ka*).

* The words *adhahigant* *samvachharat* appear to have been inadvertently omitted after this by the scribe or engraver.

* This entire line has to be read from right to left.

* Barns: *pehate*.

* Sahni and Barns: *cha*.

* The following six alsharas have to be read from right to left. The following six alsharas are engraved slightly above at the left end of line 4(a) and have to be read from left to right. The alshara *pi* is not visible on the impressions. The last alshara of line 4(a) is contiguous to the last alshara of line 4(b).

* This line actually commences from below the last alshara (i.e., *sa*) of line 4. The six alsharas, viz. *dhakkam* *pi* *paka*, meant for the beginning of line 7 (actually the line immediately following the present line, if the beginning of the line is considered), occupy the space before this alshara at the beginning of line 5.

* This is a half line to be read from right to left.

* Barns: *no*. The word *paka* has been omitted after this by the scribe or engraver through oversight.

* The words *no* *dhakkam* have similarly been omitted before this.

* The following six alsharas are engraved at the beginning of line 5 before *dhakkam* and below *mā* in line 4(b).

ERRAGUDI EDICTS OF ASOKA

Distribution of Boulders



(from a Photograph)

I 1 (L-R.)

2 (R-L.)

3 (L-R.)

4b (L-R.)

6b (L-R.)

5 (L-R.)

7b (L-R.)

7a-c (L-R.)

8 (L-R.)

10 (L-R.)

12 (L-R.)

II 14 (L-R.)

15 (R-L.)

16a (L-R.)

17 (L-R.)

16b-18a (L-R.)

19 (L-R.)

20a (L-R.)

20b (L-R.)

21 (L-R.)

22 (L-R.)

23 (L-R.)

1 (L-R.)

2 (R-L.)

3 (L-R.)

4a (R-L.)

5 (L-R.)

6a (R-L.)

7c (L-R.)

8 (L-R.)

9 (R-L.)

10 (L-R.)

11 (R-L.)

12 (L-R.)

13 (R-L.)

17 (L-R.)

18a (L-R.)

18b (R-L.)

20a-c (L-R.)

20d (R-L.)

21 (L-R.)

22 (L-R.)

23 (L-R.)

24 (R-L.)

- 7(a) *maminena sakiya vipule avage ātā-*
 (b)¹ *dbetave [i*] (IX) +*
 (c)² *tāya cha³ aṭhāya iyaṃ*
 8 *[sā]vane sāvite [i*] (X) athā khudaka-mahalakā⁴ imaṃ p[i] [pa]kamevā ad-*
 9⁵ *tā cha me jānevu chira-ṭūṭikā cha*
 10 *iyaṃ pakame hota⁶ vipulaṃ pi cha vaḥhasitā⁷ aparallāyā divadhūva h⁸ [i*]*
 11 *(XI)* [i]yaṃ cha sāvane sā-*
 12 *v[ā]pīte vyūṭhena¹² 200 50 6 [i*]¹³*

Minor Rock Edict II

- (I)¹¹ *ha[vaṃ] Devānaṃ¹² Devānarūpiye āha [i*] (II) yathā De-*
 13¹² *vā[naṃ]piye āhā¹⁴ tathā kataviye [i*]*
 14 *(III)¹⁵ rajūke¹⁶ ānapetaviye [i*]*
 15 *(IV)¹⁷ = dāni jānapada[di]¹⁸ āna-*
 16(a) *payisati rāṭhikāni chā [i*] (V) mātā-pitāva¹⁹*
 (b)²⁰ *susu-*
 17 *aitaviye [i*] (VI) hem-eva garūsa²¹ susuaitaviye [i*] (VII) rpā[prā]nesu²² dayitaviye [i*]*
 (VIII) *anche vataviye [i*] (IX) [i]-*

¹ The following four *abakharas* are engraved above this line in line 6(a) after (i.e. to the left of) *cha*.

² The following *abakharas* are in continuation of line 7(a).

³ Barua : *va*.

⁴ Barua : *mahalakā*.

⁵ This is a half line to be read from right to left.

⁶ The Mysore versions add here *igaa cha aṭhā* with which a new sentence begins.

⁷ Sahni : *kataviye cha [pi] vaḥ[ṭh]i[pi] +*; Chakravarti : *hotāḥ [i*] [pa]kame[pi] pi cha vaḥhasitā*; Barua : *hota [i*] vipule pi cha vaḥhasitā*. The rest of this line is incised below the previous line (line 9).

⁸ The Mysore versions add the word *vaḥhasitā* here. Some letters in this line and in lines 11, 12 and 14 are not clear on the Plate due to defective pasting of two pieces of the impression.

⁹ This half line has to be read from right to left.

¹⁰ Barua : *vyūṭhena*.

¹¹ The rest of line 12 from here is incised below line 10.

¹² This word is redundant.

¹³ The half line consisting of the following twelve *abakharas* has to be read from right to left. Chakravarti : "The line is very uneven due to a few *abakharas* being engraved on the chipped portion of the rock."

¹⁴ In Chakravarti's opinion, what looks like medial *ā* in *āhā* is a crack in the stone.

¹⁵ This is a half line consisting of nine *abakharas* to be read from left to right.

¹⁶ Barua : *rajūke*.

¹⁷ The following nine *abakharas*, incised below line 14, have to be read from right to left.

¹⁸ Sahni : *jānapada*; Barua : *ānerā jānapada*.

¹⁹ Sahni : *pitāva*; Chakravarti : *pitāvaṃ*.

²⁰ The following two *abakharas* are engraved at the beginning of line 18. Barua ignores this fact and reads the word *susua* at the beginning of that line.

²¹ Sahni and Chakravarti : *garua*.

²² Sahni and Chakravarti : *janesu*.

18(a)¹ ma dhaṁma-guṇā pavatitaviyā [i*] (X) hevaṁ tuṇṇhe ānapayātha Devānaṁpiya²-
vaohanena [i*] (XI) he-

(b)² vaṁ ānapā-

19 yātha³ haṁhiy-ārahāni kā[ra]nakāni⁴ yūgy-āchariyāni haṁbhanāni cha ta[n]pbe⁵ [i*] (XII)
hevaṁ nivesayā-

20(a) tha aṁtevāsāni yāriṣā porāṇā pakitti [i*] (XIII) iyaṁ samsataviye [i*] (XIV) apachāyānā
ya vā āchari-

(b)⁶ ya[sa]

(c)⁷ sa

(d) *he]m-seva [i*]

21 (XV)⁸ yathā vā paṇa āchariyasa⁹ nātikāni yathārahaṁ nātikāsu¹⁰ rpa[ra]vatitaviye¹¹ [i*]
(XVII) hevaṁ pi

22¹² [aṁ]tevaṁsaṁ yathārahaṁ pavatitaviye yāriṣā porāṇā pakitti [i*] (XVII) yathārahaṁ
yathā iyaṁ

23 sa¹³ tiro[re]ke siyā hevaṁ tu[n]pbe ānapayātha nivesa[yā]tṭha cha aṁtevāsāni [i*] (XVIII)
hevaṁ De-

24¹⁴ vānaṁpiy[e] ānapayati [i*]

TRANSLATION

Minor Rock Edict 1

(I) Thus with the Beloved of the Gods.

(II) It is (now) more than [two years and a half] that I have been an *upāsaka* (i.e. a lay follower of the Buddha).

¹ The *akṣaras* *sa* are engraved here before *sa* (which Chakravarti reads as *se*), although their proper place is at the beginning of the previous line.

² Barua : *Devānaṁpiya*.

³ The following four *akṣaras*, which are incised below the concluding part of the line, have to be read from right to left. What has been read *ācari* may be *ācariya* also.

⁴ Chakravarti : **pāṇa*.

⁵ Sahni and Chakravarti : *ācariyāni*.

⁶ Chakravarti ends the sentence after *cha*. Chakravarti and others read *tuṇṇhe* here as well as in X above.

⁷ The following two *akṣaras* are engraved at the beginning of the next line (line 21), *ya* being at a higher level than *sa*.

⁸ This letter stands at the end of line 20(a).

⁹ The following three *akṣaras*, at the end of line 20(a)-(c), have to be read from right to left.

¹⁰ The *akṣaras* *paṇa* engraved here before *yathā* should have to be read at the beginning of the previous line.

¹¹ Sahni : *upachāyānā aṁ āchariyasa* [he]vaṁ sa yathā aṁ paṇa āchariyasa, etc.; Barua : *upachāyānā ya sa* *sa* *sa* *āchariyasa* *yathā* *ācariya* *ācariya* [i*]

¹² Barua : *addhese* which is the word found in the Mysore versions of the edict.

¹³ The damaged *akṣara* *sa*, incised before *sa*, should have to be read at the beginning of the next line. This escaped the notice of Sahni, Barua and Chakravarti.

¹⁴ This *akṣara* is engraved at the beginning of the previous line. Sahni and Chakravarti : *śrāṇa*; Barua : *araka*.

¹⁵ This line has to be read from right to left.

(III) I was, however, not energetic (in the practice and propagation of Dharma) for one year (at the beginning of the above period).

(IV) It is (now) more than a year that I have indeed been intimately associated¹ with the Saṅgha (i.e. the Buddhist Clergy) and have been excessively energetic (in the cause of Dharma).

(V) Those men, who were unmingled (with gods) during this period, have now been mingled with gods.²

(VI) This is [the result] of (my) exertion (in the cause of Dharma).

(VII) [Indeed, it is not] attainable only by the rich man.

(VIII) Even the poor man, if he is energetic (in the cause of Dharma), can attain even the great heaven.³

(IX) It is for this purpose that the proclamation has been made (by me).

(X) So that the poor and the rich⁴ should also be energetic in this exertion (in regard to the practice and propagation of Dharma), that the peoples living beyond the borders (of my empire) should know (this matter) and that (this matter) will increase to a great extent (at least) roughly to one and a half times.

(XI) This proclamation is being issued by me (when I have been) on tour (for) 256 (days).⁵

Minor Rock Edict II.

(I) Thus saith the Beloved of the Gods.

(II) You should do as (you have been) told (to do) by the Beloved of the Gods.

(III) The (officers entitled) Rajjuka⁶ should be ordered (by you in respect of this matter).

(IV) He (in his turn) will then order the people of the countryside as well as the (officers entitled) Rāshtrika⁷ (in the following words):

(V) "One should be obedient to one's parents.

(VI) "One should likewise be obedient to one's elders.

(VII) "One should be kind to the living beings.

(VIII) "One should speak the truth.

(IX) "One should propagate these attributes of Dharma."

(X) Thus you should pass orders in the words of the Beloved of the Gods.

¹ The word *apayita* (Sanskrit *apeta*) seems to have been used in the sense of *anpeta*, although it has been variously interpreted by scholars. See my *Mashī Inscription of Ashoka*, Hyderabad, p. 24.

² Cf. op. cit., pp. 26-27.

³ The great heaven was possibly regarded as higher than the world of the gods.

⁴ The word *śaśaka* means 'big', i.e. 'rich' in the present context. Cf. Rock Edict XIV, line 3 (IV). We are inclined to take the word *śaśaka*, i.e. *śaśaka*, in the sense of 'poor'.

⁵ See my *Mashī Inscription of Ashoka*, pp. 29-30.

⁶ The Rajjukas were probably governors of districts. The present order was apparently addressed by the king to the Mahāmātras stationed at Suvarnagiri.

⁷ The Rāshtrikas appear to have been governors of parts of a district.

(XI) In this way, you should pass orders on the elephant-riders, the scribes and charioteers and (the teachers of) the Brāhmana (community).²

(XII) Thus you should instruct your pupils in accordance with what is the ancient usage.

(XIII) This (order) should be obeyed.

(XIV) Whatever honour is (enjoyed) by the teacher (lies) really in this.

(XV) Then again, this (principle underlying the order) should be propagated in the proper manner by the teacher's male relations among the female³ relations (he may have).⁴

(XVI) This should also be propagated (by the teacher's relatives) in the proper manner among (his) pupils in accordance with what is the ancient usage.

(XVII) You should thus guide and instruct your pupils in the proper way, so that this (principle underlying the order) grows (among them) abundantly.⁵

(XVIII) Thus orders the Beloved of the Gods.

ROCK EDICTS I AND II⁶

[BOULDER A (EASTERN FACE—LEFT HALF)]

Rock Edict I.

- 1 (I) iyam dhamma-lipi Devānampiyasa Piyadasina la[ḥi]na [līkhā]p[ī]tā [I*] (II) [hida no] kinchi [Ive]
- 2 ālabhita pajohitaviy[e] [I*] (III) n[o] p[ī] cha samā[e] kaṭaviy[e] [I*] (IV) bahubadh [hi] Devā[nam]piya samā[e] [si]
- 3 do[sam] daktati [I*] (V) utthi oka [t]iyā [v]atnā [j]ā sādhu-matā Devānanti[piyasa] Piya[da]sine lājine [I*]
- 4 (VI) pule mahānasa Devānampi[ya]sa Piyadasine lājine ann-divasati bahuni pāna-sata-sahasāni [āla]-

¹ Sahni: "Thus should you command the Kārunakas riding on elephants and the Brāhmanas driving in vehicles." Barua: "Thus instruct the elephant-riders, the Kārunakas, the chariot-trainers, and the Brāhmanas" (*Inscriptions of Ashoka*, Part II, p. 200). At p. 245 of this work, Barua professes to read *hisanadani* and equates *hisanadani* with *hisanadani* used in the *Mahābhārata* (II, V, 34) in the sense of 'a teacher of the princes'. This meaning also suits the context. The sentence refers to several classes of people who used to initiate pupils in particular professions.

² The Mysore version has 'relations' instead of 'female relations'.

³ Sahni: "Thus should you admonish the pupils: he (i.e. the teacher) should be obeyed according to the ancient rule and so also the relatives of the teacher by way of showing veneration to the teacher; they should also behave in a suitable manner towards (their own) relatives." Barua: "You should thus establish your pupils according to the good old rule: This is to be hearkened to: whatever is estimable (in me), all that is due to my teacher, the teacher acting properly as teacher. The neighbours are to propound it to the neighbours as far as practicable."

⁴ Sahni: "Thus should you direct and admonish the pupils that he (i.e. the teacher) may enjoy three-fold comfort (trivoka)." Barua: "As it may remain unimpaired as far as practicable so should you instruct and establish the pupils." "This is to be respectfully attended to indeed for the sake of the honour of the teacher. Or again, if (there be) relatives of the teacher, this should likewise be fittingly propounded to (his) relations, so also among the citizens should (it) be fittingly propounded, so that it may be exceedingly bright" (*Inscriptions of Ashoka*, op. cit., p. 200).

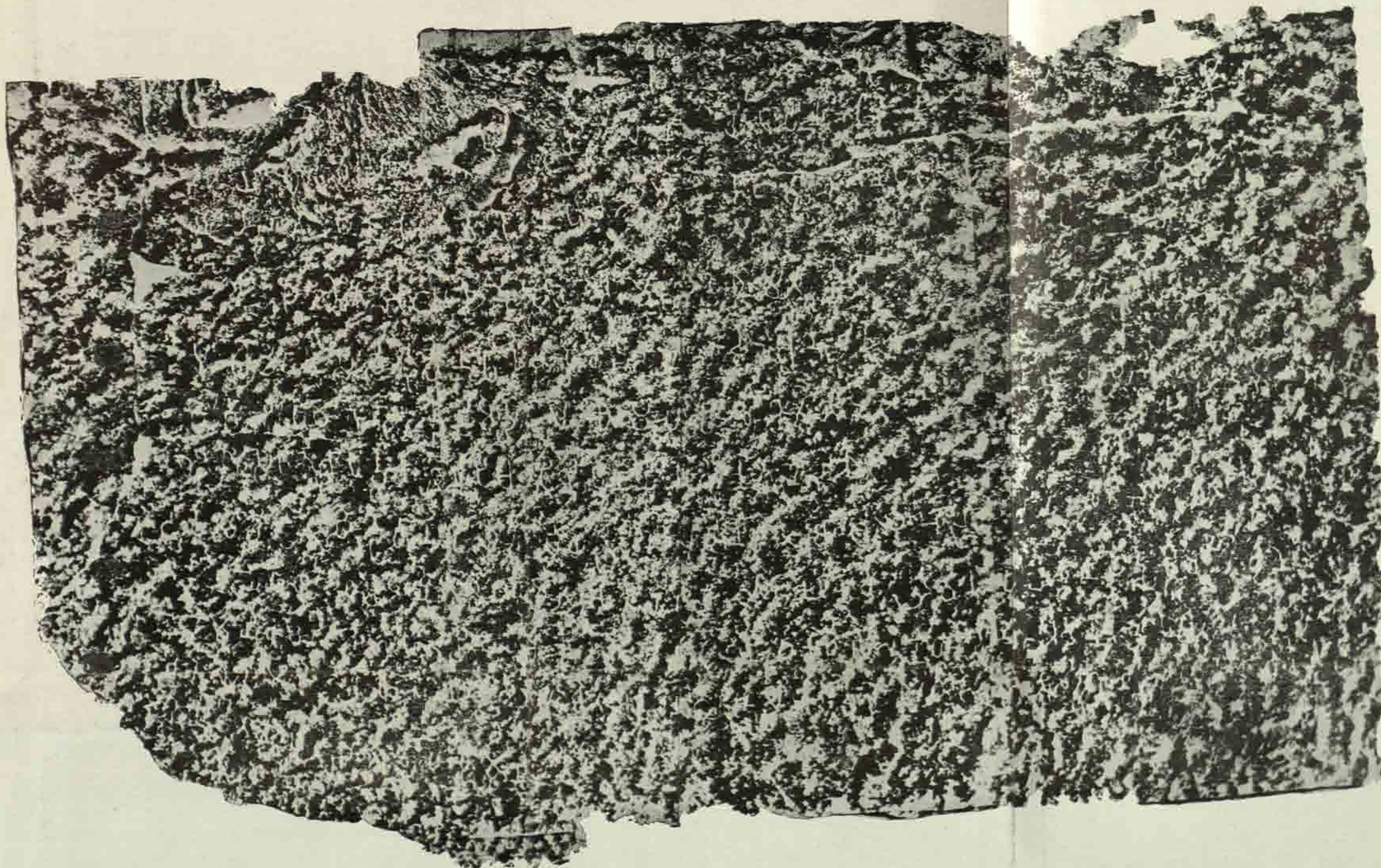
⁵ Many of the letters of these and the other edicts transcribed below are indistinct on the inscriptions.

⁶ At first he had been written and it was then changed into *je*.

ERRAGUDI EDICTS OF ASOKA.

PLATE II

Rock Edicts I and II [Boulder A (eastern face—left half)]



Scale : One-fourth

III

2

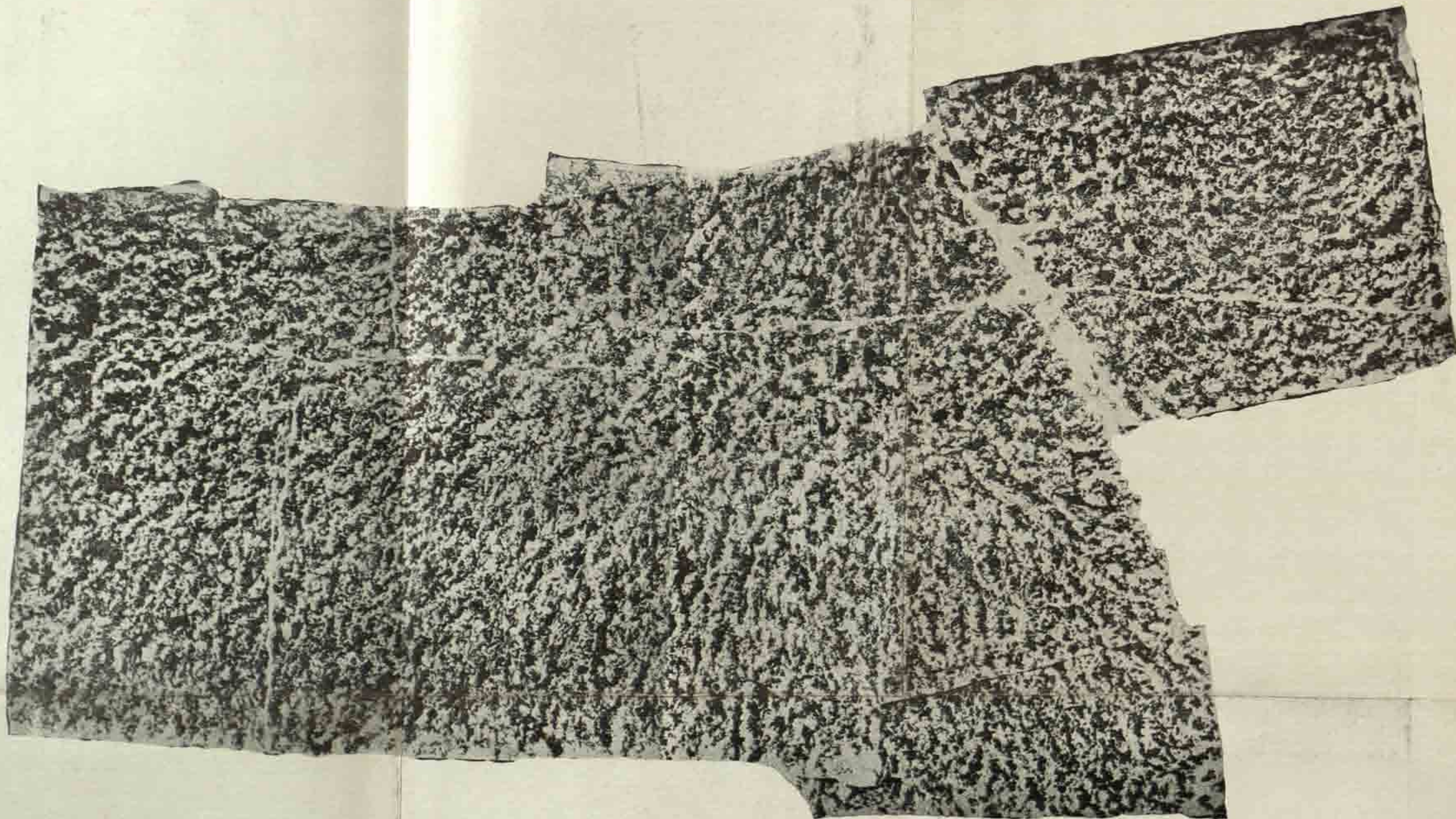
4

VI

2

4

6



Scale : One-sixth

- 5 [bhi]su sūpāthāy[e] [i*] (VII) [m] idāni ad[ā] [yath] dharma-bp[ī] lkhita tada t[ī](m)ni [yeva
pānāni ālabhiyanti [duve ma]jūla]
- 6 eko [ma*]g[e] [i*] (VIII) = pi [ma*]g[e] no dharma [i*] (IX) [e]tāni pi ehu t[ī](m)ni pānāni
pachha n[e] ālabhisanti[i*]

TRANSLATION

(I) This record relating to Dharma has been caused to be written by king **Priyadarśin**, Beloved of the Gods.

(II) Here no living being should be slaughtered for sacrifice.

(III) And also no festive gathering should be held.

(IV) For the Beloved of the Gods sees manifold evil in festive gatherings.

(V) There is, (however,) one kind of festive gatherings, which is considered good by king **Priyadarśin**, Beloved of the Gods.

(VI) Many hundred thousands of living beings were formerly slaughtered every day in the kitchen of king **Priyadarśin**, Beloved of the Gods, for the sake of curry.

(VII) But now, when this record relating to Dharma is written, only three living creatures are killed (*daily*) for the sake of curry, (viz.), two birds and one animal.¹

(VIII) Even this animal is not (*slaughtered*) regularly.

(IX) These three living beings too shall not be killed in future.

Rock Edict II

(below Rock Edict I)

- 1 (I) savatā² vijitani Devānampiyasa Piyadasin[e] lājine e cha asitā athā [Ch]odā Pandiyā
Satika-puta³ Tambaparnini Arhtiyō[-]
- 2 ge [nāma Yona-lā]ā[e] e cha amhe tassa [sāmanta] Arhtiyogassa lājāno savatā Devānampiya[sā]
Piyadesine [lājine du]v[e*] [chikissā]
- 3 katā munisa-chikissā[e] cha pasu-chikissā[e] cha [i*] (II) o[ss]dhāni [cha munis-o]pakā [cha]
pasu-opakā cha ata atā nathi savata [hā]lāpitā cha lopāp[ī]⁴
- 4 tā cha [i*] (III) [hem-e]va [milāni cha] phalāni [cha savata] ata ata nathi [hā]lāpitā[e]
cha lopāpitā cha [i*] (IV) ma[ge]su lukhāni lopāpitāni ulupānāni[e] cha
- 5 khā[sā]pitāni paṭibhogāye pasu-munisānaṁ [i*]

TRANSLATION

(I) Everywhere in the dominions of king **Priyadarśin**, Beloved of the Gods, and likewise (in) the bordering territories such as (those of) the **Chodas** (and) **Pandyas** (as well as of) the **Satika-putra** (and in) **Tāmraparṇi** (and in the territories of) the **Yavana** king named **Antiyoka** and also (of) the kings who are the neighbours of the said **Antiyoka**—everywhere king **Priyadarśin**, Beloved of the Gods, has arranged for two kinds of medical treatment, (viz.), medical

¹ This edict is separated from Rock Edict II by a short line at the left end.

² This is generally taken in the sense of 'two provinces and one deer'. But see *Below Inscriptions*, p. 17, note 4.

³ Chakravarti: "The latter looks like he is on the rock."

⁴ Other versions have *cutiya*⁵ or *ḍṭiya*⁶. The original form of the name may have been *Satika* or *ḍṭatika*. The reference to *Keralaputra* has been omitted in this text.

⁵ The letters are not clear on the impressions. Chakravarti: "The letters *chalopāpī* are traceable on the stone."

treatment for men and medical treatment for animals.

(II) And, wherever there were no medicinal herbs beneficial to men and beneficial to animals, everywhere they have been caused to be imported and planted.

(III) In the same way, wherever there were no roots and fruits, everywhere they have been caused to be imported and planted.

(IV) On the roads, trees have been caused to be planted and wells have been caused to be dug for the enjoyment of animals and men.

ROCK EDICTS III, VI AND XIV

[BOULDER A (EASTERN FACE—RIGHT HALF)]

Rock Edict III

(to the right of Rock Edict I)

- 1 (I) [Devānarīpiye] Piya[dasi lāja hevaṃ] ā[h]ā [I*] (II) duvāḍasa-vas-ābhisitena [me] iyaṃ ānapayite [I*]
- 2 (III) [savata] vij[i]t[e]² mama yutā lājūke pādesike [cha] paṃchasa paṃchasa cha vāsesu anusamhyānam nikhamamtu
- 3 et[ā]ye athāye i[mā]ye dhamm-ānusathīye athā aṃuāye pi kaṃmane [I*] (IV) sādhu mātā-pitū-susua[ā] [I*]
- 4 (V) mita-saṃthuta-nātikānam cha samana-bambhanānam cha sādhu dāne [I*] (VI) pānānam anālambe sādhu [I*] (VII) apa-viyayatā [a]pa³-bha[m]data[m]
- 5 sādhu[n] [I*] (VIII) [palisā]⁴ pi chā ganauasi yutāni [ana]payisaṃti hetute cha viyaṃjanate cha [I*]⁵

TRANSLATION

(I) Thus saith king **Priyadarśin**, Beloved of the Gods.

(II) The (following) was ordered by me **twelve years after my coronation**.⁶

(III) Everywhere in my dominions, the officers,⁷ (called) **Rajjuka** (and) **Prādesika**,⁸ shall set out every five years on a circuit for inspection (throughout their charges), as much for their other duties as for this (special) purpose of preaching Dharma (in the following words) :

(IV) " Meritorious is obedience to mother and father.

(V) " Meritorious is liberality to friends, acquaintances and relatives and to the Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas.

(VI) " Meritorious is abstention from the slaughter of living beings.

(VII) " Meritorious is to spend little (and) to store little. "

(VIII) And the Council (of Ministers) shall order the officers⁹ about the observance of these rules with reference to (both my) intention and (my) words.

¹ The letters in some passages of the following lines of the edict are not clear on the impressions.

² The form expected is *vijitasi*.

³ Chakravartī : "sīghraṇā apā".

⁴ Chakravartī : *p[ā]lisa pi cha*.

⁵ There is a short line dividing this edict from Rock Edict VI.

⁶ The expression may possibly also mean 'in the twelfth year after my coronation.'

⁷ The Yuktas are regarded generally as a class of officers like the Rajjuka and Prādesika. Cf. *Ind., Cult.*, Vol. I, pp. 308 ff.

⁸ The Prādesika appears to have been the ruler of a group of districts and the Rajjuka that of a single district.

Rock Edict VI¹

(below Rock Edict III)

- 1 (I) [Devānampīye] Piyadasi [ā] [ā] hevaṃ āha * [I*] (II) [atikamtaṃ aṃtalaṃ] no hūta²-
puluve savaṃ kālāṃ aṭha-ka[m]me paṭive[da]nā [vā] [I*] (III) se mamayā hevaṃ kaḇe
[I*] (IV) [savaṃ] kālāṃ
- 2 [adamānasā* o]llohana[si]³ [gabh-āgālasī] [va]jhasi vinitasi ny[ā]nasi savatā paṭive[dakā]
a[tharā] ja[nasa] paṭi[ve]dayamtu me [I*] (V) savatā cha [janasa] a[tharā]
- 3 [kacchāmi hakaṃ] [I*] (VI) [yaṃ] pi [cha kichhi mu]khate ā[unpa]yāmi hakaṃ
dā[pa]kaṃ vā sāvakāṃ vā [e] vā minā mahāma[ā]tehi atiyāyike ālop[ī]te hoti tāye aṭhāye
- 4 [vivade] nijhāti [va] samtaṃ pa[h]i[sāye] [anantali]* yenā [pa*]tivedataviya-mate⁴ m[e savatā]
savaṃ kālāṃ [I*] (VII) hevaṃ ānapayite mamayā [I*] (VIII) [nathī] hi me toso uthāmasi⁵
- 5 aṭha-ss[ā]n[ī]ti[anāye] cha* [I*] (IX) kaṭaviya-mate [hi⁶ me sava-loka-hite] [I*] (X)
[tasa] cha mina esa mūle uthāne a[thā]-samtilanā cha [I*] (XI) nathī hi kaṃmatale
sava-loka-hitena [I*] (XII) aṃ cha kichhi
- 6 palakamāmi hakaṃ kiti bhūtānaṃ ānaniye yevaṃ hīde cha kāni sukāpayāmi palat[ā] cha
sva[sa]vagaṃ⁷ [ā]lādhaya[tu] [I*] (XIII) se etāye⁸ [i]yaṃ dhan[ma-lipi] [le*]khitā chila-
thitī[ka]⁹ hotu
- 7 tatthā cha me putā-natāle palakama[m]tu sava-loka-hitāye [I*] (XIV) dukale chu kho
iyaṃ amma[tā] agen[ā] palakamena [I*]

TRANSLATION

(I) Thus saith king **Priyadarśin**, Beloved of the Gods.

(II) Formerly, in the ages gone by, there was no transaction of state-business and no reporting (of incidents to the king) at all hours.

(III) So I have made the following (arrangement).

(IV) The reporters should report to me the affairs of the people at any time and place, whether I am engaged in eating (or) in the harem (or) in the bed-chamber (or) on a promenade (or) in the carriage (or) on the march.¹⁰

(V) And I am now attending to people's affairs at all places.

¹ Many of the passages of the edict are indistinct on the impressions.² Chakravarti: āhā.³ Chakravarti: kṣa.⁴ Chakravarti: "These letters are indistinct on the rock."⁵ The word me is added before this word in the other versions.⁶ According to Chakravarti, these letters are partly visible on the rock.⁷ Chakravarti: [ko]ṭi sadatapiya-mate.⁸ Chakravarti: upānati. He also reads upāne in line 5 (X) and upāne in line 3 (VI).⁹ Chakravarti: "These letters are faintly visible on the rock."¹⁰ Chakravarti: "The letter is indistinct on the rock."¹¹ Chakravarti: Sogorā.¹² The word aṭhāye is omitted here.¹³ Chakravarti: *pāṭik[e].¹⁴ The word upāna (Sanskrit upāna) is generally taken to mean 'a pleasure garden.'

(VI) And, when I issue an order orally in connection with any donation or proclamation or when an emergent work presses itself upon the Mahāmātras (and) in case there is, in connection with that matter, a controversy among (the Ministers of) the Council or an argumentation¹ (in the Council in favour of a particular case), the fact must be reported to me immediately at any place and at any time.

(VII) Thus have I ordered.

(VIII) I am never complacent in regard to (my) exertion and the dispatch of people's business (by me).

(IX) I consider it my (only) duty (to promote) the welfare of all men.

(X) But exertion and prompt dispatch of business (lie at) the root of that.

(XI) There is verily no duty which is more (important to me) than promoting the welfare of all men.

(XII) And whatever effort I make is made in order that I may discharge the debt which I owe to all living beings, that I may make them happy in this world, and that they may attain heaven in the next world.

(XIII) Therefore this record relating to Dharma has been caused to be written by me (on stone) for the following (purpose, viz.) that it may last for a long time and that my sons and grandsons may exert themselves for the welfare of all men.

(XIV) This, indeed, is difficult to accomplish without the utmost exertion.

Rock Edict XIV

[BOULDER A (EASTERN FACE—UPPER RIGHT CORNER)].

- 1 (I) iyaṃ dha[m]ma-lipi Devānampiyena Piyadasin[ā]¹ lājinā
- 2 li[khā]pitā [i*] (II) athi yeva saṃ[kh]itena² athi majjhimeṇa athi vitthā-
- 3 [tenā] [i*] (III) no hi savatā sa[va] gha[ti]te cha [i*] (IV) mahalake hi vijite bahu cha-
- 4 likhite likhāpayisami³ ch-eva nikāyaṃ [i*] (V) athi chū heta [pu]jā [pu]jā lā-
- 5 [pita] tassa tassa aṭṭhassa mādhuliyāye vva⁴ [ja]te[ne] tathā
- 6 [paṭipajeyā] [i*] (VI) [se] siya ata ki[ekhi] asamati likhite
- 7 dhammā vā saṃ[kh]ā⁵ saṃkhāyāyā kālaṇaṃ vā⁶ ālochayitu-
- 8 lipika[li-āpalā]dheṇa vā ti [i*]

TRANSLATION

(I) This record relating to Dharma has been caused to be written by king Priyadarśin, Beloved of the Gods.

(II) (In the series of records) there are, for sooth, (texts written) in a concise form, or in a medium form, or in an elaborate form.

¹ The word *siyān* is derived from the verb *siyāpessati* meaning 'to convince'. The verb is the same as *siyāpessati* in the passage *siyāpessati* *siyāpessati* in Rock Edict XIII, lines 15-19 (XIII).

² According to Chakravarti, this letter looks like *sa* on the rock.

³ Chakravarti: *saṃkhāyāyā*.

⁴ Chakravarti: **āsi*.

⁵ Chakravarti: *gama*.

⁶ These two *siyān* are redundant.

⁷ Chakravarti: **āsi*.

(III) And all (*the items of the series*) have not been put together in all places.

(IV) For (*my*) dominions are wide, and much has been written, and I shall certainly cause still a lot (*more*) to be written.

(V) There are (*some topics which*) have been repeated over and over again owing to their sweetness, so that people may act accordingly.

(VI) Thus there may be *some* (*topics which*) have been written incompletely either as the (*particular*) place (*of a record*) was considered (*unsuitable for them*) or as a (*special*) reason for abridgment was believed (*to exist*), and also owing to a fault of the scribe.

ROCK EDICTS XI, V AND VII

[BOULDER A-1 (i.e. NORTHERN FACE OF BOULDER A)]

Rock Edict XI

(at the left end)

- 1 (I) Devāna[m]piye hevaṃ āhā [i*] (II) nāhi edhe dāne dāne dāne dhamma-dāne dhamma-sa[m]thave
- 2 dhamma-savibhāge dhamma-sambadhe [i*] (III) ta[m]pi eṃ dāsa-bhaṭṭaka[m] sa[m]mā-
paṭipati mātā-pitū¹ saṃsā
- 3 mita-saṃ[thū]ta-nāṭikānaṃ samāna-baṃbhasāna[m] āhāne² pīnānaṃ anārambhe [i*]
(IV) eṃ vataviye putā pi
- 4 [pu]tena pi bhā[ti]nā pi savāmike[na*] pi mita-saṃthutena pi ā-paṭivemiyunā [pi*] (yaṃ
sādhū yaṃ kataviye [i*])
- 5 (V) se tatha kalamita hida-loke cā kaṃ āhā[ḍhe] ho[ti] p[ā]tata³ cā amantaṃ [pu]ṇaṃ
pasavati tena dha[mma]-dā-
- 6 nenā [i*]

TRANSLATION

(I) Thus saith the Beloved of the Gods.

(II) There is no such gift as the gift of Dharma, (*no such acquaintance as*) acquaintance through Dharma, (*no such act of dealing as*) the separation of Dharma (*from what is not Dharma*), (*and no such kinship as*) kinship through Dharma.

(III) The following (*are comprised*) in them, (*viz.*) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, obedience to mother and father, liberality to friends, acquaintances and relatives (*as well as*) to the Brāhmanas and Śramanas, (*and*) abstention from the slaughter of living beings.

(IV) (*In respect of this*), (*whether one is a person's*) father, or son, or brother, or master, or friend, or acquaintance, or (*even*) a (*poor*) neighbour, one ought to say (*to him*): "This is meritorious. This ought to be done".

(V) Thus, if he acts in this manner, (*happiness in*) this world is attained (*by him*) and endless merit is produced (*for him*) in the next world by the aid-gift of Dharma.

¹ Chakravarti: *āsa*.

² Chakravarti says that the letter looks like *ra* on the rock.

³ According to Chakravarti, the letter looks like *asa* on the rock.

⁴ Chakravarti: *palata*.

Rock Edict V

(in the middle)

1. (I) Devānarīpiye Piyadasi lāṣa bevaṇi ā[hā] [i*] (II) kayāne dukale [i*] (III) e [ā]di-kale kayānasa se dukalā [i*] kaletī [i*] (IV) se mamay[ā] taha kayāne kaṣe [i*] (V) [ta] mama pu[ta]-mātāle [mahān cha te hi āpa]tiye me
2. *āva-kapaṇi tathā anuvatisanti se sukataṃ kachhu[mā] [i*] (VI) e oḥa hetā deṣaṃ pi [hā]payisanti se dukataṃ [ka*]khatī [i*] (VII) pāpe hi nāma supadālaye [i*] (VIII) se ālikanāsa aṇṭalaṇi nō huta-pa[lu]ve [dha]mma-[mahāma]tā [nāma] [i*]
3. (IX) se tedasa-vas-ābhisitena mamaya dhamma-mahām[ā]tā nā[ma] kaṣa [i*] (X) te sava-pāsān[esu] viyāpaṭā dhamm[ā]dhihānāye cha dhamma-vaḍḍhiyā hita-[sukhā]ye cha* dhamma-yuttasa Yo[na*]-Kambo[cha]-Gam[dhā]lā[na]m [La]*thika-Pe-
4. tīnikamaṇi [e] vā pi aṇṇa a[pa]lāntā [i*] (XI) bhātān-ayesa haṃbhan-[i]bhīyesa ānāthesu vuḍḍhesu hita-sukhāye dhamma-yuttānam¹ apa[ḥ]bodh[ā]ye viyāpaṭa te [i*] (XII) haṃdhana-badhassa paṭivudhānāye
5. apalibodhāye sukhaṃye cha [iyam*] ānubandha paṇa[va*] [ti]* vā kaṭ-ābhikāle ti vā ma[hā]lake ti vā viyāpa[ṭā] te [i*] (XIII) hīdā [bā]hilesu cha nagalesu savaṇa [cha] oloḍhānena [bhā]tinam [pi cha me bhaginī]nam cha
6. * vā pi aṇṇa [nā]tike savata viyāpaṭa [i*] (XIV) e iyaṃ dhamma-nisite ti vā dhamma-ādhithāne² ti vā dāna-sayute [ti*] vā sa[va]ta vijitasi mania dhamma-y[uttā]m viyāpa[ṭā] te dhamma-ma[hā]ma[ṭā] [i*] (XV) etāye a[ṭṭhā]ya
7. iyaṃ dhamma-lipi lakkhā chila-ṭhika hotu tathā cha me paṇā anuvatatū³ ti [i*]

TRANSLATION

- (I) Thus saith king **Priyadarśin**, Beloved of the Gods.
- (II) It is difficult to do good (to others).
- (III) He who starts doing good (to others) accomplishes what is difficult (indeed).
- (IV) Many a good deed has, however, been performed by me.
- (V) And (among) my sons and grandsons and the generations coming after them till the destruction of the world, (those who) will follow (this course) in the said manner will do an act of merit.
- (VI) But whosoever amongst them will abandon even a part of it will do an act of demerit.
- (VII) It is indeed easy to commit sin.
- (VIII) And formerly, in the ages gone by, there were no (officers) called Dharma-Mahāmātras.
- (IX) So indeed I created the (posts of) Dharma-Mahāmātras thirteen years after my coronation.

* Chakravartī : *lehi* z.* There appear to be no letters before this. The Shāhbāgarā version reads here the word *śāśānanti* additionally.* Chakravartī : *śāśānanti*.* Chakravartī : *notum* that the letter *h* looks like *le* on the rock.* Chakravartī : *paṭṭhā*.* Chakravartī : *paṭṭhā*.* Chakravartī : *ādhithāne*.* Chakravartī : *anuvatatū*.

ERRAGUDI EDICTS OF ASOKA

Rock Edicts XI, V and VII [Boulder A-1 (i. e. northern face of Boulder A)]

XI

VII

2

2

2

4

4

4

6

6

V

2

4

6

Scale : One-sixth

IV

2

4

6

8

10

12

14

VIII

2

4

X

2

4

2

4

6

8

10

12

14

2

4

2

4

(X) These (officers) are occupied with all the religious sects¹ for the establishment of Dharma and for the promotion of Dharma as well as for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to Dharma (even) among the Yavanas, Kāmbojas and Gandhāras, the Rāshtrikas and Pāṭṛyanikas and other peoples dwelling about the western borders (of my dominions).

(XI) They are occupied (not only) with the welfare and happiness of the servile class and the Aryas (i.e. the traders and agriculturists) as well as the Brāhmanas and the ruling class² and likewise of the destitute and the aged, (but also) with the release of the adherents of Dharma (amongst them) from fetters.

(XII) They are (similarly) engaged with the fettered persons (in the prisons, for working in) the following order: for the distribution of money to those amongst them who are encumbered with progeny, for the unfettering of those who have (committed crimes) under the instigation (of others),³ and for the release of those who are aged.

(XIII) They are engaged everywhere—here⁴ and elsewhere in all the towns, in the households of my brothers and sisters and other relatives.

(XIV) These Dharma-Mahāmūrtas are engaged everywhere in my dominions amongst the adherents of Dharma (to determine) whether a person is (only) inclined towards Dharma or is (fully) established in Dharma or is given to charity.

(XV) This record relating to Dharma has been written (on stone) for the (following) purpose, (viz.) that (it) may last for a long time and that my descendants may conform to it.

Rock Edict VII

(at the upper right corner)

- 1 (I) Devānampīyasa Piyadasi jāṇa savata lebhati
- 2 sav(e) p[ā]śādaṁ vasesu []* (II) sāva hi te sayamaṁ bhāva-suddhiṁ cha
- 3 lebhanti []* (III) jāṇa cha ucha-vuṇa-chāraṇa ucha-māṇigale []* (IV) te savam eka-
- 4 desam⁵
- 5 pi lebhanti []* (V) vipula pi cha d[ā]sa-asa-nāthi sayama bhāva-suddhi-kīrtanata cha
- 6 diḍḍha-bhātitaṁ cha niche bāḍham []*

TRANSLATION

(I) King Priyadarśin, Beloved of the Gods, wishes that all religious sects should live (harmoniously) everywhere (in all parts of his dominions).

(II) In fact, all of them desire (to achieve) self-control and purity of thought.

(III) People, however, are of diverse inclinations and diverse passions.

(IV) They will perform either the whole or only a part (of their duty).

(V) However, even if (a person practices) great liberality but does not possess self-control, purity of thought, gratitude and firm devotion, (he is) quite worthless.

¹ The word *pāśāda* stands for Sanskrit *pārshada*.

² For this interpretation of the four classes of people, see *Sāhi Inscriptions*, p. 24.

³ Cf. *Jak. Cult.* Vol. VII, p. 489: *Sāhi Inscriptions*, p. 25.

⁴ The Gümār text has 'at Pataliputra' in place of this word.

⁵ Better read *śāśana-lāpa* in conformity with the other versions.

⁶ The reading intended is *śāśana nā eka-desam vā*.

(II) During such (tours), hunting and other pastimes of the kind used to be (enjoyed by them).

(III) Now, king **Priyadarśin**, Beloved of the Gods, visited **Sambodhi** ten years after his coronation.

(IV) Thence started these pilgrimages for Dharma.

(V) During these (pilgrimages), the following take place, (viz.) visiting the Śramanas and Brāhmanas and making gifts (to them), meeting the aged and making provision of money (for them), and contacting the people of the countryside, instructing (them) in Dharma and discussing (with them) the principles of Dharma, this being conducive to the (above, i.e. their initiation into Dharma).

(VI) This is the supreme delight to king **Priyadarśin**, Beloved of the Gods.

(VII) (All his) other (pleasures) are inferior (to this).¹

Rock Edict X

(at the bottom)

- 1 (I) **Devānampīye Piyaḍasi** lāja yaso vā kiññi vā no mahattha-vaharā² manati amutaṁ taḍātāye
āyatiyā cha jame dhamma-saṁsāsaṁ
2 musasatu me dhamma-yu(vuttas) cha anuvijhiyāṁ [B] [1*] (II) etākkāye³ **Devānampī[ye]**
Piyaḍasi lāja yaso vā kiññi vā icchati⁴ [1*]
3 (III) [yama] cha kicchī palakamati **Devānampīye Piyaḍasi** lāja savaṁ taṁ palatikkā[ye vā]
kūṭi sakale apa-pālisave [āyā]ti
4 [ti]⁵ [1*] (IV) esa cūṇ paḷisave-saṁsaṁ [1*] (V) dukale [chu⁶ kho] ova khindakoma va vagonū⁷
usāṭena va uttama[ta] agama palakamvā
5 savaṁ palitijitū [1*] (VI) heta cūṇ kho usāṭena-eva dukale [1*]

TRANSLATION

(I) King **Priyadarśin**, Beloved of the Gods, does not consider either glory (in this life) or fame (after death) as of great consequence, except (in regard to) the following, (viz.) that, at present as well as in future, the people (of his dominions) would practise obedience to Dharma (as instructed) by him⁸ and also that they would act in accordance with the principles of Dharma.

(II) On this account (alone), king **Priyadarśin**, Beloved of the Gods, desires glory and fame.

(III) Whatever endeavours are made by king **Priyadarśin**, Beloved of the Gods, all those are made only for the sake of (the people's happiness in) the other world (and) in order that all men should have little pollution.

(IV) And what is sinful is pollution.

¹ For this interpretation, see *Select Inscriptions*, p. 28; *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VII, p. 487.

² Chakravarti: "A little space is left after him which could not be inscribed owing to a depression in the rock."

³ Chakravarti: "Before & a little space is left, enough for one letter which could not be engraved." But the impressions do not indicate this.

⁴ Chakravarti: *icchā*(3)ti.

⁵ Chakravarti does not notice this letter.

⁶ Chakravarti: *uṣṭena*.

⁷ The original has *me*, i.e. 'by me', here.

(V) This (*freedom from pollution*) is indeed difficult to achieve both for the poor class and the rich² if they do not make great efforts by renouncing all (*other aims*).

(VI) Between (*the two classes*), (*this*) is certainly (*more*) difficult for the rich (*to achieve*).

ROCK EDICT XIII

[BOULDER B-1 (i.e. LEFT HALF OF BOULDER B) AND BOULDER C]

(Boulder B-1: lines 1-29)

- 1 (I) [a]ṭṭha[-vas-ābhūta] Devānāṃpiyasa piyadasine
- 2 [lā]ṇine Kaligā [vā]jā [I*] (II) diya[ḍḍa]-na[ḍḍe] pāna [-sa]ṭṭa [-sa]-
- 3 [ḥa]so [ta]ḥḥā spavāḍḍhe nate-sahas-m[ḍḍ]t[ḥ] tana hata bahu-
- 4 tā[ra]ṭṭa[ḥe] [va] sa[ḥe] [I*] (III) [ṭa]ṭe paḥḥā a[ḍḍa]nā ladda[sa] Kaligā[ḥe]
- 5 [ṭa]ṭe dha[mā]mā[-vā]ḥa dha[mā]mā-kāma[ṭā] dha[mā]mā-ann[ṭa]ḥi cha Devānāṃpi[ya]-
sa [I*]
- 6 (IV) so atṭṭi [I*] [mā]ṭṭe Dev[ā]nāṃpiya[sa] vijin[ṭa] Kaligāni [I*] (V) [a]vijitāni [ḥi]
- 7 [vij]i[ṭa]māsa [e] tade vadha [vā] māḥaṇa vāṇa[va]ḥe [vā] jaṇasa so bāḥaṇa vedaniya-
ma[ḥe]
- 8 [ku]ḥḥa[ṭṭe] cha Devānāṃpiyasa [I*] (VI) [vā]ṇa [p]i cha tat[ḥe] gūḥa-ma[va-ṭa]ḥi Devānāṃ-
piya[sa]
- 9 e tata vasaṭṭi [vā]ḥa[ṭṭe] v[ā]ḥa sāmaṇ[ḍ] v[ā]ḥa s[ṭ]ṭa[ḥe] va pāṇa[ḍ] gūḥa[ḥi] va [yo*]ḥu
vib[ḥi]ṭā
- 10 [sa] āgāḥḥi [I*] [vā]ḥa māt[ḥ] [p]i[ḥu]ḥa[ḥi] sa gūḥa-māḥi nita[-sa]ḥḥa-saḥya-
- 11 nāḥi[sa] d[ḥ]ḥa-bha[ḥi]ṭa māt[ḥ] pāṇa[ḥi] d[ḥ]ḥa-bha[ḥi]ṭa cha [e]ḥa³ tatā hūḥi [upagāḥ]ṭe
va vadha vā
- 12 [abhi]ṭa[nā]ḥi va vāṇi khaṇaṇa [I*] (VII) [yena] vā p[ā] s[ṭ]ṭi[ḥi]ṭa[nā]ḥi [a]ḥe av[ḥi]ṭaṇa
e tānaḥ [mā]ḥiṭa
- 13 [ḥu]ḥa-saḥya-māḥi vāṇaṇa p[ā]ḥa[ḥi]ṭa [ṭa]ṭe [p]i tānaḥ-eva u[ḥ]ḥaḥi [ḥi]ṭa [I*]
(VIII) p[ā]ḥi[ḥi]ṭa[ḥi]ṭa cha vā
- 14 [sa]va-mānu[ḥ]ḥa p[ā]ḥiṭa cha Devānāṃpiyasa [I*] (IX) nāḥi cha [e]ḥi jāna[ḥi]ṭa a[ḥi]
nāḥiḥi [mā]ḥiṭa a[ḥi]ṭa

¹ The word *uḥḥa* literally means 'the people of high status'.

² Chakravarti: "The letter *sa* is completely effaced on the rock."

³ Chakravarti: "The letter *hū* is very faintly traceable on the rock."

⁴ It seems that *pāṇa* here is corrected to *ṭ*. Chakravarti: *example pāṇa*.

⁵ Chakravarti says that the letter looks like *sa* on the rock. He reads *sa* *sa*.

⁶ According to Chakravarti, the letter looks like *pā* on the rock.

⁷ Chakravarti: "The last four letters of the line are rubbed off on the rock."

⁸ Chakravarti reads the *sa* remarks, "The last letter looks like *sa* due to a protrusion on the rock."

- 15 [Yone¹⁴u] hā¹⁵phane¹⁶ dā¹⁷ samane¹⁸ cha¹⁹ [i²⁰] (X) māl²¹ nath²² cha²³ kovāpi²⁴ janapada²⁵(a) a[ta²⁶ na²⁷thi²⁸
[munā²⁹]mā³⁰ s[ata³¹hā³²pi³³]
- 16 [pā³⁴arū³⁵(a³⁶) no nāma³⁷ pāsāde³⁸] [i³⁹] (XI) [a⁴⁰] s[ā⁴¹va⁴²]take⁴³ jana⁴⁴ tad[ā⁴⁵] **Kali⁴⁶gawu** [ha⁴⁷]te⁴⁸ cha⁴⁹ mātē⁵⁰
chā⁵¹ apā⁵²vud⁵³he⁵⁴ chā⁵⁵ tātē⁵⁶ sata⁵⁷-hā⁵⁸ge⁵⁹ vā⁶⁰
- 17 [pā⁶¹hā⁶²-hā⁶³ge⁶⁴ vā⁶⁵ a⁶⁶]ja⁶⁷ gu⁶⁸h-matē⁶⁹ vā⁷⁰] **Devānārīpiyasa** [i⁷¹] (XII) e⁷²-pi⁷³ a⁷⁴ja⁷⁵ a[ja⁷⁶]kaleya⁷⁷
khamatā⁷⁸vīya⁷⁹-mā⁸⁰ [te⁸¹ vā⁸² **Devānārīpiyena**]
- 18 [yau⁸³ sa⁸⁴[kū⁸⁵re⁸⁶ khamitāya⁸⁷] [i⁸⁸] (XIII) [ā⁸⁹pi⁹⁰ cha⁹¹] a⁹²ya⁹³ **Devānārīpiyasa** vijitā⁹⁴ hoti⁹⁵ [tā⁹⁶ pi⁹⁷
annayati⁹⁸ annu⁹⁹]hā¹⁰⁰pya¹⁰¹]
- 19 [u¹⁰²ti¹⁰³] [i¹⁰⁴] (XIV) [anutā¹⁰⁵pi¹⁰⁶] pi¹⁰⁷ cha¹⁰⁸ pā¹⁰⁹hāre¹¹⁰ **Devānārīpiyasa** vuchati¹¹¹tesam¹¹² [kī¹¹³]ti¹¹⁴ avata-
peya¹¹⁵ m¹¹⁶ pi¹¹⁷ [cha¹¹⁸ hā¹¹⁹]pā¹²⁰
- 20 [ya¹²¹] [i¹²²] (XV) [ichhā¹²³ti¹²⁴] hā¹²⁵ **Devānārīpiye** sata¹²⁶-[hā¹²⁷]tā¹²⁸nā¹²⁹ a¹³⁰chātī¹³¹ s¹³²ayanmā¹³³ sām¹³⁴-archā¹³⁵[hā¹³⁶]-
- 21 [yau¹³⁷ mātāyau¹³⁸] [i¹³⁹] (XVI) [yau¹⁴⁰ jēhu¹⁴¹ mātāya¹⁴²]soma¹⁴³[te¹⁴⁴] vija¹⁴⁵[r] **Devānārīpiyasa** s¹⁴⁶ dham¹⁴⁷ ¹⁴⁸
- 22 mā¹⁴⁹ vijaye¹⁵⁰ [i¹⁵¹] (XVII) s¹⁵² mātā¹⁵³ hā¹⁵⁴re¹⁵⁵ **Devānārīpiyasa** hā¹⁵⁶da¹⁵⁷ [vā¹⁵⁸] hā¹⁵⁹cha¹⁶⁰ [sare¹⁶¹]sā¹⁶² cha¹⁶³ a¹⁶⁴-
[tesu¹⁶⁵] ā¹⁶⁶ [mā¹⁶⁷yo¹⁶⁸]
- 23 [jā¹⁶⁹hā¹⁷⁰sa¹⁷¹tesu¹⁷²] **Amītyake** nama¹⁷³ Y[o¹⁷⁴]na¹⁷⁵-[ā¹⁷⁶]ja¹⁷⁷ [pā¹⁷⁸lām¹⁷⁹] [p]i¹⁸⁰ ¹⁸¹ti¹⁸² ¹⁸³ti¹⁸⁴ ¹⁸⁵ti¹⁸⁶ ¹⁸⁷ti¹⁸⁸ ¹⁸⁹ti¹⁹⁰ ¹⁹¹ti¹⁹² ¹⁹³ti¹⁹⁴ ¹⁹⁵ti¹⁹⁶ ¹⁹⁷ti¹⁹⁸ ¹⁹⁹ti²⁰⁰ ²⁰¹ti²⁰² ²⁰³ti²⁰⁴ ²⁰⁵ti²⁰⁶ ²⁰⁷ti²⁰⁸ ²⁰⁹ti²¹⁰ ²¹¹ti²¹² ²¹³ti²¹⁴ ²¹⁵ti²¹⁶ ²¹⁷ti²¹⁸ ²¹⁹ti²²⁰ ²²¹ti²²² ²²³ti²²⁴ ²²⁵ti²²⁶ ²²⁷ti²²⁸ ²²⁹ti²³⁰ ²³¹ti²³² ²³³ti²³⁴ ²³⁵ti²³⁶ ²³⁷ti²³⁸ ²³⁹ti²⁴⁰ ²⁴¹ti²⁴² ²⁴³ti²⁴⁴ ²⁴⁵ti²⁴⁶ ²⁴⁷ti²⁴⁸ ²⁴⁹ti²⁵⁰ ²⁵¹ti²⁵² ²⁵³ti²⁵⁴ ²⁵⁵ti²⁵⁶ ²⁵⁷ti²⁵⁸ ²⁵⁹ti²⁶⁰ ²⁶¹ti²⁶² ²⁶³ti²⁶⁴ ²⁶⁵ti²⁶⁶ ²⁶⁷ti²⁶⁸ ²⁶⁹ti²⁷⁰ ²⁷¹ti²⁷² ²⁷³ti²⁷⁴ ²⁷⁵ti²⁷⁶ ²⁷⁷ti²⁷⁸ ²⁷⁹ti²⁸⁰ ²⁸¹ti²⁸² ²⁸³ti²⁸⁴ ²⁸⁵ti²⁸⁶ ²⁸⁷ti²⁸⁸ ²⁸⁹ti²⁹⁰ ²⁹¹ti²⁹² ²⁹³ti²⁹⁴ ²⁹⁵ti²⁹⁶ ²⁹⁷ti²⁹⁸ ²⁹⁹ti³⁰⁰ ³⁰¹ti³⁰² ³⁰³ti³⁰⁴ ³⁰⁵ti³⁰⁶ ³⁰⁷ti³⁰⁸ ³⁰⁹ti³¹⁰ ³¹¹ti³¹² ³¹³ti³¹⁴ ³¹⁵ti³¹⁶ ³¹⁷ti³¹⁸ ³¹⁹ti³²⁰ ³²¹ti³²² ³²³ti³²⁴ ³²⁵ti³²⁶ ³²⁷ti³²⁸ ³²⁹ti³³⁰ ³³¹ti³³² ³³³ti³³⁴ ³³⁵ti³³⁶ ³³⁷ti³³⁸ ³³⁹ti³⁴⁰ ³⁴¹ti³⁴² ³⁴³ti³⁴⁴ ³⁴⁵ti³⁴⁶ ³⁴⁷ti³⁴⁸ ³⁴⁹ti³⁵⁰ ³⁵¹ti³⁵² ³⁵³ti³⁵⁴ ³⁵⁵ti³⁵⁶ ³⁵⁷ti³⁵⁸ ³⁵⁹ti³⁶⁰ ³⁶¹ti³⁶² ³⁶³ti³⁶⁴ ³⁶⁵ti³⁶⁶ ³⁶⁷ti³⁶⁸ ³⁶⁹ti³⁷⁰ ³⁷¹ti³⁷² ³⁷³ti³⁷⁴ ³⁷⁵ti³⁷⁶ ³⁷⁷ti³⁷⁸ ³⁷⁹ti³⁸⁰ ³⁸¹ti³⁸² ³⁸³ti³⁸⁴ ³⁸⁵ti³⁸⁶ ³⁸⁷ti³⁸⁸ ³⁸⁹ti³⁹⁰ ³⁹¹ti³⁹² ³⁹³ti³⁹⁴ ³⁹⁵ti³⁹⁶ ³⁹⁷ti³⁹⁸ ³⁹⁹ti⁴⁰⁰ ⁴⁰¹ti⁴⁰² ⁴⁰³ti⁴⁰⁴ ⁴⁰⁵ti⁴⁰⁶ ⁴⁰⁷ti⁴⁰⁸ ⁴⁰⁹ti⁴¹⁰ ⁴¹¹ti⁴¹² ⁴¹³ti⁴¹⁴ ⁴¹⁵ti⁴¹⁶ ⁴¹⁷ti⁴¹⁸ ⁴¹⁹ti⁴²⁰ ⁴²¹ti⁴²² ⁴²³ti⁴²⁴ ⁴²⁵ti⁴²⁶ ⁴²⁷ti⁴²⁸ ⁴²⁹ti⁴³⁰ ⁴³¹ti⁴³² ⁴³³ti⁴³⁴ ⁴³⁵ti⁴³⁶ ⁴³⁷ti⁴³⁸ ⁴³⁹ti⁴⁴⁰ ⁴⁴¹ti⁴⁴² ⁴⁴³ti⁴⁴⁴ ⁴⁴⁵ti⁴⁴⁶ ⁴⁴⁷ti⁴⁴⁸ ⁴⁴⁹ti⁴⁵⁰ ⁴⁵¹ti⁴⁵² ⁴⁵³ti⁴⁵⁴ ⁴⁵⁵ti⁴⁵⁶ ⁴⁵⁷ti⁴⁵⁸ ⁴⁵⁹ti⁴⁶⁰ ⁴⁶¹ti⁴⁶² ⁴⁶³ti⁴⁶⁴ ⁴⁶⁵ti⁴⁶⁶ ⁴⁶⁷ti⁴⁶⁸ ⁴⁶⁹ti⁴⁷⁰ ⁴⁷¹ti⁴⁷² ⁴⁷³ti⁴⁷⁴ ⁴⁷⁵ti⁴⁷⁶ ⁴⁷⁷ti⁴⁷⁸ ⁴⁷⁹ti⁴⁸⁰ ⁴⁸¹ti⁴⁸² ⁴⁸³ti⁴⁸⁴ ⁴⁸⁵ti⁴⁸⁶ ⁴⁸⁷ti⁴⁸⁸ ⁴⁸⁹ti⁴⁹⁰ ⁴⁹¹ti⁴⁹² ⁴⁹³ti⁴⁹⁴ ⁴⁹⁵ti⁴⁹⁶ ⁴⁹⁷ti⁴⁹⁸ ⁴⁹⁹ti⁵⁰⁰ ⁵⁰¹ti⁵⁰² ⁵⁰³ti⁵⁰⁴ ⁵⁰⁵ti⁵⁰⁶ ⁵⁰⁷ti⁵⁰⁸ ⁵⁰⁹ti⁵¹⁰ ⁵¹¹ti⁵¹² ⁵¹³ti⁵¹⁴ ⁵¹⁵ti⁵¹⁶ ⁵¹⁷ti⁵¹⁸ ⁵¹⁹ti⁵²⁰ ⁵²¹ti⁵²² ⁵²³ti⁵²⁴ ⁵²⁵ti⁵²⁶ ⁵²⁷ti⁵²⁸ ⁵²⁹ti⁵³⁰ ⁵³¹ti⁵³² ⁵³³ti⁵³⁴ ⁵³⁵ti⁵³⁶ ⁵³⁷ti⁵³⁸ ⁵³⁹ti⁵⁴⁰ ⁵⁴¹ti⁵⁴² ⁵⁴³ti⁵⁴⁴ ⁵⁴⁵ti⁵⁴⁶ ⁵⁴⁷ti⁵⁴⁸ ⁵⁴⁹ti⁵⁵⁰ ⁵⁵¹ti⁵⁵² ⁵⁵³ti⁵⁵⁴ ⁵⁵⁵ti⁵⁵⁶ ⁵⁵⁷ti⁵⁵⁸ ⁵⁵⁹ti⁵⁶⁰ ⁵⁶¹ti⁵⁶² ⁵⁶³ti⁵⁶⁴ ⁵⁶⁵ti⁵⁶⁶ ⁵⁶⁷ti⁵⁶⁸ ⁵⁶⁹ti⁵⁷⁰ ⁵⁷¹ti⁵⁷² ⁵⁷³ti⁵⁷⁴ ⁵⁷⁵ti⁵⁷⁶ ⁵⁷⁷ti⁵⁷⁸ ⁵⁷⁹ti⁵⁸⁰ ⁵⁸¹ti⁵⁸² ⁵⁸³ti⁵⁸⁴ ⁵⁸⁵ti⁵⁸⁶ ⁵⁸⁷ti⁵⁸⁸ ⁵⁸⁹ti⁵⁹⁰ ⁵⁹¹ti⁵⁹² ⁵⁹³ti⁵⁹⁴ ⁵⁹⁵ti⁵⁹⁶ ⁵⁹⁷ti⁵⁹⁸ ⁵⁹⁹ti⁶⁰⁰ ⁶⁰¹ti⁶⁰² ⁶⁰³ti⁶⁰⁴ ⁶⁰⁵ti⁶⁰⁶ ⁶⁰⁷ti⁶⁰⁸ ⁶⁰⁹ti⁶¹⁰ ⁶¹¹ti⁶¹² ⁶¹³ti⁶¹⁴ ⁶¹⁵ti⁶¹⁶ ⁶¹⁷ti⁶¹⁸ ⁶¹⁹ti⁶²⁰ ⁶²¹ti⁶²² ⁶²³ti⁶²⁴ ⁶²⁵ti⁶²⁶ ⁶²⁷ti⁶²⁸ ⁶²⁹ti⁶³⁰ ⁶³¹ti⁶³² ⁶³³ti⁶³⁴ ⁶³⁵ti⁶³⁶ ⁶³⁷ti⁶³⁸ ⁶³⁹ti⁶⁴⁰ ⁶⁴¹ti⁶⁴² ⁶⁴³ti⁶⁴⁴ ⁶⁴⁵ti⁶⁴⁶ ⁶⁴⁷ti⁶⁴⁸ ⁶⁴⁹ti⁶⁵⁰ ⁶⁵¹ti⁶⁵² ⁶⁵³ti⁶⁵⁴ ⁶⁵⁵ti⁶⁵⁶ ⁶⁵⁷ti⁶⁵⁸ ⁶⁵⁹ti⁶⁶⁰ ⁶⁶¹ti⁶⁶² ⁶⁶³ti⁶⁶⁴ ⁶⁶⁵ti⁶⁶⁶ ⁶⁶⁷ti⁶⁶⁸ ⁶⁶⁹ti⁶⁷⁰ ⁶⁷¹ti⁶⁷² ⁶⁷³ti⁶⁷⁴ ⁶⁷⁵ti⁶⁷⁶ ⁶⁷⁷ti⁶⁷⁸ ⁶⁷⁹ti⁶⁸⁰ ⁶⁸¹ti⁶⁸² ⁶⁸³ti⁶⁸⁴ ⁶⁸⁵ti⁶⁸⁶ ⁶⁸⁷ti⁶⁸⁸ ⁶⁸⁹ti⁶⁹⁰ ⁶⁹¹ti⁶⁹² ⁶⁹³ti⁶⁹⁴ ⁶⁹⁵ti⁶⁹⁶ ⁶⁹⁷ti⁶⁹⁸ ⁶⁹⁹ti⁷⁰⁰ ⁷⁰¹ti⁷⁰² ⁷⁰³ti⁷⁰⁴ ⁷⁰⁵ti⁷⁰⁶ ⁷⁰⁷ti⁷⁰⁸ ⁷⁰⁹ti⁷¹⁰ ⁷¹¹ti⁷¹² ⁷¹³ti⁷¹⁴ ⁷¹⁵ti⁷¹⁶ ⁷¹⁷ti⁷¹⁸ ⁷¹⁹ti⁷²⁰ ⁷²¹ti⁷²² ⁷²³ti⁷²⁴ ⁷²⁵ti⁷²⁶ ⁷²⁷ti⁷²⁸ ⁷²⁹ti⁷³⁰ ⁷³¹ti⁷³² ⁷³³ti⁷³⁴ ⁷³⁵ti⁷³⁶ ⁷³⁷ti⁷³⁸ ⁷³⁹ti⁷⁴⁰ ⁷⁴¹ti⁷⁴² ⁷⁴³ti⁷⁴⁴ ⁷⁴⁵ti⁷⁴⁶ ⁷⁴⁷ti⁷⁴⁸ ⁷⁴⁹ti⁷⁵⁰ ⁷⁵¹ti⁷⁵² ⁷⁵³ti⁷⁵⁴ ⁷⁵⁵ti⁷⁵⁶ ⁷⁵⁷ti⁷⁵⁸ ⁷⁵⁹ti⁷⁶⁰ ⁷⁶¹ti⁷⁶² ⁷⁶³ti⁷⁶⁴ ⁷⁶⁵ti⁷⁶⁶ ⁷⁶⁷ti⁷⁶⁸ ⁷⁶⁹ti⁷⁷⁰ ⁷⁷¹ti⁷⁷² ⁷⁷³ti⁷⁷⁴ ⁷⁷⁵ti⁷⁷⁶ ⁷⁷⁷ti⁷⁷⁸ ⁷⁷⁹ti⁷⁸⁰ ⁷⁸¹ti⁷⁸² ⁷⁸³ti⁷⁸⁴ ⁷⁸⁵ti⁷⁸⁶ ⁷⁸⁷ti⁷⁸⁸ ⁷⁸⁹ti⁷⁹⁰ ⁷⁹¹ti⁷⁹² ⁷⁹³ti⁷⁹⁴ ⁷⁹⁵ti⁷⁹⁶ ⁷⁹⁷ti⁷⁹⁸ ⁷⁹⁹ti⁸⁰⁰ ⁸⁰¹ti⁸⁰² ⁸⁰³ti⁸⁰⁴ ⁸⁰⁵ti⁸⁰⁶ ⁸⁰⁷ti⁸⁰⁸ ⁸⁰⁹ti⁸¹⁰ ⁸¹¹ti⁸¹² ⁸¹³ti⁸¹⁴ ⁸¹⁵ti⁸¹⁶ ⁸¹⁷ti⁸¹⁸ ⁸¹⁹ti⁸²⁰ ⁸²¹ti⁸²² ⁸²³ti⁸²⁴ ⁸²⁵ti⁸²⁶ ⁸²⁷ti⁸²⁸ ⁸²⁹ti⁸³⁰ ⁸³¹ti⁸³² ⁸³³ti⁸³⁴ ⁸³⁵ti⁸³⁶ ⁸³⁷ti⁸³⁸ ⁸³⁹ti⁸⁴⁰ ⁸⁴¹ti⁸⁴² ⁸⁴³ti⁸⁴⁴ ⁸⁴⁵ti⁸⁴⁶ ⁸⁴⁷ti⁸⁴⁸ ⁸⁴⁹ti⁸⁵⁰ ⁸⁵¹ti⁸⁵² ⁸⁵³ti⁸⁵⁴ ⁸⁵⁵ti⁸⁵⁶ ⁸⁵⁷ti⁸⁵⁸ ⁸⁵⁹ti⁸⁶⁰ ⁸⁶¹ti⁸⁶² ⁸⁶³ti⁸⁶⁴ ⁸⁶⁵ti⁸⁶⁶ ⁸⁶⁷ti⁸⁶⁸ ⁸⁶⁹ti⁸⁷⁰ ⁸⁷¹ti⁸⁷² ⁸⁷³ti⁸⁷⁴ ⁸⁷⁵ti⁸⁷⁶ ⁸⁷⁷ti⁸⁷⁸ ⁸⁷⁹ti⁸⁸⁰ ⁸⁸¹ti⁸⁸² ⁸⁸³ti⁸⁸⁴ ⁸⁸⁵ti⁸⁸⁶ ⁸⁸⁷ti⁸⁸⁸ ⁸⁸⁹ti⁸⁹⁰ ⁸⁹¹ti⁸⁹² ⁸⁹³ti⁸⁹⁴ ⁸⁹⁵ti⁸⁹⁶ ⁸⁹⁷ti⁸⁹⁸ ⁸⁹⁹ti⁹⁰⁰ ⁹⁰¹ti⁹⁰² ⁹⁰³ti⁹⁰⁴ ⁹⁰⁵ti⁹⁰⁶ ⁹⁰⁷ti⁹⁰⁸ ⁹⁰⁹ti⁹¹⁰ ⁹¹¹ti⁹¹² ⁹¹³ti⁹¹⁴ ⁹¹⁵ti⁹¹⁶ ⁹¹⁷ti⁹¹⁸ ⁹¹⁹ti⁹²⁰ ⁹²¹ti⁹²² ⁹²³ti⁹²⁴ ⁹²⁵ti⁹²⁶ ⁹²⁷ti⁹²⁸ ⁹²⁹ti⁹³⁰ ⁹³¹ti⁹³² ⁹³³ti⁹³⁴ ⁹³⁵ti⁹³⁶ ⁹³⁷ti⁹³⁸ ⁹³⁹ti⁹⁴⁰ ⁹⁴¹ti⁹⁴² ⁹⁴³ti⁹⁴⁴ ⁹⁴⁵ti⁹⁴⁶ ⁹⁴⁷ti⁹⁴⁸ ⁹⁴⁹ti⁹⁵⁰ ⁹⁵¹ti⁹⁵² ⁹⁵³ti⁹⁵⁴ ⁹⁵⁵ti⁹⁵⁶ ⁹⁵⁷ti⁹⁵⁸ ⁹⁵⁹ti⁹⁶⁰ ⁹⁶¹ti⁹⁶² ⁹⁶³ti⁹⁶⁴ ⁹⁶⁵ti⁹⁶⁶ ⁹⁶⁷ti⁹⁶⁸ ⁹⁶⁹ti⁹⁷⁰ ⁹⁷¹ti⁹⁷² ⁹⁷³ti⁹⁷⁴ ⁹⁷⁵ti⁹⁷⁶ ⁹⁷⁷ti⁹⁷⁸ ⁹⁷⁹ti⁹⁸⁰ ⁹⁸¹ti⁹⁸² ⁹⁸³ti⁹⁸⁴ ⁹⁸⁵ti⁹⁸⁶ ⁹⁸⁷ti⁹⁸⁸ ⁹⁸⁹ti⁹⁹⁰ ⁹⁹¹ti⁹⁹² ⁹⁹³ti⁹⁹⁴ ⁹⁹⁵ti⁹⁹⁶ ⁹⁹⁷ti⁹⁹⁸ ⁹⁹⁹ti¹⁰⁰⁰ ¹⁰⁰¹ti¹⁰⁰² ¹⁰⁰³ti¹⁰⁰⁴ ¹⁰⁰⁵ti¹⁰⁰⁶ ¹⁰⁰⁷ti¹⁰⁰⁸ ¹⁰⁰⁹ti¹⁰¹⁰ ¹⁰¹¹ti¹⁰¹² ¹⁰¹³ti¹⁰¹⁴ ¹⁰¹⁵ti¹⁰¹⁶ ¹⁰¹⁷ti¹⁰¹⁸ ¹⁰¹⁹ti¹⁰²⁰ ¹⁰²¹ti¹⁰²² ¹⁰²³ti¹⁰²⁴ ¹⁰²⁵ti¹⁰²⁶ ¹⁰²⁷ti¹⁰²⁸ ¹⁰²⁹ti¹⁰³⁰ ¹⁰³¹ti¹⁰³² ¹⁰³³ti¹⁰³⁴ ¹⁰³⁵ti¹⁰³⁶ ¹⁰³⁷ti¹⁰³⁸ ¹⁰³⁹ti¹⁰⁴⁰ ¹⁰⁴¹ti¹⁰⁴² ¹⁰⁴³ti¹⁰⁴⁴ ¹⁰⁴⁵ti¹⁰⁴⁶ ¹⁰⁴⁷ti¹⁰⁴⁸ ¹⁰⁴⁹ti¹⁰⁵⁰ ¹⁰⁵¹ti¹⁰⁵² ¹⁰⁵³ti¹⁰⁵⁴ ¹⁰⁵⁵ti¹⁰⁵⁶ ¹⁰⁵⁷ti¹⁰⁵⁸ ¹⁰⁵⁹ti¹⁰⁶⁰ ¹⁰⁶¹ti¹⁰⁶² ¹⁰⁶³ti¹⁰⁶⁴ ¹⁰⁶⁵ti¹⁰⁶⁶ ¹⁰⁶⁷ti¹⁰⁶⁸ ¹⁰⁶⁹ti¹⁰⁷⁰ ¹⁰⁷¹ti¹⁰⁷² ¹⁰⁷³ti¹⁰⁷⁴ ¹⁰⁷⁵ti¹⁰⁷⁶ ¹⁰⁷⁷ti¹⁰⁷⁸ ¹⁰⁷⁹ti¹⁰⁸⁰ ¹⁰⁸¹ti¹⁰⁸² ¹⁰⁸³ti¹⁰⁸⁴ ¹⁰⁸⁵ti¹⁰⁸⁶ ¹⁰⁸⁷ti¹⁰⁸⁸ ¹⁰⁸⁹ti¹⁰⁹⁰ ¹⁰⁹¹ti¹⁰⁹² ¹⁰⁹³ti¹⁰⁹⁴ ¹⁰⁹⁵ti¹⁰⁹⁶ ¹⁰⁹⁷ti¹⁰⁹⁸ ¹⁰⁹⁹ti¹¹⁰⁰ ¹¹⁰¹ti¹¹⁰² ¹¹⁰³ti¹¹⁰⁴ ¹¹⁰⁵ti¹¹⁰⁶ ¹¹⁰⁷ti¹¹⁰⁸ ¹¹⁰⁹ti¹¹¹⁰ ¹¹¹¹ti¹¹¹² ¹¹¹³ti¹¹¹⁴ ¹¹¹⁵ti¹¹¹⁶ ¹¹¹⁷ti¹¹¹⁸ ¹¹¹⁹ti¹¹²⁰ ¹¹²¹ti¹¹²² ¹¹²³ti¹¹²⁴ ¹¹²⁵ti¹¹²⁶ ¹¹²⁷ti¹¹²⁸ ¹¹²⁹ti¹¹³⁰ ¹¹³¹ti¹¹³² ¹¹³³ti¹¹³⁴ ¹¹³⁵ti¹¹³⁶ ¹¹³⁷ti¹¹³⁸ ¹¹³⁹ti¹¹⁴⁰ ¹¹⁴¹ti¹¹⁴² ¹¹⁴³ti¹¹⁴⁴ ¹¹⁴⁵ti¹¹⁴⁶ ¹¹⁴⁷ti¹¹⁴⁸ ¹¹⁴⁹ti¹¹⁵⁰ ¹¹⁵¹ti¹¹⁵² ¹¹⁵³ti¹¹⁵⁴ ¹¹⁵⁵ti¹¹⁵⁶ ¹¹⁵⁷ti¹¹⁵⁸ ¹¹⁵⁹ti¹¹⁶⁰ ¹¹⁶¹ti¹¹⁶² ¹¹⁶³ti¹¹⁶⁴ ¹¹⁶⁵ti¹¹⁶⁶ ¹¹⁶⁷ti¹¹⁶⁸ ¹¹⁶⁹ti¹¹⁷⁰ ¹¹⁷¹ti¹¹⁷² ¹¹⁷³ti¹¹⁷⁴ ¹¹⁷⁵ti¹¹⁷⁶ ¹¹⁷⁷ti¹¹⁷⁸ ¹¹⁷⁹ti¹¹⁸⁰ ¹¹⁸¹ti¹¹⁸² ¹¹⁸³ti¹¹⁸⁴ ¹¹⁸⁵ti¹¹⁸⁶ ¹¹⁸⁷ti¹¹⁸⁸ ¹¹⁸⁹ti¹¹⁹⁰ ¹¹⁹¹ti¹¹⁹² ¹¹⁹³ti¹¹⁹⁴ ¹¹⁹⁵ti¹¹⁹⁶ ¹¹⁹⁷ti¹¹⁹⁸ ¹¹⁹⁹ti¹¹⁹⁹

¹ Chakravarti: "The first two letters are rubbed off."

² These two aksharas are redundant.

³ Chakravarti: "The letters hā and hā have been rubbed off."

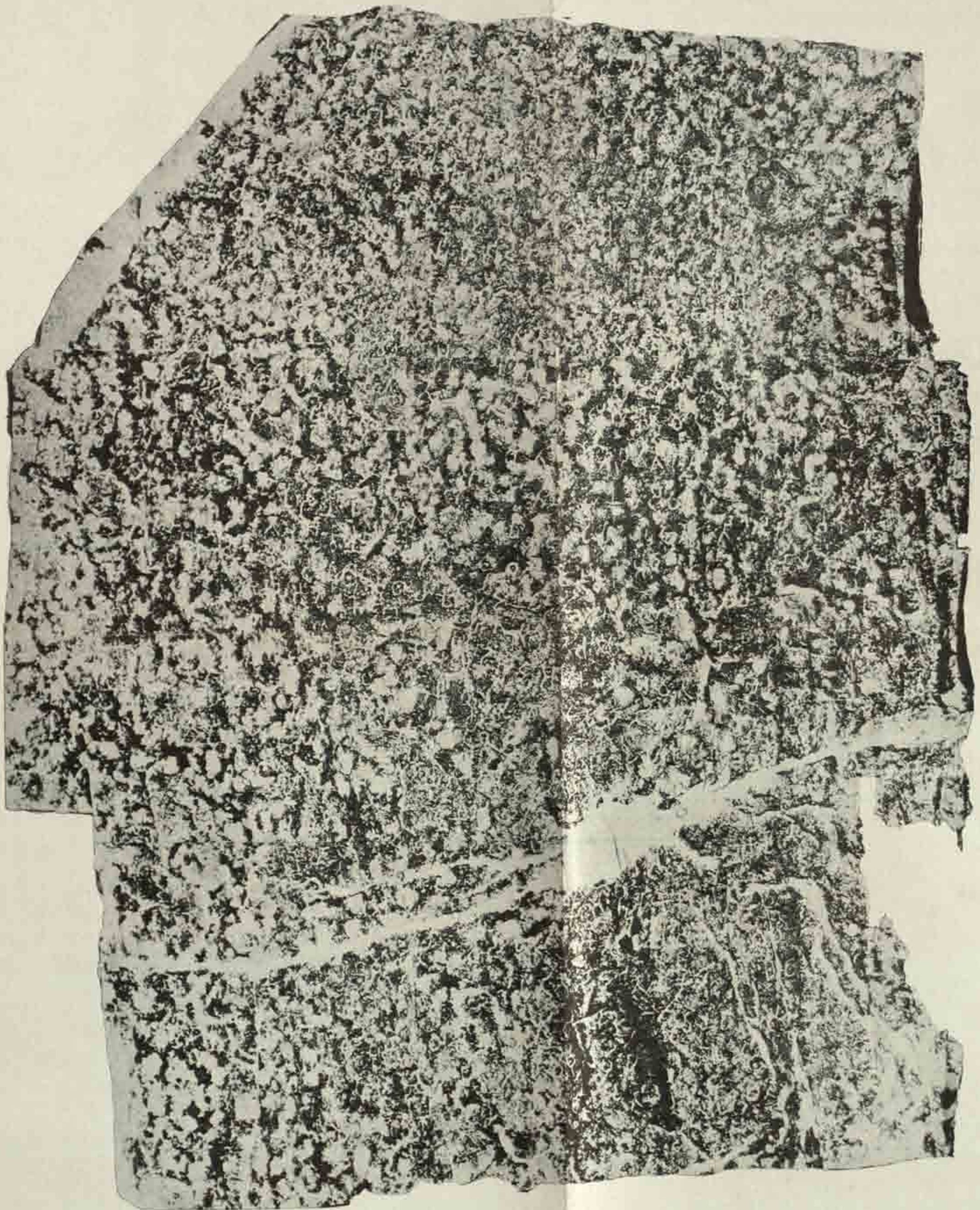
⁴ Chakravarti: "The first three letters are faintly traceable on the rock."

⁵ This akshara is engraved superficially.

⁶ Chakravarti: "There is a dot which may be meant for an unaccented though it is too high up."

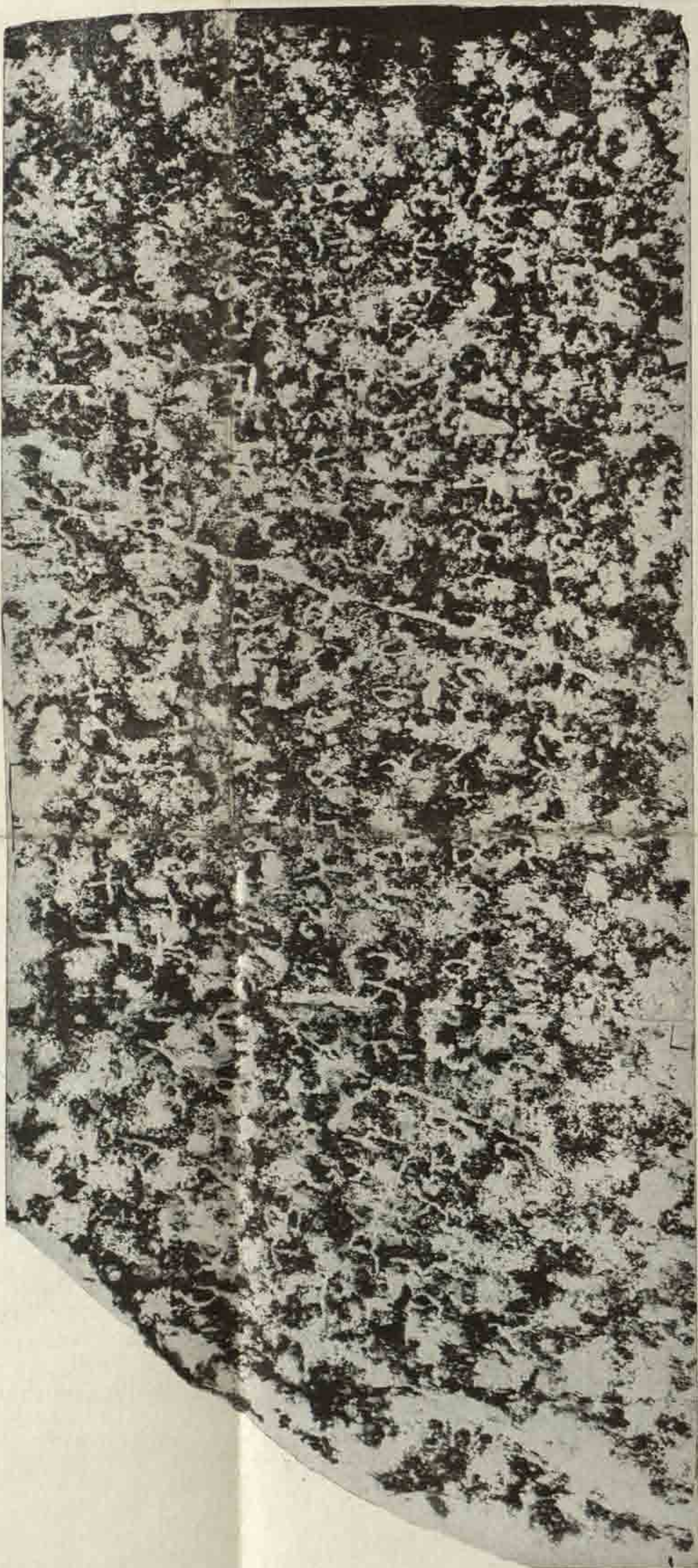
ERRAGUDI EDICTS OF ASOKA

Rock Edict XIII [Boulder B-I (i. e. left half of Boulder B)]



Scale : One-fifth

Rock Edict XIII (contd.) [Boulder C]



Scale : Three-eighths

27 [savata Devā]¹nampiyasa dhammānussathi anuvatanthi. [1*] (XIX) a[ta² pi] dūtā Devā-
na[m]piyasa no yamti

28 te pi sutu Dev[ā]nampiyasa dhamma-vutath viḍhamen dhammānussathi

29 dhammam anuvādhī[saṁti]³ anuvādhīyau[ti]⁴ [c]he[va] va [1*] (XX) [se laha] a[ta] [koma hoti]⁵

[Readley C : text lines 30-36]

30 aa[va]ta vijayo savathit⁶ pana vijay[se] pūti-lase se [1*] (XXI) ladhā s[ā] pti h[ot]ti dhamma-v[ī]j[ā]-

31 yasi [1*] (XXII) lahuk[ā] oha kho s[ā] pti [1*] (XXIII) palatikan-eva mahā-phala[ti] manasati
Devānam-

32 piye [1*] (XXIV) etāye cha [a]thāye iyaṁ dhamma-lpā lēhiti kiṁ paṇa-papa[ḥ] [ma]

33 am nam⁷ na[vaṁ] vijayath. mā⁸ vijayavirath manussa sarakas yeva vijayā[se]⁹

34 [kham]ti cha lala-[dadhā]tati cha lo dhaya[m]tu tathā-eva [cha] vijayath manussatā *
dham-

35 ma [vi]j[ā]ye [1*] (XXV) se hi¹⁰ bhalokika-pā[ṭ]h[ā] [lo]hake [1*] (XXVI) [yā] va cha k[ā] n[ā]i-
lāti hotu

36 [ā dham]ma-lati [1*] (XXVII) a[ṭ]h[ā] hi bhalokika-pālabhikā [1*]

TRANSLATION

(I) (*The country of*) the **Kaliṅgas** was conquered for king **Priyadarsin**, Beloved of the Gods, **eight years after his coronation**.

(II) (*In this war in Kaliṅga*), men and animals numbering one hundred and fifty thousands were carried away (*captives*) from that (*country*), (*as many as*) one hundred thousands were killed there (*in action*), and many times that number perished.

(III) After that, now that (*the country of*) the **Kaliṅgas** has been conquered, the Beloved of the Gods is devoted to a zealous discussion of Dharma, to a longing for Dharma and to the inculcation of Dharma (*among the people*).

(IV) Now, this is (*due to*) the repentance of the Beloved of the Gods on having conquered (*the country of*) the **Kaliṅgas**.

(V) Verily, the slaughter, death and deportation of men, which take place there in the course of the conquest of an unconquered country, are now considered extremely painful and deplorable by the Beloved of the Gods.

(VI) But what is considered even more deplorable by the Beloved of the Gods is (*the fact that*) injury to or slaughter or deportation of the beloved ones falls to the lot of the Brāhmanas, the Śramanas, the adherents of other sects and the householders, who live in that country (*and*) among whom are established such (*virtues*) as obedience to superior personages, obedience to mother and father, obedience to elders and proper courtesy and firm devotion to friends, acquaintances, companions and relatives as well as to slaves and servants.

¹ Chakravarti : "These five letters are faintly visible on the rock."

² Chakravarti : "The letter *ta* is chipped off."

³ Read *vādhīyanti*.

⁴ Chakravarti : "The sign for *se* is not clear on the rock." He omits *c]he*.

⁵ The last three letters are engraved on the other side of the rock.

⁶ Read *saṁhā*.

⁷ Chakravarti : *am*. He omits *na*.

⁸ Chakravarti : *ma* *vijā*.

⁹ Chakravarti : "The letter *se* is not clear on the rock."

¹⁰ Chakravarti omits this.

¹¹ Chakravarti : *aa*.

(VII) And, if misfortune befalls the friends, acquaintances, companions and relatives of persons who are full of affection (*towards the former*), even though they are themselves well provided for, (*the said misfortune*) as well becomes an injury to their own selves.

(VIII) (*In ear*), this fate is shared by all classes of men and is considered deplorable by the Beloved of the Gods.

(IX) Excepting the country of the **Yavanas**, there is no country where these two classes, (*viz.*) the Brāhmanas and the Śramanas, do not exist.

(X) And there is no place in any country where men are not indeed (*sincerely*) devoted to one sect (*or other*).

(XI) Therefore, (*the slaughter, death or deportation*) of even a hundredth or thousandth part of all those people who were either slain or died or were carried away (*captives*) at that time in **Kaliṅga**, is now considered very deplorable by the Beloved of the Gods.

(XII) Now the Beloved of the Gods thinks that, even if (*a person*) should wrong him, the (*offence*) would be forgiven if it is possible to forgive it.

(XIII) And the forest [*folk*] (*who live*) in the dominions of the Beloved of the Gods, even then, he entreats and exhorts (*in regard to their duty*).

(XIV) (*It is hereby*) explained (*to them*) that, in spite of his repentance, the Beloved of the Gods possesses power (*enough to punish them for their crimes*), so that they should turn (*from evil ways*) and would not be killed (*for their crimes*).

(XV) Verily the Beloved of the Gods desires (*the following*) in respect of all creatures, (*viz.*) non-injury (*to them*), restraint (*in dealing with them*), impartiality (*in the cases of crimes committed by them, and*) mild behaviour (*towards them*).

(XVI) So, what is conquest through Dharma is now considered to be the best conquest by the Beloved of the Gods.

(XVII) And such a conquest has been achieved by the Beloved of the Gods not only here (*in his own dominions*) but also in the territories bordering (*on his dominions*), as far away as (*at the distance of*) six hundred Yojanas, (*where*) the **Yavana** king named **Antiyoka** (*is ruling and where*), beyond (*the kingdom of*) the said Antiyoka, four other kings named **Turamāya**, **Antikeni**, **Makā** and **Alikasudara** (*are also ruling*), and towards the south, where the **Choḍas** and **Pāṇḍyas** (*are living*), as far as **Tāmraparṇi**.

(XVIII) Likewise here in the dominions of His Majesty, (*the Beloved of the Gods*), — in (*the countries of*) the **Yavanas** and **Kāmbojas**, of the **Nābhakas** and **Nābhapaṅktis**, of the **Bhojas** and **Palitrayanikas** and of the **Andhras** and **Paulindas**,¹ everywhere (*people*) are conforming to the instructions in Dharma (*imparted*) by the Beloved of the Gods.

(XIX) Even where the envoys of the Beloved of the Gods have not penetrated, there too (*men*) have heard of the practices of Dharma and the ordinances (*issued and*) the instructions in Dharma (*imparted*) by the Beloved of the Gods, (*and*) are conforming to Dharma (*and*) will continue to conform to it.

(XX) So, (*whatever*) conquest is achieved in this way, verily that conquest (*creates an atmosphere of*) satisfaction everywhere (*both among the victors and the vanquished*).

(XXI) In the conquest through Dharma, satisfaction is derived (*by both the parties*).

(XXII) But that satisfaction is indeed of little consequence.

¹ Cf. *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 399-400. For the change of *k* to *r* in this name in the Guṇḍī version, cf. below p. 30.

TRANSLATION

(I) King Priyadarśin, Beloved of the Gods, honours men of all religious communities with gifts and with honours of various kinds, (irrespective of whether they are ascetics or householders).

(II) But the Beloved of the Gods does not value either the (offering of) gifts or the honouring (of people) so (highly) as the following, viz. that there should be a growth of the essentials (of Dharma) among (men of) all sects.

(III) And the growth of the essentials (of Dharma is possible in) many ways.

(IV) But its root (lies) in restraint in regard to speech, (which means) that there should be no extolment of one's own sect or disparagement of other sects on inappropriate occasions and that it should be moderate in every case even on appropriate occasions.

(V) On the contrary, other sects should be duly honoured in every way (on all occasions).

(VI) If (a person) acts in this way, (he) not only promotes his own sect but also benefits other sects.

(VII) But, if (a person) acts otherwise, (he) not only injures his own sect but also harms other sects.

(VIII) Truly, if (a person) extols his own sect and disparages other sects with a view to glorifying his own sect owing merely to his attachment (to it), (he) injures his own sect very severely by acting in that way.

(IX) Therefore restrained speech¹ is commendable, because people should learn and respect (the fundamentals of) one another's Dharma.

(X) This indeed is the desire of the Beloved of the Gods that persons of all sects become well-informed (about the doctrines of different religions) and acquire pure knowledge.

(XI) And those who are attached to their respective (sects) should be informed as follows:

(XII) "The Beloved of the Gods does not value either the (offering of) gifts or the honouring (of people) so (highly) as the following, viz. that there should be a growth of the essentials (of Dharma) among (men of) all sects."

(XIII) Indeed many of my officers are engaged for the (realisation of) the (said) end, (such as) the Mahāmātras in charge of (the affairs relating to) Dharma, the Mahāmātras who are superintendents (of matters relating to) the ladies (of the royal household), the officers in charge of (my cattle and) pasture lands and other places (of officials).

(XIV) And the result (of their activities, as ascertained by me) is the promotion of one's own sect and the glorification of Dharma.

ROCK EDICT IX

[BOMBAY E.]

1. (I) Devānampiy(e) Pi(yada)si jā[ā] bami ś[hē] [i*] (II) [ja]ne a(ch-āyuchadi)*

*The expression in the original is generally taken to stand for Sanskrit *ananyas* meaning 'connected'. It may, however, also suggest Sanskrit *ananyas* meaning 'undivided speech' which is apparently intended by the word *ananyas* used in the Śālistambī text. Cf. *Devānampiy(e) Pi(yada)si jā[ā] bami ś[hē] [i*]* in Rock Edict XIII, line 5. See P.H.C., Hyderabad, 1941, p. 144; *Solar Inscriptions*, p. 24, note 16.

¹ Chakravarti: "The three letters are faintly visible on the rock."

ERRAGUDI EDICTS OF ASOKA

Rock Edict XII [Boulder D]

2

4

6

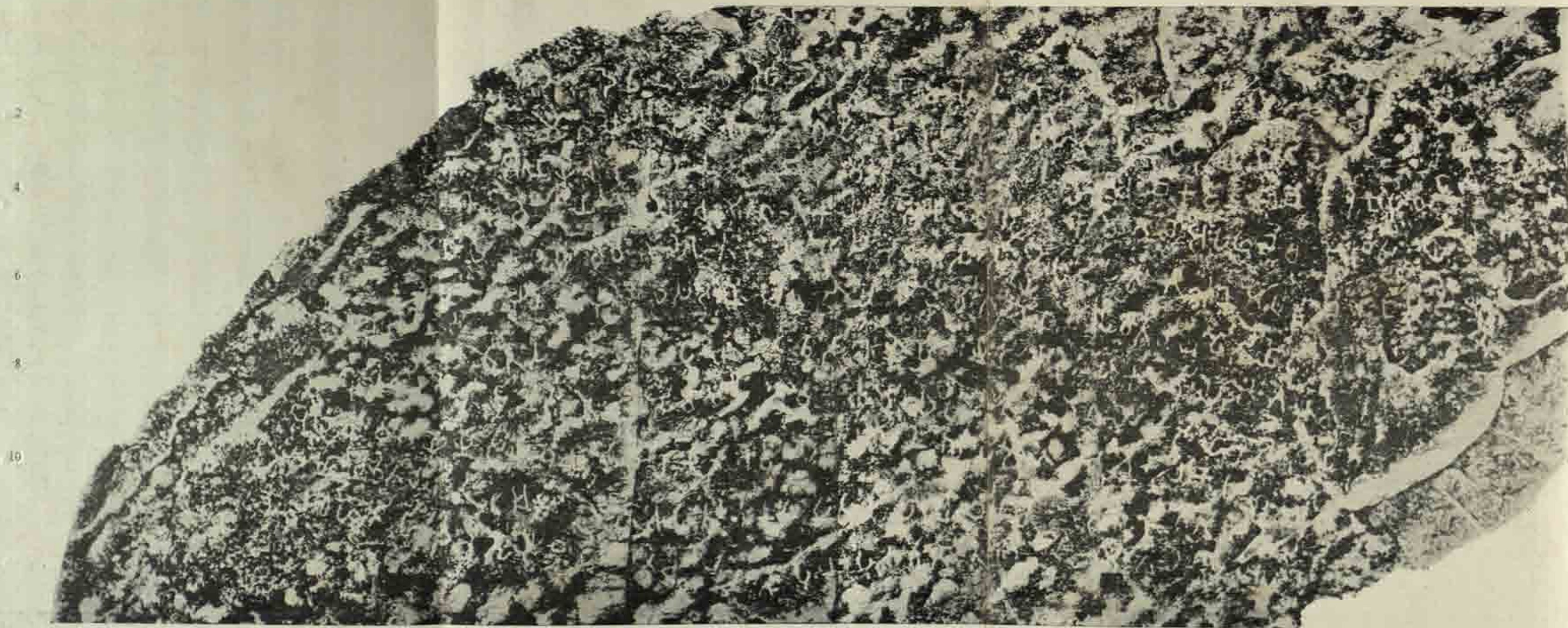
8

10

12

Scale : One-fourth

Rock Edict IX [Boulder E]



Scale : One-fourth

- 2 maṅgalam [ka]ṣeti [ābā]dha¹si [i]vā[ha]si viśāha[si] pa[upadāye²] [*] (III) et[ā]ye
 3 anāyā oha he[is]āye jae ba[hu] maṅga[la]m [ka]ṣeti [*] (IV) [etā] chu³ anāka[sa]
 [nikā] ba[hu] oha ba[hu]-vidha⁴ oha
 4 [khu]dā oha nā[thi]yān oha maṅgalam ka[am]ti [*] (V) [se] kṣa[triya] oha[eva] kh[o] maṅ-
 gale [*] (VI) apu-phale chu kh[o] es[o] [*] (VII) iyaṁ chu [khe]
 5 maha-[pā]le [o] dharma-maṅgale [*] (VIII) he[ā] iyaṁ [dā]sa-[bha]ṭa[ka]si samyā-paṭipati
 g[u]ṇe apu[ṣiti] pānānā sayā[ma]
 6 [sama]na-baṁbha[ṇa]mānā dāre⁵ [*] (IX) eṣa aṣṭa oha [he]di[se] dharma-maṅgale nā[ā]ma
 [*] (X) se vata[riya] pi[ṣ]in[ā] pi pu[ṣ]ta[na]
 7 [pi] bhāṭi[ke]na pi⁶ mta-samth[ana] pi [ava-paṭi]va[ṣ]ya⁷ pi [*] (XI) iyaṁ sū[dha] [*]
 (XII) iyaṁ kṣa[triya] maṅga[le] āva⁸
 8 aṭhaṣa nī[ya]nā nīvaṇa[si] vā m[ā]na iṣṭam kaṭhami⁹ [*] (XIII) [hi] itāle maṅga[le] sū[ṣ]a
 sayā[ke] se [*] (XIV) nīyā [ya]¹⁰ tam¹¹
 9 aṭhā nīvatayā [si]yā [se] no [*] (XV) [hi]da-lokik[o] ch[ā]ya [se] [*] (XVI) [ya]mā mīna-
 ḍhaṇ[ma] maṅga[le] akālike [*] (XVII) baṇa[ṣ]a pi [tam]¹²
 10 aṭhaṇ no nīvatayā [hi]da aṭha [pa]ṭa[sa] amātaṁ [pam]am [pa]savati [*] (XVIII)
 [ha]māle mīnā [tam] pi¹³ a[ṭha]nā nīvate[ti] [hi]da [tato]¹⁴
 11 [aḥ]he ladhē hoti hīdā oha se aṭhe [pa]ṭa[sa] oha [amā]tam pa¹⁵nam pasavati tana [dha-
 mā]-maṅga[le]nā [*]

TRANSLATION

(I) Thus saith King **Priyadarśin**, Beloved of the Gods.

(II) People perform various (kinds of) auspicious ceremony on the occasions of illness, the weddings of sons, the weddings of daughters, (and) the birth of children.

¹ Chakravarti: "A little space is left between dā and si which could not be inscribed owing to a depression in the rock."

² Other versions have a word like *padma* after this.

³ Chakravarti: "The letter ch is partly visible on the rock."

⁴ Chakravarti: "The letter ja looks like jū on the rock." He reads *janīya*.

⁵ Chakravarti: "The engraver seems to have inscribed pa at first and then changed it into dā."

⁶ Chakravarti: "The letter va is faintly visible on the rock."

⁷ Chakravarti: "The letter ti is completely rubbed off." The following two letters also cannot be traced on the impression.

⁸ Chakravarti: "The passage between pi is written between lines 6 and 7 about their beginning." The passage between pi has been omitted in this version.

⁹ Chakravarti reads [pa]ṭa[sa] and says that the last two letters look like *sa* on the rock.

¹⁰ Chakravarti: "The word *tam* which occurs in other versions after this is not visible on the rock. It may have been chipped off."

¹¹ Chakravarti: "There is a little space between hi and nī, which is left uninscribed owing to the roughness of the stone." He reads *ni*.

¹² Chakravarti: *hāṭhā*.

¹³ Chakravarti: "The letter va is only partly visible on the rock."

¹⁴ Chakravarti: "The letter ta is not visible on the rock."

¹⁵ Chakravarti: "The letter *va* is only partly visible on the rock."

¹⁶ Chakravarti: "The letter *ti* is completely rubbed off."

¹⁷ Chakravarti omits pi.

¹⁸ Chakravarti: "This is not found on the rock and is probably chipped off."

¹⁹ Chakravarti: "The sign for *ti* after *pa* is not visible on the rock." He reads *āḥ* and *paṭa*.

(III) On these and similar other occasions, people perform many (*kinds of*) auspicious ceremony.

(IV) And on such (*occasions*), the womenfolk (*in particular*) perform many and diverse (*kinds of*) ceremony which is trivial and meaningless.

(V) An auspicious *sita*, however, should certainly be performed.

(VI) But the said (*kind of*) *sita* in fact produces meagre results.

(VII) (*On the other hand*), such a ceremony as is associated with Dharma produces great results.

(VIII) In it are comprised the following: (i.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, restraint in (*one's dealings with*) living beings, (and) liberality to the Śramāṇas and Brāhmins.

(IX) These and similar other (*virtues*) are indeed the *essentials of Dharma*.

(X) Therefore, whether (*one is a person's*) father, or son, or brother, or friend or acquaintance, or (*even*) a (*mere*) neighbour, one ought to declare (*to him as follows*):

(XI) This (*kind of*) *sita* associated with Dharma is good.

(XII) "One should observe this practice until one's (*desired*) object is attained and (*provided that*) this (*practice*) will be observed by him¹ again (*and again*) even after the object is obtained."

(XIII) The auspicious ceremony (*of Sita*) other than this is indeed of dubious (*value*).

(XIV) Perchance a person may attain his object (*by performing these ceremonies*), perchance he may not.

(XV) Moreover, (*performance of these ceremonies*) may produce results in this world only.

(XVI) But the (*said*) *sita of Dharma* is not restricted to time.

(XVII) If (*a person performs it*) but does not attain his object in this world, even then endless merit (*for him*) is produced (*by it*) in the next world.

(XVIII) And, if (*a person*) attains his object in this world, both the results are obtained (*by him, viz.*), that the (*desired*) object (*is attained*) in this world as also endless merit is produced (*for him*) in the next world by that ceremony of Dharma.

¹ The original has 'by me'.

Sanskrit spelling of the words. The use of *s* for *ś* in *baṇḍhana-samana* (Sanskrit *bāṇḍha-samana*) also connects our record with the Kāśī, Dhauī, Jaugada and Erragudi texts. But there are some peculiarities of the orthography of the present text of the edict, which are not noticed in any other versions. In retaining *r* of Sanskrit without changing it to *l*, our text shows affinity with the Girnār, Mānsehrā and Shāhbāzgarhī versions as against the Dhauī, Erragudi, Jaugada and Kāśī texts. But the present text exhibits the interesting feature of changing *l* of Sanskrit to *r* not generally noticed in any other version of the edict. Indeed this characteristic is found only in a few cases in the Girnār, Mānsehrā and Shāhbāzgarhī versions of the fourteen Rock Edicts (cf. the root *śrabh* for Sanskrit *ślabh* in Rock Edict I). The Sanskrit words *mangala* and *phala* have been modified to *maṇḍara* (six times in lines 2, 4, 6, 6-7, 8 and 10-11) and *phara* (twice in line 7). The word *samiya* in *samiya-patipati* (Sanskrit *samyak-patipatti*) in lines 8-9 is spelt in the other versions as *samiya*, *samiya* or *samiya*. The modification of *k* into *g* in *śivathigraha* (line 6) is noticed in several other texts of the edict; but the elision of *y* in *e* (Sanskrit *yaj*) in line 7 is noticed at Dhauī and Erragudi while the other texts (except Jaugada which is damaged in this part) have *ye*, although the same consonant in Sanskrit *yajāt* is elided in all the versions except Shāhbāzgarhī which retains it in one out of two cases.¹ The introduction of *h* in *heta* (Sanskrit *heta*; cf. *heta* in line 5) in line 8 is noticed in the Kāśī and Erragudi texts. But *edise* (Sanskrit *edīśritak*) in line 10 is found as *hedise* in the Kāśī, *edisa* in the Mānsehrā and *edīśritak* in the Girnār version. In *dāsa-bhāṭakasi* (Sanskrit *dāsa-bhṛitake*) our text differs from the Girnār version which has *dāsa-bhāṭakasi*.

TEXT*

- 1 (I) D[e]vā[na]m²piya Piyadasi r[ā]j[ā] hevañ
- 2 āha [i]* (II) jame uch-āvucham maṇḍarath ka[ro]ti
- 3 [ā]h[ā]dhasi [ā]vāham³ vivāham paj-āpudāye pav[ā]sa-
- 4 si [i]* (III) stāye atināye chu edisāye jame bahū maram⁴ ka[ro]
- 5 ti [i]* (IV) [a]ta chu amhaka-janiko bahū cha ba[hū]-vidham cha khudam cha
- 6 ni[cat]hiya[si]m cha maṇḍarath ka[ro]ti [i]* (V) se ka[ta]viye ch-eva kho mam-
- 7 gare [i]* (VI) apa-phare chu kho es[o]* [i]* (VII) i[ya]ti chu kho maha-phare e dhasi-
- 8 ma-maṇḍare [i]* (VIII) heta iyañ⁵ dāsa-[bha]takasi samiya-pati-
- 9 pat[i] gurun[o] apachiti pānanam saya[me] baṇḍhana-
- 10 sama[nā]hāt: dāne⁶ [i]* (IX) esa admo⁷ cha edise dhamma-ma[ñ]-
- 11 [gare] nāma [i]* (X) [se] vatavi⁸[y]e pīṇā pi putena pi¹¹

* See Girnār once in line 8 (Hultsch, op. cit., p. 16), Kāśī twice in lines 25-26 (ibid., p. 37), Shāhbāzgarhī in one of the two cases in line 19 (ibid., p. 60), Mānsehrā twice in line 6 (ibid., p. 78) and Dhauī once in line 5 (ibid., p. 90). This part of Jaugada is damaged. But Kāśī exhibits the elision of *y* in *e* elsewhere in the edict, e.g., in line 26 (ibid., p. 37).

* From impressions.

* What looks like an *ā-sūtra* of *n* seems to be due to a flaw in the stone.

* What looks like an *ā-sūtra* of *k* appears to be due to a flaw in the stone.

* Read *maṇḍara*.

* The intended reading seems to be *ete*.

* What looks like an *ā-sūtra* of *y* appears to be due to a flaw in the stone.

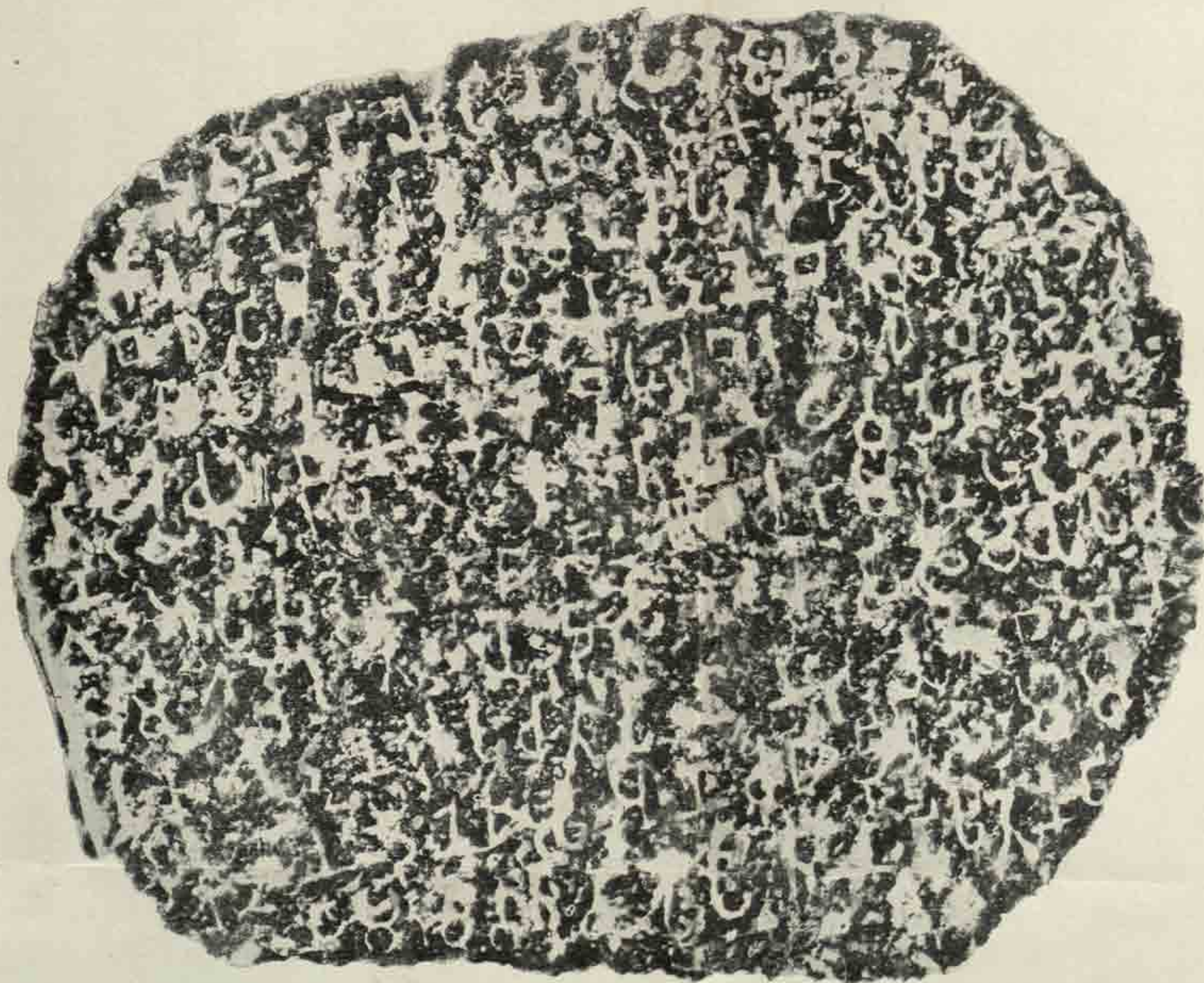
* What looks like an *ā-sūtra* after *dā* seems to be due to a flaw in the stone.

* The intended reading is possibly *admo*. Cf. note 6 above. But it may be *admo* also.

* What looks like an *ā-sūtra* of *i* seems to be due to a flaw in the stone.

* A comparison with the text of the edict in the other versions (e.g., Erragudi, above, pp. 26-27) will show that the extant part of the record contains a little more than a half of the edict. The lost part contained a few letters less than the number of letters in the extant portion.

SOPARA FRAGMENT OF ROCK EDICT IX OF ASOKA



Scale : Three-seventh



No. 3—KALEGAON PLATES OF YADAVA MAHADEV

(2 Plates)

D. G. KOPARKAR, AHMEDNAGAR

Kālēgaon where the grant was discovered is situated on the southern bank of the Gōdāvari about sixteen miles east of Nēvāsā in the Ahmednagar District, Bombay State. The following account of Kālēgaon is found in the Gautamī-mahātmya section of the *Brāhma Purāṇa*. Saramā, the divine bitch, had two pups whom Yama fondled. She used to guard the sacrificial cows of the gods. The demons once enticed her with sweet words and bribes and stole away the cattle of the gods. Bṛhaspati came to know Saramā's disloyal behaviour and informed Indra about it. The latter in anger kicked her and she vomitted milk, a direct evidence of her faithlessness. Indra cursed her to go to the mortal earth. The two pups of Saramā approached Yama, their master, for help and he sought the advice of his father, the Sun, in the matter of getting the curse lifted. The Sun directed him to go to the Dandaka forest, bathe in the Gautamī (Gōdāvari) and worship Brahman, Viṣṇu, Śūrya and Śiva. Yama with the dogs did as directed and Saramā recovered from the effect of the curse. The place where Yama performed penance is called Yamatīrtha and Śiva is said to be present there under the name Yamāśvara. It is believed to be a holy place having power to relieve men of all sins committed by themselves and their forefathers.¹ Yamāśvara is now known as Kālāśvara. The village seems to have been originally called Kālagrāma, then Kālagāhva and lastly Kālēgaon.

Kālēgaon was granted as an Inām to Rāvajī Mahādēva Vyās by the Peshwā Bāljī Bājirāva in 1756 A.D. In recognition of his integrity in submitting true accounts of the possessions of even those who lost their lives in the struggle, Rāvajī received a big prize. Out of it, he built the holy Kuśāvarta at Tryambakāśvara. Kālēgaon continued as a hereditary Inām till August 1955 with 181.6 acres of amurable and 2854.17 of arable land and a total assessment of Rs. 3,004.

Among the old sites in the village are the Wādā of the Jahagirdar, the Kālāśvara temple (said to have been built by Shri Panse, a former Jahagirdar of Tuljāpur), the dilapidated Gadhi of the Pansees and a bastion and an extensive plinth of a building built after the Hēmaḍpanta style. This last site is locally known as *maṭh*, from Sanskrit *maṭha*, 'monastery, school'. Between the remains of the Gadhi on the one hand and the bastion on the other goes the trodden path which at this point is inclined. Heavy monsoon showers washed away the earth on the path and there was exposed to view, on the 22nd September 1959, a nicely chiselled slab of stone. The villagers dug out the slab and were surprised to hear a metallic sound from its interior when it was turned upside down. On examination they found that the huge slab consisted of two pieces firmly joined together to form something like a safe. It was opened in the presence of the *Palichas* and three massive copper plates, strung on a stout copper ring bearing seal, were discovered inside the stone covers.² The upper stone measures 1' 10" × 1' 5.5" × 7" and has a hollow (4.5" in depth) carved in it, while the lower measures 2' × 1' 4.5" × 7" with a similar hollow 1.5" deep. The plates measure 1' 3" × 11" × .25" each and the three of them weigh 4½, 4½ and 4½ seers respectively. They are made thicker

¹ Even now the villagers point out one deep pool in the river-bed known as *Kālejī dha* or *Kājali dha* where Kālā or Yama is believed to have bathed.

² *Brāhma Purāṇa*, Anandāśrama ed., 131, 20-31.

³ An official report on this discovery was made by the village Patel to the Mamlatdar of Nēvāsā and the finds were first taken to Nēvāsā and then transferred to the Collector's Office. [The plates are now in the office of the Director of Archives, Government of Bombay.—Ed.]

at the edges with a view to preserve the engraved matter from friction. The seal bears the Yādava emblem which is a small copper image of Garuda sitting with hands folded and wings stretched out.¹ The ring passes through the aperture at the base of the image and through the holes in the three plates. The Garuda image is 4.5" in height and 4" in width and weighs 59 tolas. The ring is 12" in circumference and 22.5 tolas in weight.

Being well-protected between the stones, the charter is quite legible. The Devanāgarī script employed in the document represents the peculiarities of the century to which it belongs. *Prithakantāras* are commonly used. The following letters are sometimes confusingly similar: *va* and *ba*, *da* and *ja*, *tha* and *dha*, *tha* and *chha*, *da* and *dda*, *va* and *dha*. To the bottom of the vertical bar of *pa* is, in some cases, added a sharp curve so that the letter looks almost like *ṣ*. The *amśāra* is generally a hollow circle. The language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, the consonant following *r* is often doubled. In a few places, *ḥ* is substituted for *s*. The details of the date, quoted in the record correspond to the 29th August 1261 A.D. Its importance will be discussed later on.

The first thirty verses of the charter are important as they depict the career of the donor and some of his predecessors. As the Yādavas are said to have descended from the moon, the Purāṇas are drawn upon by the court poet. Verses 1-5 give the genealogy of the lunar race from Brahma, born of Vishnu's navel, to Yayāti's son Yadu after whom the family came to be called Yādava-vamsha. From their original home in Mathurā, some Yādava families migrated to Saurāṣṭra and to Gujaraṭ and Mahārāṣṭra.² Dridhaprāmā (c. 795 A.D.), the son of Subāhu, is traditionally held to be the first ruler of Chāndīyāpura or Chandrapura which is identified with Chāndiyāḍ, Chāndī or Chāndī in the Nasik District. According to Hāmādrī, however, the capital was Śrinagara or Sinner in the same District, called variously Sindhinagara, Sindhinagara and Sindintra in the inscriptions. In the beginning, these Yādavas were feudatories of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa and protected their northern frontier.

Verses 6 speaks of Rāja (c. 870 or 900 A.D.) who is also called Rājagī or Rājagī in other inscriptions. Ten kings, placed after him by Hāmādrī, are omitted by our poet. Verse 7 says how in this royal house was later on born Singhana (i.e. Sinharāja, c. 1100 A.D.) who adopted the title *Sālasāṭa*. It is stated that he subdued the king of Karpāta, vanquished the Pāṇḍya chief and raised a pillar on the sea shore to commemorate the victory, and scared away the Gūjara leader from the battle-field by his superior valour.³ Verse 8 introduces his son, Mallugi (also called Mailugi) who amassed much wealth belonging to the enemy kings. Verses 9-11 state that he was succeeded by Bhīllama (i.e. Bhīllama V, 1187-91 A.D.).⁴ He is called a *Sāravabhāṇa*. He routed the lord of the Vindhya and erected a column of victory on that mountain.⁵ He also put down the Chālukya monarch, conquered the south and uprooted the Kākatiyas (i.e. Kākatiyas of Warangal in the north-eastern Deccan). Bhīllama's victory over the Vindhyan king and the Kākatiyas, if real, is learnt for the first time from this grant. The other facts are already known. Thus in 1187 A.D. he is known to have founded the new capital, Dēvagiri, after having defeated the Chālukya king, Sōmēśvara IV. Similarly, the conquest of the south refers to the defeat of the Hoysala-Yādava king Narasimha (the father of Vīra-Ballala) who ruled at Halabī in Mysore. Later on, however, Bhīlla-

¹ The Paswan plates (1069 A.D.) of Sūpasandra II has on two sides of the Garuda seal two concha while the Haralohāḍī (Dharwar) plates of 1237-38 A.D. has the sun and the moon on the sides of Garuda. See JEBBES, Vol. XV, p. 280; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 115. Our seal has no such signs.

² Pargiter, *Ass. Ind. Hist. Tract.*, p. 229. Cf. Hāmādrī's *Varāṅkhaṇḍa*: *Sarvā-pi pārcam Mathar-ādhiśāṭhāḥ Kṛishṇa-ādīni Indravarmanāḥ* (Subāhu-ādīni-asa dālekha-ādī-prajāśānti Yādava-vamsha-śilāḥ); See H. G. Bhattacharya, *E. Hist. Ind.*, App. C (Bajjaprasasti I, verse 21).

³ The details are also recorded in the Paithan plates (1271 A.D.) of Rāmasiddha (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 314).

⁴ On the authority of the Māngī inscription, Shri G. H. Khare pushes back the date of Bhīllama's coronation to 1184 A.D. *Vide Source, Med. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 46. [For the initial year of Bhīllama's reign, see above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 25-26.—Ed.]

⁵ [No column of victory on the Vindhya is mentioned in the text. Vindhya-śūbhāṇa may be Paramāra Vindhya-varman of Malwa.—Ed.]

ma's imperial status was challenged by Vira-Ballala and it appears that his son, Jaitugi, who led the army, was completely defeated at Lakkundi near Gadag. Bhallama also lost his life in this battle.¹ Verses 12-13 state how he was followed on the throne by Jaitugi (or Jaitrapala, 1191-1210 A.D.) who killed the king of Trikalinga (i.e. Kākatiya Rudra) and, instead of annexing that territory, liberated from prison Gaṇapati who was the nephew of Rudradēva and nominated him king.² According to verses 14-20, his son was Siṅghadeva (i.e. Siṅha or Śiṅha II, 1210-47 A.D.) who defeated king Hammira.³ He was a redoubtable warrior, a royal sage, a benevolent and just administrator and a patron of poets and learned men.

According to the *Kirtīśaṃsū* of Sōmēśvara, Siṅgha II invaded Gujaraṭ at least twice; but he lost his commander Rāma, son of Khōldeva, and made peace with the Vāghēla kings representing a branch of the Chaulukyas of Apahillapattana. Verse 21 introduces his son Jaitugi (i.e. Jaitugi II) whose feet were kissed by the crest-jewels of all the kings in the three worlds and who was irresistible like the sun rising with all its lustre.

According to verse 22, Jaitugi's son was *Śrīrāṃadēva* Krishnaadeva (also called Kanham, 1247-60 A.D.) who made a river of the blood of the Gūjara heroes flow. Verses 23-30 speak of his younger brother and successor, Mahadeva (1261-71 A.D.), who enjoyed the *śirokās*: *Rāṃadēva*, *Rāṃadēvaśirokās*, *Rāṃadēvaśirokās*, *Rāṃadēvaśirokās*, etc. He launched such an onslaught on Visala (i.e. Visala or Visaladeva, the Vāghēla king of Gujaraṭ) that the latter lost all his wealth and fame of valour (as also his life?) on the battle-field. This Visaladeva (1235-60 A.D.) was the son of Viradhavala and grandson of Lavagaprasāda. He had formerly offered strong resistance to Siṅgha II and was defeated by Krishna. Mahadeva seems to have helped his brother in the struggle and was held responsible for the defeat (and death?) of Visala. The reference is made here in connection with Mahadeva's assumption of purple robes. It appears that when the elder brother was the king, the younger acted as his general.⁴ We are told that Mahadeva led a successful encounter on the sea against the Śīlāhāras of the Konkan in 1260 A.D. Such victories in 1260 A.D. attributed to Mahadeva have led some historians⁵ to believe that he became king some time before 1260 A.D. The present grant, however, proves that he ascended the throne in 1261 A.D. and that Krishna must have breathed his last some time the same year.

The prose portion after verse 30 mentions the date of the grant which is the expired Saka year 1182,⁶ Durmati (current), Monday, the second day of the bright half of Bhādrapada. This corresponds to the 29th August 1261 A.D. The grant clearly states that it was made on the occasion of Mahadeva's coronation and with the belief that it would lead to the prosperity and expansion of his kingdom. We come to know this date for the first time from this grant.

¹ *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Indian Empire, Vol. II, p. 339.*

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 316. According to an inscription (above, Vol. III, p. 113) of 1222 A.D., from Bahā in Khandesh, Gaṇapati was the king of Andhradēva, while the Targam plates (Khare, *Sour. Med. Hist. Doc.*, Vol. III, pp. 9-16; cf. above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 208 ff.) of Yadava Krishna says that Jaitugi defeated the Andhra king.

³ The Sanskrit drama entitled *Hammiravandamardana*, written between 1219 and 1229 A.D., depicts him as a Mlecchha defeated by Viradhavala Vāghēla of Gujaraṭ. (For the initial year of Siṅgha, see above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 317.—Ed.)

⁴ R. C. Bhattacharya, *E. Hist. Rev.*, p. 157.

⁵ These two titles along with *Bhūmapadikā* were adopted by Siṅgha II according to Tallaga's inscription in the Ambābāi temple, Kolhapur (*Quart. Rev. Lt. Soc. Mem.*, Vol. XV, p. 17).

⁶ The Śīlāhāra king Mallikarjuna (1156-60 A.D.) also assumed the title *Rājapitamaha*. Vide *Marāṭh Jāsamāsa*, p. 7.

⁷ [As Mr. S. Sankaranarayana points out to me, Amalānanda's *Pāṇinīyāmalikā* (Introduction, verse 13; Conclusion, verse 7) refers to the joint rule of Krishna and Mahadeva. B. E. No. 185 of 1223-24, dated Saka 1177, Rākhaṇa, m. 15, Monday (June 21 or November 15, 1255 A.D.) also refers to *Kṛṣṇadeva Mahadeva-rājapitamaha*. Mahadeva was ruling as Yashovijaya jointly with Krishna till the latter's death.—Ed.]

⁸ Vide *Vijaynagar Sūtrika Grantha* (Marathi), p. 358.

⁹ [The year was really Saka 1183 expired cf. Kieffhorn's *Lit. No. 362*.—Ed.]

Works on astrology dealing with the auspicious moments for particular functions give a number of details regarding the *mūhūrta* of coronation. Tuesday¹ and Wednesday² are to be avoided; Sunday, Monday and Friday are all right if they are *śukla*;³ Uttarāyana is to be preferred but Chaitra, Āshāḍha and an intercalary month are to be excluded,⁴ as also Śrāvana and Bhādrapada.⁵ The *rikta-tithis* 4, 8, 14 and 30 and the night are similarly to be avoided.⁶ It is generally believed that the first day of a month is not favourable for any auspicious undertaking. The period when the sun is in the Vṛschika, Tūlā or Kanyā *rāśi* is recommended for coronation.⁷ We find from Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris* that the sun was in the Kanyā *rāśi* on the 29th August 1261 A.D. and the intercalary Bhādrapada was over two days earlier. Most of these general rules are found observed in the selection of the date recorded. The only question is about Dakṣiṇāyana and Bhādrapada, during which the coronation should not take place according to the astrologers. The explanation of this question is to be found in the following remark of the author of the *Muhūrtaprabhāṭa*: *virite rājās na kālasya nigamā-tena vidhiyate*. In the case of a sudden death of the reigning king, the kingdom should not remain without a lord for a long time.⁸ It may be supposed that such an emergency arose and hence the coronation took place during the Dakṣiṇāyana and Bhādrapada, though normally they are to be avoided.

The charter records the grant of the village of Kāṇḍanva in favour of fifty-two Brāhmanas on the occasion of the king's coronation. The name of the gift village was changed to Paṭṭavardhana-pura apparently with reference to the occasion of the grant. The fifty-two donees of the grant belonged to twenty-two different *gōtras*. Thirty of them claim to be Balarīccha or Bgvēdin, twenty-one Taittirīya or Yajurvedin and only one Chhandōga or Śāmavedin. The details are furnished in the following table.

Gōtra	Sikha	Number of Donees
1. Ārōya	Balarīccha	1
2. Kapi	Do.	1
3. Kāṭyapa	Do.	2
4. Do.	Taittirīya	2
5. Do.	Chhandōga	1
6. Kauṇḍīnya	Balarīccha	3
7. Do.	Taittirīya	2
8. Kāṇḍika	Balarīccha	2
9. Gārgya	Do.	1

¹ *Muhūrtachintāmaṇi*, Nirṇayaśāgara Press, 1907, p. 224.

² Cf. Vaṇṣṭhis quoted in the commentary on the *Muhūrtachintāmaṇi*, loc. cit.

³ *Brhat Muhūrtasūtra*, Vāṇakāśhara Press, 1885, p. 139.

⁴ *Muhūrtaprabhāṭa*, Vāṇakāśhara Press, 1917, p. 45.

⁵ *Brhat Muhūrtasūtra*, loc. cit.

⁶ *Muhūrtachintāmaṇi*, loc. cit.

⁷ *Brhat Muhūrtasūtra*, loc. cit.

⁸ The commentary on the *Muhūrtachintāmaṇi* also holds this view.

Gōtra	Sakha	Number of Donors
10. Gautama	Bahvricha	1
11. Jāmadagnya-Vatsa	Do.	3
12. Do.	Taittirīya	1
13. Dēvarāta	Do.	2
14. Parāśara	Do.	1
15. Bādarāyana	Bahvricha	1
16. Bhāradvāja	Do.	3
17. Do.	Taittirīya	4
18. Bhārgava	Bahvricha	1
19. Mitravya	Do.	1
20. Muṇḍaka	Do.	1
21. Lohita	Taittirīya	4
22. Vatsa	Bahvricha	1
23. Do.	Taittirīya	1
24. Vāśiṣṭha	Bahvricha	3
25. Do.	Taittirīya	1
26. Vābhyaśva	Do.	2
27. Vāśānītr-Āghamarshana-Kauṭika	Bahvricha	2
28. Śāṇḍilya	Do.	2
29. Do.	Taittirīya	1
30. Hārta	Do.	1

The usual convention was that the grants of older kings should be continued by later rulers even though they may have belonged to a different royal house. It is therefore interesting to note that the village granted to fifty-two Brāhmanas in 1261 A.D. was again given as an *Īḥm* to the Vyāsas by a Pūṣkavā. It seems that, for some reason or other, Kālegaon was deserted by the descendants of the donees of this grant.

Among the privileges enjoyed by the donees of the grant, the expression *śakha-bhāga* normally stands for the following eight kinds of enjoyment fixed by usage (*grāma mārgādī*): *nidhi* (treasure trove); *nishāpa* (also called *spanāḥi*, deposits on the soil); *jala* (water reservoirs); *pāchāya* (stones, mines and quarries); *akṣhāi* (actual privileges); *āgāmi* (future profits); *śiddha* or *śiddhāya* (what is already brought under cultivation); *śiddha* (waste land that may in future be

turned into a cultivable land).¹ In our grant, however, eleven types of enjoyments are named and besides some more are implied by the expression *ity-ān*, and still they are called *ashṭa-bhāga*. This means that all possible privileges or conditions with reference to the gift-village were transferred to the donees. The donees of the *brahmadāya* grants used to receive all the taxes payable by the inhabitants to the king, but themselves had to pay nothing.²

Of the above list, the first four *bhāgas* occur in our grant. Among the other privileges, *śūlā* is the same as *bhūti-śpātta-pratyāya*, a tax on what has been produced or manufactured (*bhūta*) and what has been imported (*śpātta*), i.e. some general excise and octroi duties.³ The terms *vāi-ādāya*, *ānita*, *vāta-pratyāya* and *akura-vāi-ātara* occur in inscriptions; but in all these *śpātta* seems to have been Prakritised as *śūlā* or *vāta*. *Danda* is *dandāya*, i.e. the right to receive the fines imposed upon the delinquents.⁴ *Dīna* seems to be some kind of customs duty; cf. Gujarāṭi *dāpachōri* (smuggling) and the Marāṭhi surname *Dāni*. The latter is explained in the *Mahārāshṭra Śabdakōśa* as 'the officer collecting the tax on corn', 'the officer to store the corn collected as tax from the farmers'.⁵ *Kāraka* is some tax on the artisans and craftsmen.⁶ *Maudika* means traditional or customary tax.⁷ Dr. Altekar explains *maudika-achāra*, 'perquisites of hereditary officers', as the receipts of the headman who enjoyed the taxes in kind and used to receive a share of most of the articles produced or sold in their villages.⁸ Alternatively, we may connect *maudika* with Marāṭhi *maḍi* 'the burden of grass or fuel that a man can carry on his head'. In that case, the term may indicate some octroi duty in kind over the imported goods. *Sūtarā*⁹ is a fiscal term of uncertain import. MM. D. V. Potdar suggested to me that it might be a Sanskritisation of *śūtra* or *śūlā* from Sanskrit *śūlāra*. According to the *Mahārāshṭra Śabdakōśa*, *śūlārā*, *śūlārī* or *śūlārī* means the tax in kind (a maund per highā) to be collected from the cultivator by the person (called *īpārā*) taking possession of Government land on contract for a fixed period. *Tēja*, also written *tēja*,¹⁰ is a puzzle. In several inscriptions,¹¹ *dāya-śūlāya* is mentioned over and above the *ashṭa-bhāga*.

The boundaries of the gift village are carefully noted in the grant: Gaṅgā (Gādhvadi) in the north; Nāgaun and Khāmbhagaun in the west; Nimbarnvādi in the east; and Rāñjagaun and Dahagaun in the south. The modern equivalents of these names are: Lambāri or Nimbāri (two miles to the east of Kālgaon), Dahagaon and Rāñjari (four miles to the south), Khāmbgaon (three miles to the west). Nāgaun is a difficulty. About four miles to the west of Kālgaon there is an old village named Varakhēd which was formerly a centre of Brāhmanic learning and where even at this day live certain Brāhmana families belonging to the Rīgveda and the Vasiṣṭha, Vīrāmitra and Jāmbhagnya *gṛhas*. In the list of the donees of this grant we do find Rīgvedins with these *gṛhas* and this fact may be regarded as supporting the identification of Varakhēd with

¹ See the Nāgar grant (1389 A.D.) of Harichand II, verses 26-27. Cf. above, Vol. III, p. 123; also p. 243 (verse 471).

² A. S. Altekar, *The Rāshtrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 327.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 228.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 325. In the expression *va-danda-dāka-dā-dāpachōri*, *danda* is wrongly translated as 'the measurement, i.e. measuring rod' by R. G. Bhandarkar. Cf. *Collected Works*, Vol. III, p. 285.

⁵ Cf. *śūlāra-dāya-dāya*, 'assessment of revenue in the form of gold coins or corn' (Bhandarkar, op. cit., p. 328).

⁶ Cf. *śūlā-ādāya-dāya* (M. G. Dikshit, *Select Inscriptions of Mahārāshṭra*, p. 90).

⁷ Cf. the Marāṭhi surnames *Māḍi*, *Māḍi* (literally, 'first', 'original') and Marāṭhi *maḍi* (i.e. *māḍi*, *maḍi*), 'tradition', 'way of life', as in *Māḍi-māḍi*. The term *maḍi* (or 'maḍi') occurring in an inscription (Nalankar *Comm.*, Vol. II, p. 228) is phonetically related to *maḍi*.

⁸ *The Rāshtrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 194.

⁹ [The word may be the same as *śūlā* mentioned in the Chāndani plates of the time of Kṛṣṇa III. Cf. below, p. 57 - Ed.]

¹⁰ Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 144, above, Vol. XIII, p. 34.

¹¹ Cf. H. Khare, *Somv. Med. Hist. Soc. (Marāṭhi)*, Vol. III, pp. 63, 90, 98.

Nāgaum. Varakhēḍ is famous for its old shrine of Nāgāśāra. Its older name therefore may have been Nāgagrāma modified later to Nāyagāma and lastly to Nāgaum. This suggestion is borne out by the evidence of the *Brahma Purāṇa*¹ wherein the following story is told about the name of the place. King Śūrasēna of the lunar dynasty ruling at Pratiśthāna had no issue. After a time his queen gave birth to a snake named Nāgēśvara who was really a son of Śeṣha and had been cursed by Śiva. He studied the Vēdas and Śāstras and was later married to Bhāgavati, the daughter of king Vijaya ruling in the east. Bhāgavati and Nāgēśvara bathed in the Gōdāvari and devoutly worshipped Śiva. The place where they worshipped came to be known as Nāga-tīrtha and the *līṅga* worshipped by them as Nāgēśvara.

Saṁpadēśa, mentioned in verse 30 (line 76), is the country named after Saṁpachandra I (c. 800 A. D.), the son of Dridhaprahāra. The kingdom founded by his father was expanded by Saṁpachandra on both banks of the Godāvari from Nasik to Devagiri so as to include the modern Districts of Aurangabad and East and West Khandesh as well as portions of Ahmednagar and Nasik. Our grant fittingly styles Gōdāvari as the ornament of the Saṁpa country.

TEXT²

[Metres : verses 1, 11, 13, 21, 29, 31, 32, 35-37 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 2 *Maṇḍūkriṇī* ; verses 3, 4, 12, 15-18, 22, 27, 30 *Sādhāvanīśṛīḍita* ; verses 5, 8, 20, 21, 23, 34 *Vasantatilakā* ; verse 6 *Śikharinī* ; verses 7, 9, 10, 25, 26, 28 *Śragdhara* ; verse 14 *Āryā* ; verse 19 *Prithvī* ; verse 33 *Sālinī*.]

First Plate

- 1 ॐ स्वस्ति श्रीः । ओ३मो वराहाय ॥ जयत्पाविष्णुतं विष्णोर्बाराहं क्षोभि-
- 2 ताण्णव(वम्) । दक्षिणोन्नतदष्टाग्रविश्रान्तभुवनं वपुः ॥ [१^३]^४ विष्णोर्भाभीकम-
- 3 लकुहरादाविरासीद्विरिचिर्व्यवस्मीतिस्तलितकुसुमं वंदितो देव(वै)-
- 4 त्यैः । तस्मादग्निः समजनि जगत्त्वातवैप्रकाशश्चन्द्रस्तस्मादभ्रद-
- 5 मृतोद्गारवंगारिताशः ॥ [२^३]^५ वंशे तस्य पुष्करवात्ममभवच्चत्पापमापद्गतो
- 6 देवानामधिपः स्मरत्यविरतं व्यालुप्तवज्रग्रहः । आब्रह्मादमर्बडाड-
- 7 वरयप्रस्थानलो[ला] वह्न्यश्चको वृभुजं भुजेन विजिताम्वं धैवोर्व-
- 8 धी(शीम्) ॥ [३^३]^६ तस्मिन्नेव ययातिराविरभवद्भूमंडलाब्जलस्मर्बः स्वर्वनितानि-
- 9 तातसुभगप्रोद्गीतदोर्व्वक्रमः । यस्याद्यापि मखाहिताहुतिशतप्रोदाम-
- 10 धुमोत्करैराकीर्णो परितः स्फुरत्यविरतन्तापिच्छनीलं नभः ॥ [४^३]^७ तस्मादजाय-

¹ *Amṛtāmṛta* ed., III, 86.

² From the original plates.

³ Expressed by symbol. (The first symbol stands for Siddham.—Ed.)

⁴ This verse was quoted from earlier records (cf. Khare, *Sour. Med. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 73).

⁵ The third foot of the stanza contains *Paṭṭha-sūtra* as 'tāṁśaśan', i.e. 'possessing grass', leads to the following similarity : 'prathina-tā-sūtraśaśan' śāśan. The fourth foot furnishes a simile and the two together offer a charming image.

⁶ The stanza exhibits *Śikharinī*.

- 11 त यदुपदुपग्रहेण वंशस्ततः परमगाञ्जगति [प्र]तिष्ठां(ष्टाम्) । तस्मिन्नस्रायमभवत्प्र-
 12 भवः प्रजानां लीलायमं सगुरमन्दबलन्दधानः ॥ [५*] यदोस्तस्मिन्वशे समज-
 13 नि स निर्वीपितरिपुप्रतापस्तापच्छिन्निखिलजगतो राजनृपतिः । प्रदीय-
 14 प्रोदं च चरणनखरत्नांशुजलघो निमज्जन्तश्चित्रं जगदुपरि वृत्तिप्रणयितः ॥ [६*]¹
 15 खे[ल]त्सुखदगावतंसो रणशिरसि वशीकृत्य कर्णाटिराजं यः पांडथं दंडयित्वा प्य-
 16 धित जलनिधे स्तभमभ्यर्णभूमौ । यद्वाणघ्रातपातैर्भ्रं समरमराभोजज-
 17 र्जरो गूर्जरैन्द्रः स श्रीमानाबिरागीलुहिनकरकुले सिधेनस्माहसाकः ॥ [७*] त-
 18 स्मादभूत्प्रभुरशेषमहीपतीनां श्रीमत्पुगिश्चिजयकाम्भेणकामुक्थीः । यत्प्र प्र-
 19 तापतरणीं तरुणे तरुणां च्छा(छा)पेव दैर्घ्यमज्जहादरिभूभूतां श्रीः ॥ [८*] यस्मिन्
 भ्रमं-
 20 भ्रमे चलति वसुमतीमंडलं चंडभानोर्विवं शैलेन्द्रसंघिस्त्रिभिरभित इमे स-
 21 विधते स्म तत्त्वं । वल्गाद्विर्वाजिदंस्वुरगखुरहतं पासुभिर्भीतिभिर्जः क्षोणी-
 22 द्रैस्त प्रवीरस्तदन् समभ्रवद्विल्लमस्ताल्वंभोमः ॥ [९*]² येनोद्यन्विध्यभूभूतप्रभ-
 23 नियमितः शूरमार्गंश्च भेजे दुष्यञ्चालुक्ववाताप्यपि त्व कवलितो येन जीर्ण-
 24 ः क्षणाद्वत् । येन प्रासाधि भूयो मलयपरिमलोद्गारिणी दक्षिणाज्ञा स श्रीभि-
 25 त्तमदेवो घटजमुतिरिवापीतकाकयसिंधुः ॥ [१०*]³ येन सेनारजोराविनिरुद्धे मि-
 26 हिराध्वनि । वध्यो विध्यगिरिस्तम्भः कुंभयोनेरकल्पत ॥ [११*]⁴ यस्संख्ये त्रिकलिंगरा-
 27 जमवधीद्विदोषि⁵ सीमतिनीनेत्राभःप्रसरत्प्रगल्भलहरीनिर्वाणवैरान-

¹ The subjects of king Rāja adored him so much that they longed for a [continued] stay on this earth only (and not for liberation). There is *Atisayōkti*. [There are *Rājako* and *Vīrābhāṣa*.—Ed.]
Read anuram—śhā.

² There is *Upanad*. The splendour of the enemy kings is compared to the shadow of trees. *Pratāpa-kirāṇi* is to be explained as *pratāpa-kirāṇi* or *pratāpa-kirāṇi* or *pratāpa-kirāṇi*. The third foot gives *Chakrasūprāsa* due to the repetition of *ī*, *+* and *+*. [*Pratāpa-kirāṇi* exhibits *Rājako* only.—Ed.]

³ There is *Yathāśāṅghya* as well as *Kripāśāṅghya* as all the three nouns, *varuṇa*, *mandala* (which is the matter we found), *śāṅghya* and *śāṅghya* are connected with the same verb *anuramāṇa*.

⁴ We may suggest *Bhīlāma* for the sake of the metre.

⁵ *Bhīlāma* is here likened to *Agastya*. The points of resemblance are brought out by double-meaning expressions.

⁶ The verse implicitly suggesting the superiority of *Bhīlāma* over *Agastya* exhibits *Yathāśāṅghya*.

⁷ The stanza is unnecessary.

धृष्टिः श्रीः॥ ब्रह्मावराहाया इत्यथा विष्णुर्विश्वोर्वा राहो
 नाम वादक्रिया ततरेषा अविश्या मनुबनैव पुः॥ विश्वो नीतीकम
 संगरसयविरासादि रिसिद्यं च न्नोलिखलितकुमुवं दितो देवो
 द्विः॥ वस्मादत्रिः समजनिजागता तडिप्रकाशः॥ दुःस्मादतव द
 योजार गंगारिताशः॥ वैद्युतश्च उग्रस्या स्मभ उग्रप्राप्तिमापदतो
 स्वा नामधिपः स्मपद्याविरतया सुप्तवत्तथ हः॥ भावेना डम खंड तो
 पुरध प्रज्ञानलीला वह्यधिको बुधुडे प्राडने विजिता सुवीणा प्रिवो
 पी॥ तस्मिन्नेव यगातिरा विस्तृतवृद्धर्मडलारं डलस्मवः॥ सुव नितादि
 तात मुसगाप्राजी त हो द्विके मध्यस्थाया पिमखादि ताहु विगत पादास
 माकरे राकी संपरितः स्थूय विरत नापिल्ल नीलेन सः॥ तस्माद्वाया
 मये रेव उपगृहेण वंशमतः परमगा रु मतिवतिष्ठां॥ तस्मिन्न साय मरस्य
 तवः प्रज्ञाना लीला मयैव परमह बेल इव मनः॥ ए दो सस्मिन्नेव समजा
 न स्या मेवा पि तरिषु प्रताप सापहि निरिदल कृपा ता पाठ कृपतिः॥ यदी स
 जोद च चरण मखर नौ शुक्ल वे निमळ भेषि वै कुवाड परिदृति प्रण येनः॥
 रवलैरखडा वतं सोरण शिप सिवनी छय कसा टरा डं यः पांछं ईडं विचा न
 कुंकल निधेश स मत्या सि न्त मो य हाण वात पा ले न स मर मर गा स ड
 के तीर्थ ईर द्युः स श्री माना विरासी बुद्धिन कर कुंल सिंधेण क्ष्मा द सी कः॥ त
 स्मा दक्षत्र नुर ये घमटी पती ना श्री मुख नि विडाय का क्षिण का मु कशीः॥ ०५३
 ता पतराणे तनुणे ते रणे ज्ञापे वृदेष्टु म कु दा दरितु तृ ताणी॥ यस्मिन्नेव त
 ती म चल विवस्म त मिडुलं वंद ला ने क्षि बं गेल ड संधि प्रितिर सित धर्म
 वि गोत स्या सद्यो वल्गा दिक्षां डि हृदि सुखा र वुर दतेः॥ अनु ति जी ति ति न्नेः द्या
 मृ स्या व वीर स दनु से स त व द्वि त्स म स्या वै सोमः॥ ये तो य विं थं तृ तृ य म स
 क्रिये मुतः पूर मा गी त्स डे दृ था चा लु स ग ता ष्टा पि च के व लि तो ये न डी स
 को णा ही र ये न ग सा धि रू पो म ल य प रि म लो जा रि णी द क्रि ण या सं श्री ति
 म दे वो घट कु मु नि रि वा पी त्मा क श सि युः॥ य त्से न्ना र्जा रा डि नि उ द्वे मि
 द रा ध नि वं च मा वं च गि रा स कः॥ कु ल यो न र क ल्य ता य स्य रे च त्रि क लिंग
 क म व ग्री हि दे वि। सां म ति मा तु ग नः॥ य स र ख ग त्तु ल द री नि र्वा णा वि रा न
 नः॥ या ष्ठी तं स्य स म स स स म द र
 ता व त व स रे डा त्सा ता द्वे त्र
 ता व तु णा ल ॥ धि यं व द श्च म
 त मि र त र णि स्थ र णि द मे ष्य स क मः कीर्तः॥ ते स्मा दे वा य म्म क नि श्री सि

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वपदवैपुलः। कथयतुः। रत्नसवतावहो। विविदधिनामुष्टानेस्म
रहलीपुकरिणीमुक्तामणिः। पयः। वषट्त्रिसनमंडले। व
णीनेत्राणिबाधोकरे। उदे। से। वनः। दे। पि। शया। मा। शय। मु। कृ। त
शा। डा। ता। स्मः। कवि। सु। डि। का। वा। यममी। च। म। पु। ले। सिंघ। ए। हो। पी। र
हा। गु। ण। से। व। पु। न। नि। रा। मा। र्त्त। पु। स। स्मा। य। य। श। य। शि। के। शु। न। डि। नि
मयधरणी। सार। शिर। ए। पि। या। कली। म। थ। व। धू। प। स। प। य। ध। न। नि। दा। ति। ना। रा। य
णः। मं। रं। कुं। च। कुरी। दा। णे। न। गिर। व। र। क। ल्य। वि। नि। लिं। य। त। जो। वा। म। दं। नि। म। म। ग। वा
नरधनामियं। प्र। न्ततः। नो। वे। सिंघ। ए। दे। व। निः। श्रुत। मि। रं। को। ड। श्या। य। म। थ। वा
किं। वा। कृ। मं। घातः। एतं। वं। पु। षि। त। न्मा। स्मा। मयं। उं। जं। यः। स्मा। तं। धा। सु। श्रु। ते। न। क। शि
हृ। प। रे। न्म। पु। ला। र्त्त। वं। ड। ल। श्या। द। को। य। दि। वा। नि। वा। न। क। व। च। धं। सी। पृ। धा। नं। द। नः। ड
रे। मा। थ। य। व। सु। य। थ। सु। मं। रे। हा। ता। नि। मं। रू। ड। धा। र। सिंघ। य। स। कर। ह। ये। वि। ति। दि
ता। वे। कं। तं। मं। म। गी। णाः। क। लौ। किं। मि। ति। ना। ल। व। रू। पि। तं। रं। वा। ड। वः। पां। ड। के। रि। पु
वि। पुर। धं। डं। रिः। किं। मु। नं। सिंघ। णे। हा। पा। रा। दु। रं। स। वि। मृ। च। म्मु। डं। स्म। मर। द। छि। ट
ना। तुरः। श्वरा। त्म। मु। पं। ती। ण। यं। स्मर। ति। श्रु। दं। तो। वो। मु। निः। स। दं। ग। डं। गु। णि। न। मा
य। तं। मा। तं। का। डि। मु। स्मृ। य। वा। पं। मं। गं। मं। स। मं। रं। म्बा। णः। यु। कं। त। द। तं। द। लं। व। य। र। पि
ध। वि। य। उ। थ। धिं। पा। धिं। व। दं। रि। सिंघ। ति। मा। पं। नि। धः। तं। स्मा। दं। का। य। तं। डं। गं। उ। य। गी। य
मान। पि। डं। पं। ता। पं। तं। पं। नो। रं। श्रु। निं। वारः। श्री। डि। उं। मि। वं। सु। मं। ती। वं। लं। ण। धि। ना। म्
ड। मं। लि। पं। कुरं। मं। करं। चं। निं। तां। धिं। श्री। तं। स्मा। कृ। लं। रं। विं। धिं। सिंघ। वं। रि। तः। श्री। रा। यं
पा। य। णो। डा। तः। का। तिं। कं। सं। डं। कां। तिं। डं। यिं। नां। कीं। तिं। धिं। रं। वं। यं। न। गं। डं। रं। यं। डं। रं
वारं। शो। लि। तं। सरिं। शं। गं। वं। रं। श्री। पं। तिः। पां। वा। वं। मं। पृ। णो। यं। दी। यं। हं। रं। यं। निं। रं। धिं। ण
निं। रं। तं। तं। यं। वं। डो। निं। डं। मुं। डां। डिं। तं। चं। मिं। सारं। म्मुं। वं। वं। वारं। मुं। दिं। तो। रं। गं। सां। वं
लो। मं। यो। दी। स। लं। स। मं। रं। को। उं। किं। नो। उं। रा। णं। मं। यं। स। म्मुं। लं। विं। स। वं। डं। लं। यो। नं। का
रा। रं। यं। नां। पां। य। णो। रा। यं। पिं। तां। मं। हं। तिं। स्फुं। रं। यं। शं। धं। नां। मं। यं। रं। दं। मं। हां। रं। वं। थ
णी। यां। रं। तं। जो। वां। तं। निं। वं। तां। वं। लं। तिं। बं। लं। रं। वां। डिं। नां। मां। डिं। वें। गां। डं। हं। लं। म्मुं। लं
हं। लीं। पं। टं। लं। कं। वं। लं। नां। रं। सं। वाः। कं। सं। गं। म्मां। किं। चं। पां। यं। पां। यं। विं। वं। रिं। पिं। नुं
हं। सं। हं। तो। नां। उं। तां। सां। तं। वं। श्रीं। वं। डुं। नां। ले। गिं। रिं। गं। हं। मं। हं। हां। म्मां। डिं। तां। श्रुं। न्यां। तो
नां। हं। लं। कं। ल्यां। वं। मानं। यं। स। मं। मिं। वं। मं। वां। म्मुं। तं। वं। गं। थ। कं। वं। नं। यं। वीं। सुं। वीं। सुं। को। रं
पुं। डं। बुं। डं। गं। पां। तो। णं। लं। यं। यं। जिं। जिं। नां। सुं। रं। मां। तं। डं। वं। तां। पं। पं। तिं। नं। टं। मुं। रं। हां
त्रां। ध्यं। तो। स्त्रः। स। मीं। रं। यो। सिं। श्रुं। न्यां। डिं। यो। विं। रं। चं। यं। तिं। मं। हां। दिं। वं। रं। वं। स। यं। शं।
निं। डिं। यो। डिं। तं। रां। डं। मं। पुं। लं। मं। धं। डिं। यो। रिं। वं। लं। स्मां। रं। तां। यं। कीं। ल्यां। रिं। वं। लं। वां। दि
नीं। परिं। हं। णो। डं। म्फुं। रं। सं। म्पां। पां। तां। ले। पं। णिं। मां। यं। कं। डिं। तिं। नं। लो। कं। लां। स। रं।
नं। पुं। रां। वां। सं। वां। सं। वं। वारं। णं। सुं। दिं। डं। यं। सं। लं। स्यं। मुं। नं। चिं। तं। शं। डं। मं। सां। निं।

- 28 सः । यद्वर्तस्य समस्तराज्यमहरन्मतेभक्तुभस्वलीकूजत्प[ट्प]द-
 29 गीतवैभवभरं जातस्ततो जैतुमिः ॥ [१२*] का[रा]गारात्समानीय क-
 30 णावरुणालयः । प्रियंवदास्यमकरोत्क्षितेगणपति पति[तिम्] ॥ [१३*] हम्मीर-
 31 तिमिरतरणिस्सरणिद्वंमस्य सक्रमः कीर्त्तः । तस्मादे(दे)वायमजनि श्रीसि-

Second Plate, First Side

- 32 घणदेवभूपालः ॥ [१४*]¹ कृष्यते यदुराजरत्न भवता वधाभि(सि) वि[द्वे]पिणामुप्यते सम-
 33 रस्वलीपु(पु) करिणा(णा) मुक्तामणिश्रेणयः । वर्षन्ति स्तनमं(मं)दलेषु तरु-
 34 णीनेवाणि बाष्पोत्करैरुद्धेदो भुवनत्रयेपि [य*]शसामाश्चर्यमुज्ज्व-
 35 ते ॥ [१५*]² जावा[*] स्मः कविसंज्ञिका व ॥³ यममो भूमण्डले सिधणक्षोणी[न्द्र]-
 36 स्य गुणाण्वस्तु न गिरां गन्धेषु सम्मात्ययम् । यस्यैकस्य भुजे नि-
 37 धाय धरणीभारञ्चिरेण प्रियाकेलीमप्यवधूय सर्पशयने निद्राति नाराय-
 38 णः ॥ [१६*]⁴ मयं मुच करीद्राक्षौलशिक्षरे [श]ल्यं विनिर्भद्य तद्गोवामर्द्धनिमग्नमेव स-
 39 मरे घत्तामियं [भु]न्त(स्त)तः । नो चेत्सिधणदेव निःसृतमिद्रं कोऽस्य शेषस्य वा
 40 कि वा कूर्मपतेः [प]तैर्व्व(व)पुषि तन्मास्तामयं दनयः ॥ [१७*]⁵ स्तो(स्ना)तव्यस्त्वमृतेन
 कश्चि-
 41 दपरो भूमण्डलाखडल स्यादेको यदि वा निवातकवचध्वंसी पृथानदनः । दु-
 42 रे सोऽयववास्तु यस्य समरे क्षोणीनिमज्जद्रथोदस्तिव्यस्तकरद्वये विनिहि-

¹ The first foot of the stanza exhibits *Kāleṅgaṇaṅgarita-rāpala* not heard as yet. The superimposition of *tenire* on *Hamman* leads to that of *tenire* on the king. There is also *Māla-rāpala* at *Amrai* and *Amraime* are synonymous to the same *Singhata*.

² The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

³ The heroic deeds of *Singhata* are compared with those of a farmer. The second and fourth feet of the verse jointly offer *daroga* inasmuch as the cause (i. e. sowing) is in one place and the effect (i. e. crops) in another. [Three causes of the same effect are given in the first three feet.—Ed.]

⁴ The two *daṇḍas* are unnecessary.

⁵ The second foot of the stanza exhibits *Adhika* as *yam-Grāma* (the *daroga*) is described as greater than speech (the *daroga*) though really it is not so.

⁶ *Singhata*, the champion archer, is requested here to discharge his shaft at the enemy's elephant not with full swing. For the full force of the shaft will not only kill the elephant, but, says the poet with a hyperbole, also pierce the earth to the knee and fall on the Bear (*Vikṣa*) or Snake or the Tortoise (i. e. the mythological supporters of the earth). And would this not be an outrage?

- 43 ता वैकर्तमे(ने) मार्गणाः ॥ [१८*]^१ कलौ किमिति नाल(भ)वत् क्षपितश्चाडवः
पांडवो रिपु-
- 44 त्रिपुरधूर्जटिः किमु न सिंघणो द्वापरे । इदं स विमूषन्मुहुस्समरदृष्टित्-
- 45 ण्यातुरः स्व(इव)रा(स)न्समुपवीणयत्सम(न्स)रति गूढभावो मुनिः ॥ [१९*]^२ सद्देशजं
गुणिनमा-
- 46 यतमाप्तकोटिमुत्सृज्य चापमगमत्समरेस्य ज्ञाणः । युक्तं तदेत[द]भवद्यदपि
- 47 प्रविश्य प्रत्यापिपादिवहृदि स्थिपिमाप नयः ॥ [२०*]^३ तस्मादजायत जगत्[त्]वयगीय-
- 48 मानप्रीडप्रतापतपनोदयदुनिवारः । श्रीजैतुगिर्वसुमतीवलयाधिनाथचू-
- 49 डामणिप्रकरसंकरचूबितांघ्रिः ॥ [२१*]^४ तस्मात्कृष्ण इति प्रसिद्धचरितः श्रीरायना-
- 50 रायणो जातः कार्तिकचंद्रकातिजयिनी कीर्तिञ्चिरन्तयन् । गर्जत्गु(दगू)र्जर-
- 51 वीरशोणितसरित्सगत्वरे श्रीपतिः पाथोषी सधृणो यदीयहृदये निर्दूषणे
- 52 निद्रितः ॥ [२२*]^५ तस्यानुजो निजनु(भु)जाजितभूमिभार[ः*]^६ स्वच्छन्दचारमुदितोरगसार्व-
- 53 भीमः । यो वीसलं समरकीतुकिनां सुराणामग्रे समूलविभवं दलघोचका-
- 54 र ॥ [२३*]^७ रायनारायणो रायपितामह इति स्फुटं(टम्) । यथार्थन्नाम यस्येवं
महादेवस्य
- 55 गीयते ॥ [२४*]^८ तेजोवाक्ता निवृत्ता चलति बलभरे वाजितामाजिवेगादुद्धतस्थूल-
- 56 धूलीपटलकवलनादर्णवाः कर्णगम्याः । किं च प्राणप्रयाणात्प्रतिघरणिभू-
- 57 जां संहृतो मारुतोसी तेषां स्त्रीबंधुबालैगिरिगहनगृहास्त्याजिताः शून्यतां

^१ Arjuna alone could have been regarded to be as brave as Singhana and could have been incited by the angry *śāhishka*. But he violated all rules of war in shooting arrows at Karna (Yakartana) who the latter was busy lifting up (*udart*) the chariot-wheel with his hands. The *Nāṭasamachas* (literally, 'clothed in impenetrable armour'), destroyed by Arjuna, were a class of Dantyas descended from Prehāda. [The correction inserted in the first foot is unnecessary.—Ed.]

^२ The verse exhibits *Atyāyātkā* and *Ārāśi Utpādātkā*. Arjuna's inferiority to Singhana is further indicated. [The first two corrections inserted in the fourth foot are unnecessary.—Ed.]

^३ There is *Sandehātkā*. *Bhūva* is *prasthā* and from it the *aprasṭhā*, 'one who deserves a gentleman', is insinuated by means of double-meaning adjectives.

^४ *Kārtika-chandra-kānti-jayinim* *hṛdīm* gives us *Yastirātkā*. King Krishna was ever intent on killing the yelling Gūrjara hero. His [cannon-like] heart is therefore said to be eager (cf. *hṛdīm*) to meet (cf. *sanga*) the river of Gūrjara blood. This is *Atyāyātkā* based on *Rāpātā*. Ordinarily it is the river that flows to the ocean. King Krishna meditated on Vishnu and his heart was free from all sin (*apṛāśātkā*). Hence Vishnu is poetically conceived to repose in the king's heart as he detected (cf. *upgrīha*) the ocean in comparison with the heart.

^५ Here is *Atyāyātkā*.

- 70 क्षत्रियां वारंवारमयं करोति कुरुते रत्नाकरं स्वायय(यम्) ॥ [३०°]¹ स खल्वेवैविवगुणस-
- 71 णालकृतः सयनारायणः रायभुजबलभोमः रायपितामहः रायवसहै-
- 72 त्यादिर्वीर(क)दावतीविराजमानः कुलकमाणतं तिजभुजबलपालितं चतुस्त-
- 73 भुद्रमेखलार्कितमही[म]पदलसां(सर)आज्यपधन्दधानः श्रीमत्सहादेवः । शकन्-
- 74 पोपलक्षितसवत्सराणां द्वा(द्वज)श्रोत्याधिकेप्वेकादशसु शतेष्वतीतेषु वसंमान-
- 75 दुर्मतिसवत्सरांतरेतभाद्रपदशुक्लद्वितीयायां सोमे आत्मनः पट्टचंसम-
- 76 चे राज्याभिवृत्त्य(द्वय)र्भं क्षेत्रदेशालंकरणगोदावरीदक्षिणतीरस्थं धुत्वद-
- 77 द्वाणकारकमौलिकश्रीभ्रतिधिनिक्षेपजलपात्रा(धा)णतेजस्वा(स्वा)म्यमित्या-
- 78 द्वाष्टभोगसंहितं राजराजपुरस्वरूप्यनंगुलिनिर्वेद्यं भक्तिभद्रा(द्रा)तिशयपू-
- 79 र्भकं हिरण्याक्षतीदकसंहितं कालुगंयनामधेयं ग्रामं पट्टवदंनपुरापरना-
- 80 मधेयं नानागोवेभ्यो द्विपचाशसंख्याकेभ्यो ब्राह्मणेभ्यः प्रावात् श्रीमहादेवः [॥°]
- 81 मद्रं चैते ब्राह्मणाः । भारद्वाजतंतिरीयमाजवमुतपोतिः । बह्वचशाहिल्यजोगदे-
- 82 वमुतलक्ष्मीचरः । बह्वचशाहिल्यजोगदेवमुतप्रभाकरः । तंतिरीयकौटि-
- 83 न्यमहादेवमुतनारायणः । तंतिरीयकौटिन्यगोविंदमुतकुणः । बह्वच-
- 84 मुद्रगस्तदेवतंमुतजनादेनः । बह्वच(वत्त)जारांगमुतविष्णुः । बह्वचकोशि-
- 85 कसोमनाममुतदामोदरः । तंतिरीयशाहिल्यजाकदेवमुतबोपदेवः । तं-
- 86 तिरीयजामदग्न(ग्न्य)वत्सपुत्रोत्तममुतजनादेनः । तंतिरीयपराजरदेवण-
- 87 मुतचांगदेवः । बह्वचकौटिन्यश्रीवत्समुतदामोदरः । बह्वचभारद्वाजविष्णु-
- 88 मुतमैरालः । तंतिरीयकाश्यपकुक्षिमुतविष्णुः । बह्वचजामदग्न(ग्न्य)वत्सवाम-
- 89 नमुतनारायणः । बह्वचसिण्डरेवद्रासमुतविद्याचरः । बह्वचवादरायणरा-
- 90 धवमुतसोमनाथः । बह्वचशाहिल्यतामणमुतविष्णुः । बह्व-
- 91 चगान्येवामनमुत आपदेवः । बह्वचजामदग्न(ग्न्य)वत्समैरालमु-

¹ There is *Atitayākti*, and *Iripāna-chāhulāi* given *lethi* *Apahant*. [Not *lethi*, but *Sēdā*.—Ed.]

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92. त आपदेवः । बह्वृचवसिष्ठ आपदेवमुतः^[*] अणामः । बह्वृचकपिपु-

93. द्योत्तममुतलोकनाथः । बह्वृचकाश्यप आपदेवमुतरामः^[*]

94. वाः । बह्वृच आभेयश्रीधरमुतकीमलः । बह्वृचश्रीतमतीकगोविमुतवि-

Third Plate

95. ऋः । बह्वृचकाश्यपचन्द्रमुत आपदेवः । तैत्तिरीयवा^[*]पुष्योत्तममुतपञ्चतो-

96. भः । तैत्तिरीयकाश्यपमाधवमुतवासुदेवः । बह्वृचभागवचांग-

97. देवमुतकमलदेवः । तैत्तिरीयहरितकालिदासमुतहरिः । बह्वृ-

98. चमित्रपुष्यवोपदेवमुतविनायकः । तैत्तिरीयलोहितपञ्चनाभमु-

99. तुलसीधरः । तैत्तिरीयवा^[*]पञ्चनाभमुतमहादेवः । तैत्तिरी-

100. मभारद्वाजहरिहरमुतवासुदेवः । तैत्तिरीयदेवराजमैरालमुतप्रांतिः^[*]

101. तैत्तिरीयदेवराजानारायणमुतवासुदेवः । तैत्तिरीयवत्सनामदेवमुतप-

102. चनाभः । तैत्तिरीयकौटिल्यजन्तिकपेदिमुतभक्तिदेवः । बह्वृचकौशिकवाम-

103. तमुतज्ञानदेवः । तैत्तिरीयवासिष्ठवासुदेवमुतवामोदरः । तैत्तिरीयभा-

104. रद्वाज एकममुतगोविन्दः । ऋ(हं)दीनकाश्वज्जलभ्योदरमुतगोविन्दः । बह्वृ-

105. चभारद्वाजमाधवमुतचण्पाणिः । बह्वृचभारद्वाजवा^[*]भुतमुतवृष्णः ।

106. बह्वृचकौटिल्यराघवमुतविश्वनाथः । बह्वृचकौटिल्यराघवमुत ऋषिः । तै-

107. त्तिरीयभारद्वाजदेवणमुतमाधवेवः । तैत्तिरीयकाश्यपमधुसूदनमुतकेशव-

108. । व(व)ह्वृचवासिष्ठरामोदरमुतनारायणः । बह्वृचविश्वामित्राघसार्पणकौशिकः^[*] अ-

109. णममुतगंगाधरः । व(व)ह्वृचविश्वामित्राघसार्पणकौशिकसोमनाथमुतनीलकण्ठ-

110. । व(व)ह्वृचजामदग्न(म्य)वत्सशर्म(शाङ्ग)मुतहरिः । नव सनवृत्तयः । अथावाटाः^[*]
[1*] पूर्वतः नीव-

111. रवी । दक्षिणतः दहीर्गो राजणर्गो । पश्चिमतः सार्धमो नाड्यो । उत्तरतः गंगा

112. ॥ एवं चतुरावाटाः । चत्वारिंशत्त्रिंशपरिमिता भूमिः सांभयामसायवर्तिनी प्रति-

[The intended reading may be 'Vallabha' or 'Vallabha'—Ed.]

* Cf. Meisler-Williams, Sans. Eng. Dict., s.v.

- 113 पूरणार्थ¹ दत्ता । अस्य च धर्मस्य संरक्षणे फलमाहुर्मुनयः । गण्यते पांसवो भू-
- 114 मेर्गण्यते वृष्टिर्विदवः । न गण्यते विधात्रापि धर्मसंरक्षणे फलं(लम्) ॥ [३१*]
बहुभिर्वसुधा
- 115 भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्)
॥ [३२*] सर्वा-
- 116 नेतान् भाविनः पाथिवेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयो याचते रामचंद्रः । सामान्योयं ध-
- 117 म्मंसेतुनंराणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥ [३३*] मद्रंशजाः परमहोप-
- 118 तिचंशजा वा पापादपेतमनसो भुवि भाविभूपाः । ये पालयन्ति मम ध-
- 119 मेमिमं समर्थं तेभ्यो मया विरचितोऽजलिरेव मूर्ध्नि ॥ [३४*] अपहरतः समर्थ-
- 120 स्पाप्सुपेक्षकस्य च त एव विपरीतं फलमाहुः । गामेकां रत्निकामेकां भू-
- 121 मेरप्येकमंगुलं(लम्) । हरप्ररकमाप्नोति यावदाभूतसंप्लवं(वम्) ॥ [३५*] स्वदत्तां परद-
- 122 तां वा यो हरेत् वसुधरां(राम्) । पष्टिर्वपंसहस्राणि विष्टायां जायते किमिः ॥ [३६*]
- 123 विंध्याटवीध्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरधायिनः । कृष्णसर्पा मि(हि) जायते व-
- 124 ह्यदत्तापहारिणः ॥ [३७*] पण्यंगनानां सदनं न देयं² जूतप्रचारोपि निवारणी-
- 125 यः ॥³ स्वयं वसतिभिर्भोग्यं सदा सन्मार्गवर्तिभिः ॥⁴ शुभं भवतु मंगलं महा
- 126 श्रीः ॥ छ ॥ छ ॥ छ ॥⁵

¹ "In order to fill up", i.e. to add to the land originally included in the boundaries of Kālāṅga.

² The donors should allow no courtesans to settle in the gift village. Similar conditions are also known from other grants (cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 319).

³ This is half of a stanza in *Indrasūtra*.

⁴ This is half of a verse in *Anushāsaka*.

⁵ This is followed by two signs. I am indebted to Shri M. W. Desai, Collector of Ahmednagar, for making the copper plates available to me, to Dr. G. V. Devasthali of Nasik for his help in interpreting the difficult portions of the grant, to my pupil Shri D. K. Kharvandikar for assisting me in evaluating the beauty of the stanzas and to Principal T. Barnabas for his generous help.

No. 4—RASHTRAKUTA CHARTERS FROM CHINCHANI

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

In its issue of the 28th of June, 1955, *The Times of India*, Bombay, announced the discovery of a number of inscriptions in the village of Chinchani in the Dahann Taluk of the Thana District, Bombay State. It was stated that an agriculturist of the said village found nine copper plates bearing inscription while digging in his fields. The villager handed over the plates to the Mamlatdar of Dahann, who brought the discovery to the notice of higher authorities. Ultimately the plates were transferred to the office of the Collector of Thana, from whom they were received by the Director of Archives, Bombay. In January 1957, I visited Bombay in the course of my annual tour in search of inscriptions. The Director of Archives kindly allowed me to examine the plates and copy the inscriptions in his office. It was found on examination that the nine plates formed five different records. One of the five sets consisted of three plates; two of the sets contained two plates each; and the remaining two plates each contained a complete record. Two of the five charters belong to the Imperial Rashtrakutas, one pertaining to the reign of Indra III (915-28 A.D.) and the other to that of Krishna III (939-67 A.D.). These are edited here with the help of impressions prepared by me. The other three inscriptions belonging to the local chiefs of Sainyāna (modern Sanjan, 20° 12' N., 72° 52' E., in the Dahann Taluk of the Thana District) are being edited in a separate article. My thanks in this connection are due to Dr. P. M. Joshi, Director of Archives, Government of Bombay, and Dr. Motilalandra, Director of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay.

1. Grant of the time of Indra III, Śaka 848

This is a set of three plates each measuring 9·6 inches in length, 5·8 inches in height and ·115 inch in thickness. The plates are strung on a ring passing through a hole in them. The joint of this ring is secured beneath a seal bearing the blurred representation of an emblem which looks more like a recumbent bull facing the proper left than Garuda generally found on the seals of the Rashtrakuta emperors, together with the symbols of the sun and moon above. The first and third plates bear writing only on the inner side while the second plate is engraved on both the obverse and reverse. The inscription has altogether 67 lines of writing, there being 16 lines on the first plate, 19 and 16 lines respectively on the obverse and reverse of the second plate, and 16 lines on the third plate. The writing is neatly done and is in a satisfactory state of preservation. The three plates together with the ring bearing the seal weigh 236 talas.

The characters belong to the North Indian alphabet of the tenth century. The letter *ṣ* is indicated by the sign for *v*. The *upadhisāya* is once used in line 22 and the *avagraha* once in line 60. The numerical figures 4 and 8 occur in line 60. The following initial vowels are found in the inscription: *a* in lines 5, 24, 44, 53 (twice) and 60; *ā* in lines 20, 38 and 51; *i* in line 57; *u* in line 15; and *ū* in lines 6 and 36. Final *t* occurs in lines 10, 15 and 67, final *n* in lines 16, 21 and 25, and final *m* in line 26. The language is Sanskrit and the record is composed in prose and verse. As regards orthography, mention may be made of the reduplication of some of the consonants following *r* and in rare cases also those preceding *r*. The change of the final *va* to both the *annasva* and the *class-nasal* is noticed. It has been wrongly changed to *ṣ* in one case in

line 18. It is often wrongly changed to *amardra* and is found wrongly conjoined with the following *v* in a few cases in lines 23, 59 and 60. In one case in line 43, final *s* has been wrongly changed to *amardra*. The rules of *Sandhi* have in some cases been ignored.

The date of the charter is quoted in lines 58-60 as **Saka 848, Vyaya, Vaisākha-suk. 3, Akshata-tṛitīyā**, (i.e. Akshaya-tṛitīyā), **Monday**. The details correspond to the 17th April, 926 A.D.

The inscription begins with the *Siddham* symbol. Then follows an introductory section in four stanzas, the first of which is in adoration of Giristā and Hara (i.e. Pārvatī and Śiva). Verse 2 is also in adoration of Durgā, i.e. Pārvatī. The sage Agastya is adored in verse 3 and the *Ārga-dīpā Mahā-parshad* in verse 4. Since Agastya was regarded as the leader of the Aryanisation of trans-Vindhyan India, he was an object of special veneration to the Brahmanists of the south. The *Ārga-dīpā Mahā-parshad* seems to have been an assembly of learned Brāhmaṇas hailing from what was called Āryāvarta (roughly, India to the north of the Vindhyas) in ancient Indian literature. The contents of the record would suggest that this assembly belonged to the city of Saṁyāna which is the modern Sanjan about 22 miles to the north of the findspot of the inscription. The same assembly is apparently mentioned in lines 29-30 as the *Pakṣa-Gaṇaṭīga-Mahā-parshad*.

The next four stanzas (verses 5-8) introduce the **Yadu** or Yādava dynasty. This section speaks of the mom, his son Budha, his son Purūṣyasa, and his son Āyasa. It also mentions Yayāti as one of the imperial rulers born in the said family and Yadu as the son of Yayāti and the progenitor of the **Yadu-varmaṇa**. Verse 9 refers to the birth of Gōvindarāja in the same family otherwise called the **Rāshtrakūṭa** dynasty.¹ This Gōvindarāja is the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda I, son of Indra I and grandson of Dantivarman I. The next stanza (verse 10) mentions the following four kings who ruled successively: (1) Kakkarāja (Kakka I, son of Gōvindarāja; (2) Indrarāja (Indra II), son of Kakkarāja; (3) Dantidurga (Dantivarman II, 742-56 A.D.), son of Indrarāja; and (4) Krishnarāja (Krishna I, 756-75 A.D.), the younger brother of Dantidurga's father. Verse 11 similarly speaks of the following successive rulers of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty: (1) Gōvindarāja (Gōvinda II, 775-80 A.D.), son of Krishnarāja; (2) Dhruvarāja (780-94 A.D.), younger brother of Gōvindarāja; (3) Jagattuṅga (Gōvinda III, 794-814 A.D.), son of Dhruvarāja; and (4) Amoghavarsha (i.e. Amoghavarsha I, 814-80 A.D.), son of Jagattuṅga. Verse 12 not only mentions Krishnarāja (Krishna II, 878-915 A.D.), son and successor of Amoghavarsha, but also refers to his own successor who was the son of his son named Jagattuṅga.

The name of the grandson and successor of Krishna II is given in verse 13 as **Indrarāja** (Indra III, 915-28 A.D.) while the next stanza (verse 14) describes him as *grhīta-Dāhā-nāyaka-lapāṭa* and *uttara-dig-baddha-ricki*. In the first of these two epithets, Dāhā is no doubt the name of the territory under the rule of the Kalachuris of Tripuri near Jabalpur in Madhya Pradesh, and *nāyaka* possibly means a lieutenant of the contemporary Kalachuri king. The claim therefore may refer to the slaughter of a Kalachuri general. We know that Lakṣmī, mother of Rāshtrakūṭa Indra III, was the daughter of Kalachuri Śaṅkaragana Rājavāgraha, son of Kōkkalla I.²

¹ That the Rāshtrakūṭas did not originally claim the Yādava lineage seems to be suggested by the description of Gōvinda III in his records. It is stated that the Rāshtrakūṭa family became unconquerable to its foes owing to the birth of Gōvinda III just as the Yādava race had been after the birth of Madhu-ripa, i.e. Krishna-Vishnu (cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 66, verse 11) thereby making a distinction between the two dynasties. The Sanjan plates (above, Vol. XVIII, p. 243, verse 3) of Amoghavarsha I dated 871 A.D., refer to the birth of Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda I in the Yadu dynasty thus suggesting the identification of the two families. The *Hastina-Hippargi* inscription (862 A.D.) of the same Rāshtrakūṭa king mentions Krishna I as *Yāda-śrī-śākhā*, probably meaning an incarnation of Krishna, the Yādava *par excellence*. Cf. *Bombay-Narmada Inscriptions*, Vol. I, part 2, p. 5, No. 9, text line 1.

² Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 265.

and that his own queen Vijāmbā was a great-granddaughter of the same Kōṅkalla I.¹ As yet there was no clear evidence of a struggle between Indra III and the Kalachuris. The other epithet pointing to his success in the north seems to refer to his conquest of Mahōdaya (Kansauj in the Farrukhabad District, U.P.) which was the capital of the Gurjara-Pratihāras. According to a record² of Gōvinda IV, son of Indra III, his father's cavalry crossed the Yamunā at Kālārciya (modern Kalpi in the Jalaun District, U.P.) and destroyed the city of Mahōdaya. It is difficult to determine whether *nāśita-kān-ātā*, 'destroyer of the licentious', alludes to any particular event in the king's career.

Verses 16-20 introduce a subordinate of the Rashtrakūṭa king. It is said that, when Indra III (915-28 A.D.) was reigning, there was a ruler named Madhumatī who belonged to the Tājika (i.e. Arab) community, and that he had received the entire *maṇḍala* or territorial division of Saṁyāna from Kṛishṇarāja (Kṛishṇa II, 878-915 A.D.). Madhumatī is no doubt the Sanskritised form of the Arabic name Muhammad.³ This Arab chief was thus appointed the governor of Saṁyāna by Kṛishṇa II and was continuing in his post during the rule of Indra III. It is stated that Madhumatī conquered the chiefs of all the harbours (*vāṭakula*) of the neighbourhood, apparently on behalf of his master, and placed his own officials in them (verse 18). Verse 19 says that Madhumatī's other name was Sugatipa and that he was the son of Saṁyārahāra or Hiyārahāra or Yārahāra. Unfortunately it is difficult to determine the Arabic forms of these two names under their Indian garb. Verse 20 says how this Arab governor of Saṁyāna established free ferry on two streams (near Saṁyāna, apparently on the Sanjan river) and also a feeding house (at Saṁyāna) where Śālī rice, curries and ghee were entered free of cost. Verse 21 states that Madhumatī Sugatipa's minister was Purvaiya.

Verse 22 states that there was a Brāhmaṇa named Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa who was the son of Vāṁśdēva and belonged to the Bhāra-vāja *gōtra*. This Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa had a son named Annaiya (later also called Annammaiya) who was a friend of Madhumatī-Sugatipa's minister Purvaiya and an obedient servant of Nityavaraha (i.e. Indra III). Annaiya or Annammaiya constructed a *maṭhikā*, i.e. a monastery or temple, at Saṁyāna. The next stanza (verse 23) says that he also created an endowment consisting of landed property with the permission of Nityavaraha (Indra III). The nature of his endowment is made clear in the following part of the record in prose.

The prose portion in lines 27 ff. states that, at the request of Annammaiya (the same as Annaiya of verse 22) who belonged to the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* and Maitrāyaṇī *śākha* and was the son of Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa and grandson of Vāṁśdēva, Sugatipa alias Madhumatī made a grant of the village of Kōṇāḍuka situated in the Kōlimahāra *vikaya* within Saṁyāna-*maṇḍala* (cf. *ibid.* in line 32) together with half a *Dhura* of land in the village of Dēvīhara (cf. line 39), with the permission of Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramāśvara Indrarājadēva (Indra III). The *Dhura* is regarded as $\frac{1}{2}$ of a *Bisra* which is $\frac{1}{2}$ of a *Bighā*. But the word used in our record possibly indicates a bigger area of land. The purpose of the creation of the endowment was that the income accruing to it would be utilised for the repairs of the *maṭhikā* constructed by Annaiya or Annammaiya and also for the offering of *saṁśṛāya* to the goddess Daśamī (apparently a form of the Mother-goddess Durgā or Pārvatī often called merely the

¹ Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 280.

² *Above*, Vol. VII, p. 38.

³ The same Arabic name is Sanskritised as Madhumada in the Panjim plates of Kallamba Jayasimha I (c. 850-80 A.D.) of Goa. Madhumada is stated to have belonged to the Tājika (i.e. Tājika or Arab) *vanasa* and to have been the son of Ajayana and the father of Chhadama who was a capable and popular administrator under the Kadamba king. See C.P. No. 3 of 1951-52; cf. *QJHSM* (Marātī), Vol. XXXI, No. 4, pp. 27 ff.; *Mozaca*, *The Kadamba Kula*, p. 296 (cf. pp. 172, 185-86).

Devi or *Bhagavati*¹ and the feeding of nine persons belonging to the *Pañcha-Gauḍiṇa-mahā-parikṣā* of Saṁyāna. The goddess Daśamī was no doubt worshipped in the *mathā* constructed by Annaiya or Annammaiya. The *Pañcha-Gauḍiṇa-mahā-parikṣā* seems to be the community of Gauḍiṇa or North Indian Brāhmanas settled at Saṁyāna. The five classes of these Brāhmanas are called : (1) *Sarasvata*, (2) *Kānyakubja*, (3) *Gauḍa*, (4) *Maithila*, and (5) *Utkala*.²

Although it was Annaiya or Annammaiya who created the endowment according to verse 23, the prose part of the record refers to it as one created by the governor of Saṁyāna. This is because the creation of a rent-free building was the prerogative of the government. The creation of the endowment was declared by the governor at an assemblage of the *Hāṁyamana-pauras*, *Dharmas* and *Vidyāgādādhikārikas* of Saṁyāna. Of these, the third expression indicates the officers of the various administrative offices of the district round Saṁyāna. The *Dharmas* were superintendents of the collection of the royal share of the produce of the fields from the farmers.³ The expression *hāṁyamana-paura* (or, *hāṁyamana-nagara-paura*) is met with in some records of the Northern Konkan region and it has often been understood in the sense of 'the citizens of Hāṁyamana, i.e. Saṁyāna'.⁴ Unfortunately Hāṁyamana cannot be regarded as another form of the name of Saṁyāna, since the latter name itself occurs in the compound immediately before *hāṁyamana*. J. J. Modi seems to be right in tracing the origin of the word to Avestic *hāṁyamana* and Persian *axaman* and in taking it to indicate the settlement of the Parsees.⁵ He also thinks that this Parsee colony stood at Sanjan which was therefore called Hāṁjamana or Hāṁyamana. No doubt our inscription may refer to the Parsee community of Saṁyāna; but it does not support the suggestion that Hāṁyamana was another name (or another form of the name) of Saṁyāna. In the records⁶ quoted by Modi, the reference may be to the Parsee colony in different cities of the Northern Konkan and not to a particular city of theirs, since the said charters appear to have had little to do particularly with the town of Sanjan.

The boundaries of the village of Kāpāḍuka are quoted in lines 33-35 as : in the east—a hill and a stream in its western side; in the south—the stream flowing from the said hill, a locality called Sēmbaka and the southern part of Bhammaharōṅgarikā to the west of Sēmbaka; in the west—certain trees at the eastern fringe of Kallagrāma, a locality called Chināna and the stream to the south of Hihgavāra; in the north—the localities called Hihgavāra and Chavasā and the stream running by the south of Vāghavāra and flowing from its eastern part. The village was granted with the rights called *udraṅga* (i.e. major tax), *minor tax or cess*, *bhāga-bhāga* (i.e. periodical offering of fruits, etc.), *parikara* (i.e. *uparikara*, produce of the fields), *daṇḍa-das-āparādha* (i.e. fines for the ten major crimes), *dhānya-kāṇḍya-ādāya* (i.e. taxes in grains and cash), *utpadayamāna-vāṣṭi-pratyāya* (i.e. tax payable in lieu of free labour), *abhyantara-vāṣṭi* (i.e. enjoyment of things found underground) and *a-chāṭa-bhāṭa-pravāṣa* (i.e. inadmissibility of royal agents). But the rights did not include the following three : *niḍhāna* (i.e. treasure trove), *alipaka* (also called *alipaka*, possibly meaning 'indestructible objects' or 'metal ores') and *kaṁḍari-sāhasa-dāṇḍa* (i.e. fines for the violation of the modesty of unmarried girls). The gift lands were made a permanent endowment.

¹ The name of the goddess reminds us that of Sheshthī generally worshipped on the sixth day after the delivery of a child or on the sixth *tithi* of a fortnight. It also reminds us of the *tithi* called *Vijaya Daśamī* (Āśvina-śukla 10), famous for its association with the worship of Durgā Pūrvat.

² See *IRQ*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 132.

³ Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 404, note 1; above, Vol. XIX, p. 168.

⁴ See *Bomb. Govt.*, Vol. I, part II, pp. 16-18; cf. also pp. 342-43; Vol. XIV, pp. 302, 418.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLI, pp. 172-76.

⁶ *Ar. Rev.*, Vol. I, p. 337; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 216 ff.; Vol. IX, pp. 53 ff.

Some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas (verses 24-34) are quoted in lines 40-58, with a similar passage in prose in lines 58-60. The date when the charter was written is given in words and figures in lines 58-60. It is stated in lines 60-63 that the document was written by Sugata, son of Ajita who had been the *Sādhavīgrahika* (minister for war and peace) of Dhruvarāja, with the cognisance of Vathaiya, a *Dhruva* of Samyāna, and under orders from Sugatipa who received instructions in this matter from Paramāvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Nityavarahadēva (Indra III) meditating on the feet of his predecessor Akalavarahadēva (Kṛishṇa II). As in many other records of the kind, the document is stated to be authoritative even if less and there a letter was omitted from it or unnecessarily put in it. Verse 35 prays for the continuous rule of the chief Sugatipa, represented as the donor of the village of Kāpājuka together with half a *Dhruva* of land at Dīvīhara, and for the rehabilitation of Annaiya (Annammāiya), Rāvana and Kautuka, apparently after their death, in the mountainous abode of the gods (i.e. on the Sumēra), through the grace of the Dēvi. This Dēvi is no other than Bhagavati Deśamī who is mentioned in line 30 and whose image was installed in the *mūrtihā* constructed by Annaiya or Annammāiya at Samyāna. The mention of Rāvana and Kautuka along with Annaiya (Annammāiya) in this stanza suggests that they were also responsible for the construction of the temple and the installation of the Dēvi in it. Indeed the other inscription from the same place, edited below, seems to refer to the said *mūrtihā* as built by Kautuka alone. This may have been due to the fact that Annaiya and Rāvana were the younger brothers of Kautuka. The last stanza (verse 36) of the inscription contains the prayer that the charter might last for ever through the grace of the Dēvi. There is a benedictory passage of the usual type at the end of the record in line 67.

The inscription raises several interesting points, the most important among them being its date. It shows beyond doubt that the Rashtrakūṭa king Indra III surnamed Nityavaraha ruled at least down to April 926 A.D. The Nauvari plates¹ of Indra III record a grant made on the occasion of his *pañcā-bandha-otsava*, or festival of coronation, on the 24th February 915 A.D. The Dandapur inscription² of the 23rd December 918 A.D., referring to the reign of Prohādavaraha (Gōvinda IV, son of Indra III), led scholars to believe that Indra III died before that date, even though the Cambray plates³ of Gōvinda IV were issued on the occasion of his own coronation (*pañcā-bandha*) on the 10th May, 930 A.D. In *The Rashtrakūṭas and their Times*, published in 1934, Prof. A. S. Altekar suggested that Indra died in 917 A.D.,⁴ although Sewall's *The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, published two years earlier, refers to Nos. 271-72 of 1918, dated 922 A.D., as belonging to the reign of Nityavaraha Indra III.⁵ But, some years later, R. S. Panchamukhi and A. S. Ramesha Ayyar referred to certain inscriptions of Indra III, the latest of which (from Kamalāpuram in the Coimbatore District) is dated the 23rd of December 925 A.D.⁶ They also suggested that the Haleritti inscription of Nityavaraha Nirupama-Vallabha, dated December 927 A.D., also belongs to the same Rashtrakūṭa monarch. But none of the stone inscriptions quoted by Panchamukhi and Ayyar gives the genealogy of the king. Some of these inscriptions mention the king under his *śrēṇa* Nityavaraha and it was sometimes believed that Gōvinda IV was also called Nityavaraha like his father.⁷ Thus the inscription under study, which not only quotes a

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 253.

² *Ibid.*, p. 222.

³ *Above*, Vol. VII, pp. 27 ff.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 105.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 43, 323-84.

⁶ *Annual Report on Kannada Research in Bombay Province, 1930-40*, pp. 35 ff.; *above*, Vol. XXVI, p. 143.

⁷ *A. R. Ep.*, 1916, para. 38; *ARAS*, 1930-30, p. 173; *Ibid.*, 1930-34, Part I, p. 235. Even in a recent publication, Prof. A. S. Altekar suggests that Indra III died in 922 A.D. (*cf. The Age of Imperial Kannad*, ed. Majumdar, 1953, p. 13).

verifiable date but also a complete genealogy of the Imperial Rāshtrakūṭas from Gōvinda I to Nityavarsha Indra III, throws further light on the point of controversy and clearly supports the views of Panchamukhi and Ayyar. But the recent suggestion of Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, based on an inadequate appreciation of the evidence discussed by the said scholars, that Indra III ended his rule in the year 927 A.D.¹ is apparently wrong. The Bhāṣāna grant² of Śiṣāhāra Aparājita clearly states that Amoghavarsha II, elder brother of Gōvinda IV, ruled for one year, while, as already shown above, the coronation of Gōvinda IV took place on the 10th May 930 A.D. and he must have ascended the throne shortly before that date. Besides the Dandapur inscription, probably issued during his governorship over the region in question under his father, the earliest inscriptions of the reign of Gōvinda IV are the Guesri plates and the Kains inscription dated respectively the 17th and 30th January of 930 A.D.³ He, therefore, does not appear to have ascended the throne much earlier than the beginning of the year 930 A.D. Thus the one year's reign of Amoghavarsha II may be regarded as roughly corresponding to the year 929 A.D. Indra III, therefore, seems to have ruled till the end of 928 A.D.

The governorship of a Tājika or Arab over Saṁyāna under the Rāshtrakūṭa kings Kṛishṇa II and Indra III, known for the first time from the inscription under study, supports the statements of certain early Arab writers. The Ballharis (Ballahā-rāyas or Vallabha-rājas, i.e. the Rāshtrakūṭa monarchs) of Mānkir (i.e. Mānyakhēṭa or Mākhed) find mention in the writings of Suhaimīn (851 A.D.), Abū Zaid (before 915 A.D.), Ibn Khurdādhba (before 913 A.D.), Al Ma'addi (932-33 A.D.), Al Istakhri (about 951 A.D.) and Ibn Haukal (between 943 and 968 A.D.).⁴ These authors give the general impression that the Ballharis and their subjects were extremely partial to the Arab Mussimans and, according to Ibn Haukal and Al Istakhri, Muslim governors of cities were employed by the Ballharis. It is also stated by them that none but Muslims ruled over their co-religionists living in that empire; apparently meaning thereby that the Rāshtrakūṭas appointed Qāzis to look after the religious and judicial affairs of their Muslim subjects who were mostly of Arab nationality. Since, however, Muslim administrators did not so long figure in the epigraphical records of the Rāshtrakūṭas, Prof. A. S. Altekar considered the statements of the Arab writers as unreliable.⁵ But the present inscription proves the veracity of the statements of the Arab writers of Ballharis. Since Madhumati Sugatipa was appointed governor of Saṁyāna sometime before the end of the rule of Kṛishṇa II in 915 A.D., he was continuing to hold the important post for more than a decade. He must have been a successful administrator capable to preserve friendly relations with the peoples of communities and creeds other than his own. The way he associated himself with the construction of a Hindu monastery or temple, the installation of an image therein and the creation of a permanent endowment in its favour throws welcome light on the outlook of the Arab Mussimans of those days. This is in striking contrast with the policy of most of the later Muslim rulers of India.

The Arab governor's rule over the district around Saṁyāna during the reigns of the Rāshtrakūṭa kings Kṛishṇa II (878-915 A.D.) and Indra III (915-28 A.D.) throws interesting light on the history of the Śiṣāhāras of the Northern Konkan. We know that, during the reign of Amoghavarsha I (814-80 A.D.), the Śiṣāhāras claimed to be rulers of the whole of the Konkan as feudatories of the Rāshtrakūṭa monarch and that they again became powerful in the

¹ *History of South India*, 1955, p. 169.

² Above, Vol. III, p. 297.

³ Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 106 ff.; Vol. XIII, pp. 323 ff.

⁴ Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. I, pp. 3 ff., 9 f., 13 ff., 21 ff., 27 ff., 34.

⁵ *The Rāshtrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 187.

area after the decline of Rashtrakūṭa power about 973 A.D.¹ It now appears from the present inscription that, with the appointment of a governor over Samyāna-maṇḍala, comprising wide areas of the Northern Konkan, during the reign of Kṛṣṇa II, the Śilāhāras became rulers of only parts of the territory over which they had been ruling as feudatories of Amoghavarsha I.

Among the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, the reference to **Pañcha-Gauḍa** is very interesting. The name Gauḍa has been used here to indicate North India mentioned elsewhere in the record as **Āryadēśa**, i.e. Āryāvarta. The name is known to be used variously as that of a city in Eastern India, of the country around the said city, of the countries of Eastern India collectively and of the whole of Āryāvarta or Northern India.² It is well known that the name **Samyāna**, applied to both a city and a *maṇḍala* or territorial division, is preserved in that of modern Sanjan in the Thane District of Bombay. Whether the district called **Kōlimahāra-vishaya** owed its name to the Koli tribe of the Northern Konkan³ or of the port of Kolai about 15 miles to the north of Sanjan⁴ cannot be determined. I am also not sure about the location of the villages called **Kāpāḍuka** and **Dēvīhara**. The names of certain localities are mentioned in the inscription in the enumeration of the boundaries of Kāpāḍuka, one of them being **Kallagrāma**.

TEXT

[Metres: verse 1 *Drutavilambita*; verses 2-7, 12, 17-18, 21, 24-25, 28-32 *Anuṣṭubh*; verse 8 *Upajāti*; verses 9-11, 27, 33 *Indravajrā*; verses 13, 16 *Vasutatlakā*; verses 14, 19, 23 *Āgā*; verses 15, 35-36 *Śrugaḥarā*; verses 29, 22 *Śāntilavikīṇita*; verse 26 *Śānti*; verse 34 *Puskpātāgā*.]

First Plate

- 1 Siddham* ||[*] Gīṛimā-Harayōr = avibhinmayōr = vīharatōr = nūyam-ārtham = avantu vah |
suras-yāvaka-bhasma-vichitritā-Tri-
- 2 pathagā-polinō pada-pariktayah || [1*] Śāla-bhinna-sya viṣṇatō Mahishasya va(ba)lāḍ-
gaḥ | Durgāyāḥ pātu vah padas-ta-
- 3 d-rakt-śaktak-śaktah || [3*] Pāyān-munir = A[ga]jtyō vah(vas)-ahuk-āpita-vārdhah |
śakshin-śā-mukh-śtuh(tituh)śa(ga)-bhūbhrit-pāli-
- 4 ta-śānah || [3*] Jayatām = Ārya-dēśyā mahā-parśad-aninditah | viṣay-āchāra-
sanjanyo-dharm-āpāsamibhir-gunai-
- 5 b || [4*] Abhūd-Bhargajātā-jāta-vissakṣa-kutī-charah | Chandramā jagad-ānanda-
kanda-kandaśāna-śāmah || [5*] Tasmād-Vu(d=Bu)dhō vu(bu)dh-śādhā-
- 6 =tatā-eh-ābhūt = Parārvāh | tasmād-Āyur-analp-āyus = tatō-nyē chakravarttinah || [6*]
Āyam-achchhinna-santānah jāyamānēshu rājase ||
- 7 Yayātir-ahhavat-sō-pi antah Yadum-ajjānā || [7*] Tatas-triṭōki-tilakāyamānah
prāvarttat-śān Yadu-saḍjā-varishah |

¹ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, pp. 538 ff.

² *IHQ*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 123-24.

³ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 127.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 202.

⁵ From impressions.

⁶ Expressed by symbol.

- 26 Annaiyō¹=bhavad=asya mītram=asamatā śrī-Nityavarṣa-ānugaḥ Saṁyānō maṭhuk-ābhīdhānam-atulaśā yō=śāhikaraṇa-maṇḍanam || [22*] Tē=ā-
- 27 nīla-vilālita-vīḥi-jala-śalō vibhava-jititē matrā [*] vijñāpya Nityavarṣam pravartitō bhūmi-dāyō=yathīyam || [23*] Tē=āyath śrī-Madhū-
- 28 maty-apara-nāmnā śrī-Sugatipēna Bhāruvāja-maharṣi-gōtra-tilakāyamāna-Maitrā-yaj(ā)-śākhay-ōpalakṣita-savru(bra)hmachāri-āt-
- 29 Vāśudēv-ātmaja-śrī-Nārāyaṇa-bhāṭṭa-suta-śrīmad-Annammai-ōparōdhād-ōta[*]-kṛitā-ma-ṭhikā-saṁhār-ārtham tath-ātra-nivāsi-paṭicha-Ga-
- 30 ḍhya-mahā-parṣhadō nava-janānām Daśamyā=cha Bhagavatyā var-ākāra-nyāyēna² sarv-ōpakaraṇ-ōpabhog-ārtham tathā dharmma-chi-
- 31 ra-stāntayū paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājōdhīrāja-paramōvaru-śrīmad-Indrarājadēvarī vijñāpya tad-anumatēna śrī-Samyā-
- 32 na-haṁyamana-paura-dhruva-vishayik-śāhikārīkām-mēlayitv-ōh-saiva Kōlimahāra-vishay-āntarvartitī-Kāpāḍuk-ābhīdhāna-
- 33 grāmāḥ śāntō³ yath-āghātanām ||[*] pūrvataḥ parvat-ōpara-vāri-plevaḥ | dakṣiṇēn=altan-paga-nirggata-nadīm-śrābhya pāśāpa⁴-Sāmva(mba)k-ā-
- 34 para-Bhāmmaharōḍḡgarikā-dakṣiṇa-bhāgaḥ | pāśchimātō Bhāmmaharōḍḡgarikām-śrābhya Kāḷagōma-pūrvva-śmānta-vaṇa-madhūka-kumbhika-
- 35 Chinānu-Hinguvāra-dakṣiṇa-nadī[*] yāvud-attarātō Hinguvāra-ḥlavaś-Vāghavāra-dakṣiṇa-vāhinī-pūrvvāṅga-bhāvā nadī ||[*]

Second Plate, Second Side.

- 36 āvan catur-āghātan-ōpalakṣitāḥ s-ōdranigaḥ sa-parikaraḥ⁵ sa-bhōga-bhāgaḥ sa-danḍa-das-ōparōdhād sa-dhānya-li-
- 37 rāy-ādēyaḥ s-ōtpadyamāna-viṣṭi-pratyāyaḥ s-ābhyaantam-siddhi=chāṭa-bhaṭa-pratōśaḥ sa-vṛkṣa-māl-ākulaḥ
- 38 sa-śmā-paryantaḥ mīhān-ālpaka-kumārīsāhasa-dōsha-traya-varjaḥ ā-chandr-ārkk-āṅṇava-kahitī-sarī-Sumēru-
- 39 kulāchala-samakālinah grāmō dattas-tathā Dēvīhar-ākhyā-grāma-madhyō bhūmi-dhāt-ārdham cha ||[*] tad-āyam-samud-dāyō-
- 40 śmad-rāṁśyale-sanyas=ch-ōgānābhūt-bhūmipālāḥ pālayitavyō-mumantayās=cha ||[*] yata-śha || Sva-dattām para-dattām vā
- 41 yatūl-rakha-marūdhīpa | mahā mahābhṛtām śrēṣṭha-dandeh-chitrēyō-mupālanaḥ(nam) || [24*] tathā ch-ōktaḥ(ktam) | Va(Ba)huhīr-vvasanthā-bhuktā
- 42 rājabhūḥ Sagar-ābhībhūḥ | yaṇya yaṇya yalā bhūmīs-tasya tasya tadā pṣadāḥ(jam) || [25*] tathā ch-ōktaḥ Rāmabhadrēpa ||
- 43 Sāmānyō-yam dharmma-ōsture-nipāgām kālā kālō pāṇīyō bhavadbhūt | sarvān-ōtān(tān) bhūvinaḥ pāthivēndrān-bhū-

¹ The name of the person (cf. also verse 33 below) is given as Annammāya in the prose part of the record (line 23).

² This seems to refer to the practice of offering *maṭhās* arranged in a good shape.

³ i.e. *śānta* (peaceful).

⁴ The letter *pa*, which was originally omitted, is written above the line.

⁵ This is the same as *s-ōparōdhād* of many other records.

- 44 yō bhūyō yāchatō Rāmabhadrah || [26*] Agōr=apatyān prathamam survarṇam bhūt=evai-
shgavi sūrya=utās=cha gāvah | lōkamika=trayam
- 45 tēna bhavōd=dhī dattam yāḥ kāmehanam gām cha mahitā cha dadyāt || [27*] yas=ev=ajñāna-
patel=āndhita=drishṭir=anila=va(ba)l=āhata=sa-
- 46 rit=taratiga=bhānguram. triṇ=āgra=agn=āvaśyāy=ānavasthiram kari=kalabha=karp=āgra-
lōkam śrānta=vihaṅga=gām=chaplām
- 47 prakṛpita=bbujaga=jihvā=taḍit=kshaga=dishtam masyam pratikshagum=anavasthitam gati-
||vijtam=anālchya ih=ā-
- 48 mūtra cha yasab(śah)=mukhya=niḍānam dānōt=pūgya=samśayam=anūṭṭity=āḍiṣṭa=phal-
ānabhiḥṇō durmmatir=āchchhi-
- 49 nūyāb=āchchindyamānam v=ānumōdita=ā panchabhir=umukhā=pātakaḥ=ā-ōpa¹pātakaḥ=cha
sahyu-
- 50 kta[h*] syād=ity=uktam bhagavatō Vēdayāṣṇa Vijlāṣṇa || Shashtir=evvarha=sahasrāpi
evargē vasa-
- 51 ti bhūmidah | āchchhōttā che=ānumaritā cha tāy=eva narakō vaset || [28*] Vinidhy=ōtavishv-
a-15-

Third Plate.

- 52 yām śubha-kōtara=vāsmah ||*| kṛishṇ=āhayō hi jāyantē bhūmi=dāyam haram(ca)nti yō
|| [29*]
- 53 Anyāyēna hritā bhūmīr=haritā v=ānumōditā | atit=āgāmi pāpānāḥ dahaty=ā-
- 54 saptamam kulam(ham) || [30*] Sva=dattān para=dattān vā yō karēta varaudharan(rām) |
gavām sata=sahasraya ha(m)taḥ
- 55 prāpnōti kḍvi(bhūsham(śam)) || [31*] Jñāt=āvan mat=pradattō=yah bhūmi=dāyō manishi-
bhūh | n=ōchchbōdyō bhāv=bbhūpālāḥ sa-
- 56 ryvair=ātma=hitāishibhūh || [32*] Yān=cha dattāni parā mat=udhar=āddāni dharm=ārtha-
yasa(sa)skarāpi | nirmmālya-
- 57 vānta=pratimāni tāni kō nāma sādhuḥ punar=ādhātā || [33*] Iti kamala=dal=āniva(bu)-
vindu=lōlām śriyam=avalō-
- 58 kya manushya=jivitam cha | at=vimala=manōbhira=ātmanānir=ana hi purushaḥ para=kirtayō
vilōpyah || [34*] Śa-
- 59 ka=narapati=kāl=ātita=sāmva(sāmva)tsara=śatēshv=ashṭāsv=ashṭāchatvārīm²śad-
adhik³shu Vaisākha=suddh=ākshata⁴=tritiyāyām
- 60 Sōmē amkatō=pi samva(samva)tsara 848 Vyaya=samva(samva)tsara=evaya-
dharmas=kōsa=vpiddhayō bhūtam=ideam ā-
- 61 samam paramēśvara=paramabhattānka=mahārājādhirāja=śrīmad Akālavarehadēva=pād=ānu-
dhātā=śrī-Nitya-
- 62 varshadēv=ānujñāta=śrī-Sogatip=ājñayō Samyāna=dhruva-Vathaiy=ānumatōna Sogatōna=śrī-
Dhruvarāja=śāstahivigra-

¹ Better read 'pānaka=apa'.

² The anasara is wrongly placed on the previous abaka.

³ The usual name of the tithi is Akshaya.

- 63 hū-Ājita-mātēn=ēti || yad-atr=ōn-āksharam=adhik-āksharān vā tat=sarvān pramāṇam=iti ||
Grāmāḥ Kāpāduk-ā-
- 64 khyō vara-dharaṇi-dhūr-ārdhān cha Dēvīnar-ākhyō dattarū yēn=ōha sa śrī-Sugatipa-nṛi-
patih sūrya-tōjāḥ(jāḥ) prāstati¹ | Annaiyaḥ kīrttanēna
- 65 tribhuvana-jayinā Rōyagaḥ Kautukaś-cha sārddhān Dēvyāḥ prasādād=Amaraḡiri-vara-
sthāyukāḥ saṁtāta(tu) sarvā || [35*] Yāvad=vīchi-tanūga-prachā-
- 66 lita-makara-grūha-nakr-ākul-ōrmnō-vyāviddh-ōddhūta-tōya-kshubhita-kalakā-ārāva-saudraḥ
sāmundraḥ | yāvan=nakulatra-chaṇḍra-graha-ga-
- 67 ga-kiraṇ-ālarikrit-āngaś-cha Mōrus=tāvad=Dēvyāḥ prasādād=avīhatam=amalaḥ. Sōsanāḥ
sthānu bhūyāt || [36*] māṇḡalāḥ mahati cha arāḥ ||

2. Grant of the time of Kṛishṇa III

This is a **single** plate measuring about 17.5" in length, 8.5" in breadth and .1" in thickness. It weighs about 150 *tolas*. There is no seal fixed with the plate which is engraved only on one side. There are 50 lines of writing. The engraving is as neatly done as in the other epigraph from the same place, edited above. The preservation of the writing is satisfactory.

The **characters** belong to the North Indian alphabet of the tenth century A.D. and closely resemble those of the inscription of the time of Indra III, edited above. The initial vowels *a* (lines 21, 22, 27 and 39), *i* (lines 18, 40, 43 and 48) and *u* (lines 17 and 30) occur in the inscription. Final *l*, *s* and *m* are found respectively in lines 50, 10 and 22, while the *avagraha* occurs in lines 37 and 38. The numeral figures 4 and 0 have been used in line 39. The sign for *v* has been employed in indicating *k*.

The **language** is Sanskrit and the document is written in prose and verse. In point of **orthography** also the record resembles the record edited above. In a few cases, the rules of *Sandhi* have been ignored even in verses (lines 10, 26). Although final *m* has been used (line 22), it has often been changed wrongly to *ananta*. Certain consonants have been reduplicated in conjunction with *r*.

The inscription bears **no date**. Since, however, it refers itself to the reign of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III (939-67 A.D.), it may be assigned roughly to the **middle of the tenth century A.D.**

The inscription begins with the *Prayer* which is followed in lines 1-35 by 19 verses. Verse 1 is in adoration of the Mother-goddess. The next stanza (verse 2) introduces the **Yadu** or Yādava dynasty, to which the **Rāshtrakūṭa** kings are stated to have belonged. Verse 3 speaks of the following rulers of the family: (1) Dantidurga (742-56 A.D.); (2) his successor Kṛishṇarāja (Kṛishṇa I, 756-75 A.D.); (3) Gōvindarāja (Gōvinda II, 775-80 A.D.), successor of Kṛishṇarāja; (4) Nirupama (Dhruva, 780-94 A.D.); (5) Jagatīnaga (Gōvinda III, 794-814 A.D.); (6) Amoghavarsha (i.e. Amoghavarsha I, 814-89 A.D.), and (7) Amoghavarsha's son Akalavarsha (Kṛishṇa II, 878-915 A.D.). The next stanza (verse 4) refers to Indrarāja (Indra III, 915-28 A.D.), while verse 5 speaks of Amoghavarsha (i.e. Amoghavarsha II, 928-29 A.D.) who succeeded Indrarāja. Verse 6 mentions Gōvindarāja (Gōvinda IV, 929-34 A.D.) surnamed Suvarṇavarsha and verse 7 Amoghavarsha (i.e. Amoghavarsha III, 934-39 A.D.). The following four stanzas (verses 8-11) describe the reigning king **Kṛishṇarāja** (Kṛishṇa III, 939-67 A.D.), son of Amoghavarsha. It will be seen that all the rulers of the Imperial Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty from Dantidurga to Kṛishṇa III are mentioned in correct order, although the relationship between the successor and his predecessor has not been indicated

¹ Read *prastāta*.

in all the cases. It is interesting to note that the reign of Amoghavarsha II has been recognised in the record.¹

About the reigning monarch **Krishna III**, verse 10 says that he conquered certain enemies even when he was a crown-prince, while verse 11 enumerates the following as bowing down to his feet: the Pāṇḍyas, Ōḍras, Sūhālas, Chēlas and Pārasīkas, the Andhra king, the Draviḍas, Varvaras and Tajjikas, and the Vāṁkīpas, Hūpas, Khasas, Gūjaras and Mālavīyas. The success of Krishna III against the Pāṇḍyas, Sūhālas, Chēlas and Gūjaras (i.e. the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kannauj?) is referred to in some of his records.² The name Draviḍa seems to have been applied to the Pallavas. A Pallava king named Appiga is known to have been subdued by him.³ The Mālavīyas were probably the Paramāras who owed allegiance to him.⁴ The Tajjikas (i.e. Tājikas) were the Arabs, some of whom, as we have seen above, were serving under the Rāshtrakūṭa kings, while the Pārasīkas or Persians appear to be the Parsees who had settled at places like Sanjan in the western coast land forming a part of the Rāshtrakūṭa empire.⁵ The king's relations with the remaining peoples mentioned in the verse are not known from any other source.

Verses 12-14 speak of the god **Bhīllamāladēva**, also called Madhusūdana (i.e. Vishnu), worshipped at the unspecified place whence the charter was issued. The deity is stated to have been installed by the descendants of the merchants of **Bhīllamāla** which is the modern Bhīnmāl in the Jodhpur region of Rajasthan. Verses 15-19 state that, at the same place, there was another *mathikā*, i.e. monastery or temple, which had been constructed by Kautuka and at the gate of which the goddess called Bhagavatī had been installed for worship. It is clear that the god Bhīllamāladēva and the goddess Madhusūdana was installed in the temple standing near another made by Kautuka for the Mother-goddess. There is little doubt that Kautuka's *mathikā* enshrining *Bhagavatī* was the religious institution built by Annaiya (Annamaiya), Kautuka and Rēvaṇa at Sāhyāna and that the goddess is no other than *Bhagavatī* Dāśarī installed in it, both mentioned in the grant of the time of Indra III, cited above. Verse 19 of the record under study refers to the *Aṅga-parashad* (called *Mahā-parashad* in line 35) in connection with the goddess and this is apparently the *Āṅga-dēvī* *Mahā-parashad* or *Pañcha-Gaṇḍīya-mahā-parashad* of Sāhyāna mentioned in the other epigraph.

The following section in prose in lines 35 ff. records a *vyavasthā* which means 'a legal decision in a dispute' in the present context. It is very interesting to note that, in this case, the decision emanates from a deity and his attendants and not from any judicial or administrative authority. In this respect, the inscription under study offers a peculiar instance.

It is stated that a *vyavasthā* based on an order was offered to the *mathikā* (i.e. the monastery or temple of the goddess) and the *śāhīyānikas* or scholars belonging to the *Mahā-parashad* attached to it by the god **Bhīllamāladēva** and his *vārikas*. The word *vārika* is known to have been used in the sense of 'an official' and, in the present context, it no doubt means a priest or Paṇḍā of the temple of Bhīllamāladēva at Sāhyāna.⁶ Apparently the decision of the temple authorities was passed as the order of the god; but whether any device was adopted to convince the people that it was really the will of the god is uncertain. The terms of the *vyavasthā*, which follow, were that the *mathikā* of the goddess should pay forty *drummas* to the god Bhīllamāladēva and his *vārikas* as *śrūṭaka* for

¹ Cf. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 416, note 5. The fact that Amoghavarsha II obtained the throne is also recognised in some other records of Krishna III (cf. above, Vol. IV, p. 283, verses 18-19).

² The suggestion that the Gurjara contemporary of Krishna III was the Chaulukya king Mularaja (cf. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, pp. 283, 420) seems to be wrong as the territories of the Chaulukyas were outside Gurjarat in the age in question (cf. below, p. 58, note 5).

³ Cf. verses 30, 31 and 32 of the Karhad plates (above, Vol. IV, pp. 278 ff.). See also Altekar, *op. cit.*, pp. 115 ff.

⁴ Above, Vol. IV, p. 289 (verse 20).

⁵ Cf. the Harola plates (above, Vol. XIX, pp. 236 ff.).

⁶ See Smith, *E. Hist. Ind.*, 1924, p. 444.

⁷ Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 171-72; cf. Vol. XXXI, p. 164, note 1.

a small piece of land that belonged to the god but had been enclosed within the northern compound wall of the *maṭhikā*. The word *śrēṭaka* is not found in Sanskrit lexicons but was apparently a kind of rent, since the periodical nature of its payment is indicated by the stipulation that the amount was to be paid on each occasion of *dīp-āraṇa-śaṅga*, i.e. the end of the festival of lights, obviously in the *maṭhikā* of the goddess.¹ The *Dīp-āraṇa* seems to be no other than the *dīpāvalī*, a festival with illuminations held on the new moon of Āśvina or Kārtika in honour of the goddess Pārvatī. The *dramma* was a coin of copper or silver.² The inscription seems to specify the payment in coins minted by a trader named *śrīkṛṣṇa* Gaṇabhūṣaka. It appears that this tradesman of Saṅghāna enjoyed a license for minting coins on behalf of the ruling authority.³

It is further stated that, now that the *vyavasthā* was offered (cf. *adhivā*), if any devotee of the god (i.e. Bhīlamāladēva), whether he is a Brāhmaṇa or a merchant, commits suicide or creates any other trouble with a view to increasing the amount of the *śrēṭaka* or to the removal of the wall of the *maṭhikā* enclosing the piece of land belonging to Bhīlamāladēva, he should be looked upon as a dog or a donkey or a Chāṇḍāla even if he is dead. If a merchant was involved in such a case, his whole property should have to be confiscated by the government. On the other hand, in case the *śrēṭaka* was not duly paid to the *śrīkṛṣṇa* of the god Bhīlamāladēva, if any one out of the persons belonging to the *Mahā-parśad* attached to the *maṭhikā*, who kept the door of the *maṭhikā* open to the public, or of outsiders who conducted worship of the goddess, committed suicide, he would also share a similar fate even if he was dead. It is stated that this *vyavasthā*, based on the *sthiti* or decree, was a permanent one and had to be observed by both the parties of the dispute, viz. the devotees of the god Bhīlamāladēva and those of the goddess worshipped in the *maṭhikā*. To the above is added the statement that anybody who would appropriate the piece of land in his attempt to avoid the payment of the *śrēṭaka* should be endowed with all the greater and minor sins.

It is clear from the words of the inscription that a small piece of land belonging to the temple of the god Bhīlamāladēva, which seems to have been situated in the vicinity of the *maṭhikā* of the goddess, was lying within the compound wall of the latter and was in wrongful possession of the devotees of the goddess. It is also clear that, while the devotees of the god were trying to recover the land by all means including the offer of hunger-strike, the other party attached to the goddess was trying to obstruct the release of the plot equally obstinately in the same way. The decision to ease this state of tension by fixing an amount of annual rent for the piece of land, payable by the party in the possession of it, was therefore a good one. The respectful mention of the goddess in the present record exhibits a spirit of compromise which is commendable.

The above section of the record is followed in lines 46-47 by a sentence meaning to say that the giver of the decision, viz. the god Bhīlamāladēva along with his *śrīkṛṣṇa*, expressed his desire in the words of the document as written by the scribe. The following sentence saying that the god favoured the document with his assent is a well known formula with which the royal donors put their signature to a charter originally written on a perishable material and later incised on copper plates. This section is in the style of the charters issued by the contemporary rulers of the area in question.⁴

The charter ends with a stanza (verse 20) followed by a short benedictory passage. The verse mentions the person who was responsible for writing the document with the consent of both the

¹ For *śrēṭaka*, see above, p. 36. For the meaning of *Maṅga*, see Apte, *Pract. Sans.-Eng. Dict.*, s. v. *adhi-śaṅga*, *śrēṭa-śaṅga*.

² Cf. above Vol. XXX, p. 218 and note 2.

³ Cf. *JNB*, Vol. VII, pp. 79 ff.

⁴ Similar statements are found, e.g., in the grants of the Śiṅhās of the Northern Kankā. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 279 (Plate III, lines 10-11); above, Vol. III, p. 275, lines 82-84, etc.

parties, viz. the devotees of the god and those of the goddess. This writer was a Kāyastha named Śaṃbhudēva who was the son of Ambaiya (Ambaiya I) and grandson of Jōggaiyaia.

The place where the temples of the god and the goddess were situated is not mentioned in the record. But, as we have seen, they must have stood at **Saṃhyāna** within the dominions of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛiṣṇa III. As indicated above, Saṃhyāna is modern Sanjan in the Thane District of Bombay. Among the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, **Bhilla-māla**, as already pointed out, is modern Bhīmāl about 100 miles to the south-west of Jodhpur in Rajasthan. It is interesting to note that there was a well-organised settlement of merchants of Bhīmāl origin at Sanjan and that they had installed a Vaiṣṇavite deity of their own and named it after their home town. A large number of peoples of various countries are mentioned in the description of Kṛiṣṇa III. Most of these tracts are well-known. The **Pāṇḍyas** lived in the Madurai-Ramanāthapuram-Tirunelveli region, the **Ōḡras** in modern Orissa and the **Sinhālas** in Ceylon. The original territory of the **Chōlas** was in the Tanjavur-Tiruchirappalli area and of the **Pārasikas** in Persia. The name **Andhra** was apparently used to indicate the kingdom of the contemporary Eastern Chālukya king of Vēṅgī, while the name **Draviḍa** was probably applied to Tondaimaṇḍalam, the territory of the Pallavas in older times. It is difficult to locate the **Varvaras** known from early Indian literature as a people of the north-west of India.¹ The **Tājikas** or **Tājikas** were the people of Arabia and **Vanūka** may be the same as **Vōkkāga** mentioned in Varāhamihira's *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* (XIV, 20) and identified with modern Wakhan in Central Asia.² The **Hūnas**³ appear to have lived in the Punjab and the **Khasas**⁴ in Kashmir and Nepal. The **Pratihāras** of the **Gurjara** stock ruled over wide areas of North India; but, even as late as the first half of the eleventh century, Al-Bīrūnī speaks of the Jodhpur-Alwar-Bharatpur region of Rajasthan as **Gujarāt**, i.e. **Gurjaratrā** or the home of the **Gurjara**.⁵ **Mālava**, the land of the **Mālavīyas**, seems to have included in this age the territory around Ujjayini.

TEXT*

[Metres: verse 1 *Drutavilambitā*; verses 2-3, 20 *Stuṭiharā*; verse 4 *Śāṇḍilavikrīṇita*; verses 5, 8 *Mālinī*; verses 6-7, 18-19 *Upajāti*; verses 9, 11, 14-16 *Vasantatikā*; verses 10, 17 *Anuṣṭubh*; verse 12 *Upagiti*.]

- 1 Ōm² Bhagavatyaī namah | Bhagavati bhavatiā bhava-bhī-bhūḥ bhavatu Śaṃbha-Niśaṃbha-vinūṣaṇ |
- 2 suravar-āura-kinnara-Nārada-prahṛitibhir-vyvinutā varad-ābhavā || [1*] Gōtra[ni] bhityā[ttvā] na bhūtā na madhva-
- 3 vasatir-annō sālā dharmma-yakrō n-ākṛāntō dandakō-s[y]a(yadh) na cha para-pavan-ākampitō nā nu hīna |
- 4 nōśāstān-sūta-mūla-prakṛitir-ati-ghanō nō raḡḡ datta-praṣṭab[ah]ṭha[ḥ] aś-pūrvō-sa-the vamsō Yadu-kula-
- 5 tilakō Rāshtrakūṭ-Śivarāpāh(nāma) || [2*] Tat-sāid-Dantidurgga[ḥ] sakala-guṇa-nūhīh Kṛiṣṇa(alpa)kājastatō-bhā-

¹ Cf. Pargiter, *The Mahāyāna Purāṇa*, p. 319, note; *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VIII, p. 62.

² Cf. *Ind. Cult.*, op. cit., p. 53.

³ Cf. Pargiter, op. cit., p. 379, note; *Ind. Cult.*, op. cit., p. 59.

⁴ See Pargiter, op. cit., p. 346, note; Stein, *Rājatarāṅgī*, trans., Vol. I, pp. 47-48 (note on I, 317); Vol. II, p. 430.

⁵ Cf. *JRSI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 133 ff. The Dantidurgā plate (above, Vol. V, pp. 211 ff.; cf. Bhattacharya's List, No. 28) of 843 A.D. includes the Jodhpur region in Gurjaratrā. In the seventh century A.D., the Chinese pilgrim Hsien tsang mentions Pi-lo-mo-lo (i.e. Bhīlāmāla or Bhīmāl) as the capital of Ku-cho-lo (i.e. Gurjara).

* From impressions.

* Expressed by symbol.

[illegible]

- 6 *thri(=ch=chri)/mad-Uōviadarājas=tad-anu Nirupamaḥ śri-Jagattuṅga-dēvaḥ | pṛithvīśō-*
mōghavarshaḥ sa[ma]-
- 7 *jau vimalaḥ khyāta-kīrtiḥ samantāt=ta[y]-ch-Ākālavarshō-khila-bhuvana-patir=*
dihvasta-
- 8 *śairurva(r=iba)bhūva || [3*] Lakshmy-alingita-vigrahaḥ priyatayā vidyādhar-śud-*
śāritas=chakr-śūbhōpa-
- 9 *manōdya(jāu)-bhūshita-karō vidhvasta-śatru-prahub | yaḥ sadyō¹-va(ba)ndhanāch²=cha-*
vimalaḥ kīrtiḥ parām prā-
- 10 *ptavān śrīmān=Indra-ujipō gupaiḥ sambhavan=śūnam samāpō Harōḥ || [4*] Vida-*
dhad=ita jana-
- 11 *ay=Āmōghavarshē-ti-harshati tad-anu bhuvana-dhātā jātavān=nikalānkaḥ || [5*]*
vapushi vimala-[a]kshmi[ab*] p[ri(v)]kshya*
- 12 *a-śmā-śya kōpāt=prati-dīsam=anavadyā yasya kīrtir=jagāma || [6*] Purā-kram-*
āyātatarāḥ sva-bhū-
- 13 *m[un]*] rakshaṇ=samantām-nija-vikramōga | Gōviadarājō ujipatis=tatō=bhūt=sam-*
prōchyatō yō-
- 14 *itra Suvartapavarshaḥ || [5*] Tataḥ purā puṅga-chayaiḥ prajānūbh(nā)m=abhūddha(d=blu)vi-*
śrīmad-Āmōghavarshaḥ | śri-
- 15 *paḥ smānanadita-vara(ham)dhm-varggō vikhyāta-kīrtir=nihat-śri-sā[r*]ttah || [7*] Sama-janī*
tad=spatyaṁ Kri-
- 16 *sh[ri]arājō mahīpō nija-ripa-janatāyā rīmū(mū)ndhmi vinyasta-pādaiḥ | avani-pati-kriṣaiḥ*
padma-
- 17 *nāga-chchhalāma dhriyā³ta iha samūrttāḥ viaplutad=yasya [t]ṛṇaiḥ || [8*] Khadg-ābhigāta-*
nihat-śri-ka-
- 18 *śindra-kumbha=śūprōchchhalad-vimale-mauktika-vrīn(vrī)ndam=ājan | ādāya hāra-*
karaṇāya sur-āṅga-
- 19 *a-aughaḥ spaptuḥ(śhṭaḥ) nūṁya divi yasya yaśō=vaś=uchchaiḥ || [9*] Yauvarāya-śhātōn=*
aiva yān=śha ri-
- 20 *pavaiḥ kahayam(yam) | ūtā hari-kiśōrēna dvipū iva madōtkatāḥ || [10*] Pāṇḍy-Ōdra-*
Siṁgha(ha)la-sa-Chō-
- 21 *laka-Pārasikā Andhrādhipa-Draviḍa-Varnva(rvva)ra-Tajjikās=cha | Varnkiṇa-*
Hūna-Khasa-Gōrjjara-Mālavi-
- 22 *kāh(yā) yasy-āṅghri-padma-yugalaḥ praṇamanti nityam || [11*] Ast=īha tilaka-bhūta=*
tri-bhuvana-bhavana-
- 23 *bhay-āpaha(hi)raiḥ || [12*] Śri-Bhīlamāladēvō vandyair=abhi(na)jatiś=niṇḍyaḥ || [12*] Yaḥ*
saṁstatuś divija-dā-
- 24 *uaya=śūmaś=śudrair=gandharva-kinnara-gupaiḥ kīachar-ōragaiḥ=cha || [13*] Śrīnat-*
surēndra-dharaśēndra-munī-
- 25 *udra-chandraiḥ stōtrair=munāś-mala-harair=Mmadhusūdan-ākhyaiḥ || [13*] Yō-dhi-*
śhātō maya-paraiḥ sa-dhanair=gu-
- 26 *p-a/bvaiḥ⁴ bha(k)ty-ānvitaiḥ stuti-parair=amalaiḥ=ulāraiḥ | Śri-Bhīlamāla-vanijaiḥ*
kūhajair=amāyaḥ[ḥ]⁵
- 27 *dharman-ōdyatair=akhila-lōka-kalair=agarvraiḥ || [14*] Ast=īha Kautuka-kīrtir=[m]uṣṭhik=*
ānagh=śryyā durlab-
- 28 *ghya-salāṇa(la)-kalitā Kalnā vimuktā || [15*] evādhyāyikair=akhila-vālmaya-satra(tora)-*
vō(bō)dhād=adbhūta-vu(bu)dhi-

¹ Two short syllables are wanting in the stanza here.

² The word *bandhana* refers to the *paṇḍi-āryama-śhaṅga* episode in regard to Hari and to *paṇḍi-bandhana* in coronation with reference to the king.

³ Originally *śa* was engraved in the place of *pa*.

⁴ Read **bhayaiḥ*.

⁵ Read **mūjaiḥ*.

- 29 papubhūḥ sakal-ārtha-lakṣhaḥ || [15*] Vēd-ārtha-sāra-nipuṣair-amitaiḥ paritā ||
lōkan=vyilōkita-ka-
- 30 ||jair-amalais-cha ratayā ||[*] dōyais-cha bhāṇḍa-nichayair-anichit-āti-sūrain-yā
dēva-bhūmir-iva sad-vipu(bu)-
- 31 dhair-vvibhātī || [16*] Yasyām Bhagavatē Dēvī dēva-dēnava-pūjitā ||[*] varadā mānavā-
nāh tu Kalpāṅghri-
- 32 pa-tar-āpamā || [17*] Virājitā dvāri ghana-pravāha-vimūgat-ā¹ yāsita-lōka-lakṣhaḥ || [*] ryā(yā)
gōpurai-
- 33 r=achchhrita-kūta-kōṭi-kalapa-dhavaḥkūta-sitān(r-ā)bhāra-bhaṅgair || [18*] Adhishṭhita
kōṭi-sahasra-ratnaiḥ śrut-ā-
- 34 nvitaiḥ(tai)-ch-ānagha-parshadā vā ||[*] vimukta-māyair-amalair=utāirair-yā
bhā-smair-vvōda-parmir-anindyai-
- 35 h || [19*] sa cha pūrv-ōktaiḥ śrī-Bhīllamāladēvō vārika-purasaaras=acyās-cha śrī-mahā-
parshat-avā-
- 36 dhyāyika-samēta-śrī-maṭhikāyāḥ sāksna-pūrvvāḥ || vyavasthūḥ prayachchhati || yathā
maṭhik-ō-
- 37 ttara-dig-bhāḡe sthita-prākār-ābhyantari=amadiyā hiyan-mātrā bhūmir-yā pravieṣṭā ta-
- 38 t=amira(ba)ndhā maṭhikāyā=amūkam prati-dip-ōmāra-bhaṅga(h*) vyavahāraka-ērēchya²
Gaṇibhuvaka-drammāḥ ērōta-
- 39 kō³ dēyā(h*) chatvārimśad-aṅkatō-jā dra⁴ 40 ||[*] adhanā yāḥ kaichhul-dēvakīya-viprō vapijō⁵
vā ērōtaka-saḥ-
- 40 varidhana-vyājē=anyēna vā prakārēga prākāra-bha(h*)jānāya kākutālīyō bhūtvā ātma(tma)-
hananai-
- 41 vyājān vā karōti sa mūtō-pū śva-garidabha-chāḡjāla-rad=dmahāvayāḥ ||[*] vapjā=ta
rājakulēna sa-
- 42 rvyasv-āpaharayan karāṇīyāḥ tathā dēva-vārikānāra(gām) ērōtakam na dattai chētataḍā
maṭhika-dvāraḥ-
- 43 dattatām Bhagavatīm(tyā) vā pūjyām(jān) śidava(dha)tām parshan-madhya-vartty=anyō
vā ātma-hammam karōti sa mūt-
- 44 tō-pū śva-garidabha-chāḡjāla-da(va)l-anayā sthityā vyavasth-ōyam-ā-chandr-ārka-kālān
yāvad-abhaya-va-
- 45 rgō-āpi pālanti ||[*] yas=ta punaḥ ērōtak-āḡaṅghana-vyājēna bhūmy-āpahāraḥ karōti sa
- 46 parichabhīr-mamahāpātakai=upapātakai-cha saṁpriktō bhavēta(vē) || yathā ch-
aitat-tathā vyavasthā-
- 47 dātā sve-matam-ārōpayati | matath mama śrī-Bhīllamāladēvasya vārika-purasaarasaya ||[*]
48 Ān=Kāyastha-gōttirē kāk-[ka]⁶ta-vimalō Jōgapaity-ābhidhānas=taemād=Amavipa⁷-ānna-
[r*]-nija-
- 49 kula-tilakō-bhūt-tatāḥ sūri-sēvyāḥ | jātāḥ śrī-Sambhuddō(vō) vinaya-naya-yuta(h*)
sad-dhuvō va(ba)ndhu-
- 50 kātō dha(r*)mmaḥ sāksnā drāḡ=likhād-anumatē=ōbhayō spashṭam-ētai || [20*]
maṭhigalam-iti ||

¹ The *drāḡ* are superfluous.

² Better read *maṭhikāyā*.

³ Better read *parichadigak*.

⁴ Read *spashṭam-ētai*.

⁵ No *ērōtaka-saḥ*.

⁶ This is a continuation of *drāḡ*.

⁷ The word *maṭhikā* has been used here in the sense of *maṭhikā* which is, however, used in line 41 below.

⁸ We may add *yāḥ* in *drāḡ* here.

⁹ Originally *sa* was inserted in the place of *ka*.

¹⁰ The intended name may be *drāḡaḡa*.

No. 5—THREE GRANTS FROM CHINCHANI

(3 Plates)

D. C. SINGAR, OOTAÇAMUND

Two of the five copper-plate grants discovered at Chinchani in the Daharu Taluk of the Thana District, Bombay, have been edited in the foregoing article. One of them pertains to the reign of king Indra III (915-28 A.D.) and the other to that of Kṛishṇa III (939-67 A.D.), both the rulers belonging to the Imperial Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty of Mīnakhōṭa (Mālikhōṭ). Of the three other copper-plate charters discovered at the same place, two were issued by a Mōḍha chief of Saṁyāna (Sanjan in the Thana District). The name of the family to which the issuer of the remaining charter from Chinchani belonged is not mentioned in the record; but he was also a ruler of Saṁyāna and seems to have been a Mōḍha. The family name, viz. Mōḍha, associates these chiefs of Saṁyāna with the Brāhmanas and Bāniyā communities of the same name now residing in various parts of the Northern Konkan and its neighbourhood.¹ No ruler of this dynasty was known so far from any other source.² The three charters are dated respectively in Śaka 956 (1034 A.D.), Śaka 969 (1048 A.D.) and Śaka 975 (1053 A.D.). Before the inscriptions are taken up for discussion, a few words may be said about the circumstances leading to the rise of the Mōḍhas at Saṁyāna.

We have seen above³ how an Arab governor was ruling over the territorial division of Saṁyāna on behalf of the Rāshtrakūṭa kings Kṛishṇa II (878-915 A.D.) and Indra III (915-27 A.D.). It is well known that the Śīlāhāras claimed to be the rulers of the Northern Konkan with their capital at Purī since the days of Amoghavarsha I (814-80 A.D.).⁴ The founder of the Śīlāhāra house was Kapardin I whose son Pullakṛti (843-44 A.D.)⁵ and grandson Kapardin II (851-78 A.D.)⁶ are known to have enjoyed the title 'lord of the Konkan' or 'lord of the entire Konkan' as feudatories of the said Rāshtrakūṭa monarch. The Śīlāhāra inscriptions give the names of the following rulers of the family after Kapardin II: (1) his son Vappuvanna, (2-3) Vappuvanna's sons Jhañjha and Gōggi, and (4) Gōggi's son Vajjada I. Little is known about these rulers, although Al Mas'ūdī speaks about 916 A.D. of Jhañjha as governor of the Lāc (Lāta) country and

¹ See *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. IX, part i, pp. 2-3, 11-12, for the Mōḍha Brāhmanas who are believed to have migrated to Gujarat from Upper India, and for the town of Mōḍhāra (cf. also *ibid.*, p. 72; Vol. VII, pp. 698-99) which is supposed to have given the Mōḍhas their name. For the same sub-caste of the Brāhmanas in Kutch, Kathiawar, Poona, Rewa Kantha and Thana, see respectively Vol. V, p. 45; Vol. VIII, p. 146; Vol. XVIII, part i, p. 183; Vol. VI, pp. 23-24; and Vol. XIII, p. 80. For the Mōḍha Bāniyās in Gujarat, Kutch, Kathiawar and Thana, see respectively Vol. IX, part i, p. 72; Vol. V, p. 50; Vol. VIII, p. 148; and Vol. XIII, p. 112.

² For a Mōḍha named Kamyra who was the son of Vajjala and a *Mahakshatapalika* of Chaulukya Bhima II, see an inscription of V. S. 1256 in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 72, text lines 41-43. See also Sankalia, *Archaeology of Gujarat*, p. 208 and note 1.

³ Cf. p. 50.

⁴ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, pp. 538 ff. The identification of the city of Purī is not definitely settled. Different scholars have identified it variously with Thāpa (chief town of the Thana District), Ghātāpurī (Elephanta), Bājepur in Kolaba and Rājapur in Ratnagiri. See *ibid.*, pp. 232-34. Some of the Śīlāhāra records were issued from Sthānaka or Thāpa. It is sometimes also believed that Thāpa was the capital of the Śīlāhāras while Purī was their secondary capital (*Ind. Cult.*, Vol. II, p. 402).

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 136.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 134-35.

of Samur or Chaul as lying within his territory¹ and Aparājita, son of Vajjada I, is known to have ruled in 993-97 A.D.² The recently published grant³ of Chhadvai, who was a younger brother of Vajjada I and a feudatory of Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III (939-67 A.D.), seems to have been issued about the close of the Rāshtrakūṭa king's reign. Chhadvai is not mentioned in the later records of the family and may have really been a usurper of the throne which rightfully belonged to his brother's son Aparājita.⁴ In spite of the fact that Aparājita ruled after the end of Rāshtrakūṭa supremacy, he also clearly speaks of the subservience of his ancestors to the Rāshtrakūṭa monarchs. It seems, however, that, during the reigns of Kṛṣṇa II and Indra III and probably for sometime more, the territorial division called Saṁyāna-maṇḍala, comprising wide areas of the Northern Konkan, was under governors who were directly responsible to the Rāshtrakūṭa monarchs and had little to do with the Śilāhāras. This fact appears to explain the temporary decline of Śilāhāra power in the Northern Konkan after the reign of Kapardin II as indicated by the paucity of Śilāhāra records of the period in question and also by the Chinchani inscription of the time of Indra III and Madhumati Sugatipa who governed Saṁyāna-maṇḍala on behalf of Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa II and Indra III. In this period, the Śilāhāras appear to have been ruling only over parts of the territory held by Kapardin II. The Chinchani plate of the reign of Kṛṣṇa III (939-67 A.D.) does not mention the local rule of any Śilāhāra feudatory probably because it was issued at a time when the hold of the Śilāhāras over Saṁyāna had not yet been fully re-established.

The Śilāhāra grants mention the descendants of Aparājita in the following order: (1-2) Vajjada II and Arikēśarin or Kēśidēva (1017 A.D.),⁵ sons of Aparājita, and (3-5) Chhittarāja (1026-34 A.D.),⁶ Nāgārjuna and Munimūgi or Māmyāgi (1049-60 A.D.),⁷ sons of Vajjada II. The earliest of the three grants of the chiefs of Saṁyāna edited here was issued in Śaka 936 (1034 A.D.). In this record, the chief, who appears to have belonged to the Mādhya dynasty, although it is not so stated in the inscription, acknowledges the suzerainty of the Śilāra or Śilāhāra ruler called Chhittarāja which is no doubt a variant of the name Chhittarāja.⁸ It is stated that Saṁyāna-pattana was received by the chief from the Śilāhāra ruler. That Śilāhāra Chhittarāja was ruling at least down to 1034 A.D. is not only known from the present record but also from the Berlin Museum plates⁹ issued by himself. It is, however, interesting to note that the other two records

¹ See *Domb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 23; *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. II, p. 404. The Yādava ruler Bhīlma II married the daughter of Jhaṭja while his son Vēngi married the daughter of Gōgi. S. O. Bhandarkar was inclined to identify Jhaṭja and Gōgi with Jhaṭja and Gōgi of the Śilāhāra dynasty of the Northern Konkan (*Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, pp. 222-33); but Fleet did not support the identifications (*ibid.*, pp. 425, 513, 514 note 2).

² Above, Vol. III, pp. 271 ff.; Gode, *Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State*, Vol. I, pp. 46 ff., 53 ff. Cf. Vaidya, *Hist. Med. Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 349 f.

³ Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 282 ff.

⁴ The Gangs king Satyavākya Kṛṣṇa IV (c. 900-75 A.D.), who was a feudatory of Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III, claims to have defeated Vijjala, the younger brother of Pātālamalla, and Kiehorn is inclined to identify this Vijjala with Śilāhāra Vajjada I (Kiehorn's *Southern List*, Supplement, p. 6). If this identification is accepted, it may not be impossible to think that it was the Rāshtrakūṭa king who subdued Vajjada I and placed Chhadvai on the Śilāhāra throne although the reference to Pātālamalla cannot be explained in the present state of our knowledge. Vijjala (i.e. Vijjala) and Vajjada, however, appear to be different names.

⁵ *As. Res.*, Vol. I, p. 357.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 276 ff.; *ZDMG*, Band 69, 1936, pp. 265 ff.

⁷ Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 63 ff.; *JBRAS*, Vol. XII, pp. 329 ff.

⁸ As will be seen below, Mahāmātya Nāgapiya and Mahādādāśisagrāhita Nāgpiya, known from Chhittarāja's grants, served under Chhittarāja of our record, while we have a charter of Chhittarāja issued in the same year, viz. Śaka 936 (1034 A.D.).

⁹ *ZDMG*, Band 69, pp. 266 ff.

from Chinchani, dated respectively in Śaka 969 (1048 A.D.) and Śaka 975 (1053 A.D.), in both of which the donor is described as a Mōḍha, are conspicuous in their silence about the allegiance of the ruler of Saṁyāna to the Śilāhāras. This fact may suggest that, for some time about the middle of the eleventh century, Śilāhāra hold on Saṁyāna became weak. This seems to be further indicated by the record of Śaka 975 (1053 A.D.) in which the Mōḍha chief is endowed with the typical Śilāhāra title 'lord of Tagarapura' and is stated to have been ruling over 'the new kingdom' obtained by the strength of his own arms (line 8). In the inscription of Śaka 969 (1048 A.D.), he calls himself *Saravāgata-vajra-paṇḍara* in imitation of the Śilāhāras. We have also to note that the Saṁyāna chiefs enjoyed the same feudatory titles as the Śilāhāra rulers and that one of them claimed to have ruled over nearly a half of the Northern Konkan. It was probably Śilāhāra Mummaṇi or Māmvaṇi who subdued or supplanted the Mōḍhas and re-established Śilāhāra authority over the Saṁyāna region shortly after the middle of the eleventh century. The Kharepatan plates¹ (Śaka 1016=1095 A.D.) of Anantadōva or Anantapāla, son of Nāgārjuna and successor of Mummaṇi or Māmvaṇi, speak of his success against a calamity facing the Śilāhāras of the Northern Konkan owing to *dāyāda-raśi-vyasaṁsa*,² although it is difficult to say whether the chiefs of Saṁyāna were encouraged to rule without reference to the Śilāhāras in the period of trouble referred to in that record.

1. Grant of Chāmuṇḍarāja, Subordinate of Śilāhāra Chhinturāja, Śaka 956

This is a **single** plate measuring 10.5" in length, 7.5" in height and .4" in thickness. There are altogether 32 lines of writing, 20 on the first side and 12 on the second. A ring-hole disturbs the continuity of writing in the first two lines both on the obverse and the reverse of the plate. But no ring or seal was found with it. Since the writing was completed on both sides of a single plate, no ring bearing seal may have been attached to it. The plate weighs 77½ tolas.

The **characters** belong to the Northern Class of alphabets and closely resemble those of the Śilāhāra inscriptions of the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D.³ The draft of the record as well as its engraving exhibits an amount of carelessness. The letter *ś* has been written in two different ways; cf. *śrēḍa* and *śrī* in line 2. Although medial *ś* is generally of the *prishtha-sūtra* type, its *śrō-mātrā* form is also used in a few cases (cf. *maṣṭaś* in line 6). The **language** is Sanskrit and the record is written in prose and verse. In point of **orthography** and style also the inscription resembles the contemporary Śilāhāra records and little calls for special mention. The **date** of the charter is quoted in lines 15-16 as **Śaka 956 expired, Bhāva, Bhādrapada-badi 15**, both in words and figures. The date seems to correspond to the **15th September 1034 A.D.** It may be recalled in this connection that the Berlin Museum plates of Śilāhāra Chhinturāja were issued only a few months earlier on Dvitiya-Chaitra-sudi 14 of the same year, viz. Śaka 956, Bhāva.⁴

The inscription begins with the symbol for *Siddham* followed by the *vaṁśaśloka*: 'May there be victory and prosperity.' Next follows a stanza in adoration of the god (Gaṇaśyaka (Gaṇeś)). We know that many of the Śilāhāra grants begin with the same passage and the same stanza.⁵ Lines 2-4 introduce the reign (*kalpīna-vijaya-rājya*) of *Mahāmaṇḍalātara Chhinturāja* described as 'the supreme lord of Tagarapura', 'the illustrious **Sūāra** (Śilāhāra) king' and 'one born

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, pp. 33 ff.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 34-35, text lines 32-33. Cf. *Ind. Coll.*, Vol. II, p. 411.

³ See above, Vol. III, pp. 271 ff.; Gidra, *op. cit.*, pp. 46 ff., 55 ff.; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 377; above, Vol. XXV, pp. 63 ff.; Vol. XXVI, pp. 292 ff.; *JBHRAS*, Vol. XII, pp. 329 ff.; *ZDMG*, Band 90, pp. 265 ff.

⁴ See *ZDMG*, Band 90, pp. 284-85.

⁵ See, e.g., above, Vol. XXV, p. 55; *ZDMG*, Band 90, p. 280; etc.

in the family of Jimūtavāhana'. As in many other records of the Śilāhāra dynasty, Chhintarāja is credited with the banner bearing the golden Garuda and endowed with the titles *Abhimāna-mahādadhī* and *Sarvagata-vajra-pāṇara*. As already pointed out above, Chhintarāja of our inscription is no other than the well-known king *Chhittarāja* of the Northern Konkan branch of the Śilāhāra family.

Lines 4-6 speak of the *Mahāmāya Nāgapaiya* and the *Mahāsāmantāgrahika Nāpuyiya*, both of whom served under the Śilāhāra king and are already known to us,¹ and of *Mahāmapāda-bhāra Chāmupdarāja* who was governing *Samyāna-pattana*, i.e. the town of Samyāna, granted to him by Chhintarāja. Besides the usual feudatory titles *Mahāmandalādhara*, *Samadhi-gat-āśśha-paṇcha-mahāśabda* and *Mahāsāmantādhipati*, Chāmupdarāja is endowed in lines 7-9 with the titles *Nija-bhūja-vikram-āditya*, *Sāhana-chakravartin*, *Lāta-prākāra-rāya-dharmasaka*, *Tribhuvana-niṣa* and others. Among these, *Lāta-prākāra-rāya-dharmasaka* seems to refer to Chāmupdarāja's success against some ruler or rulers of *Lāta* identified by scholars with the present Nautari-Broach region.

Lines 10-14 state that, while ruling over Samyāna, Chāmupdarāja passed an order regarding a grant, to be made by him, to his subordinates and others including the elders (*mukhya*) of the *kanyamana* (i.e. the Parsee community),² the courtiers and officials as well as the officers like *Alliya*, *Mahara* and *Madhumata*, the city elders named *Satāthas Kēsarīn*, *Suvaryya* and *Kakkala*, the merchants such as *Uva*, *Suvaryya* and *Sōmniya*, the district officer (*vishaya*) *Vēthalaia*, the *śālā-athāna-mukhya* *Yājñikara*, the district officials such as *Kakita*, *Limbariya*, *Vālaia* and *Kōmvaia*, and the members of the *Mahā-parshad* such as *Agastī*, *Gavi*, *Siluva*, *Blumkara*, *Arjuna*, *Dinakara*, *Dēlē*, *Ārya*, *Sindūra*, *Ādityavarya*, etc. Chāmupdarāja's officials called *Alliya*, *Mahara* and *Madhumata* appear to have been foreigners as the names are apparently of Arabic origin. The name *Madhumata* (Arabic *Muhammad*) is found in the form *Madhumati* in the Chinchani plates of the time of Indra III, which apply it to a Tājika or Arab governor of the Rāshtrakūṭa king, while a Tājika (i.e. Tājika or Arab) officer of the Kadambas of Goa is known to have borne the name *Madhumata*.³ *Alliya* appears to be the same as the well-known Arabic name 'Ali. Whether the word *śālā-athāna-mukhya* means 'a stable' is difficult to determine. The *Mahā-parshad* is no doubt the same as the *Pañcha-Gaṇḍiyya* or *Ārya-dēvāya Mahā-parshad* of Samyāna mentioned in both the Chinchani epigraphs of the time of Indra III and Kṛishna III, cited above.⁴

Lines 14-21 describe the object of the record which was the grant of a *ghṛṇaka* or oil-mill, made by *Chāmupdarāja* in favour of the *Kautuka-maṭhikā*, i.e. the temple or monastery built at Samyāna by *Kautuka* and others and known from the two Chinchani records of the time of the Rāshtrakūṭa monarchs, referred to above. This section begins with the stanza *Chalā vibhūtā*, etc., found in so many Śilāhāra records,⁵ and is followed by the date already indicated above. The purpose of the grant was to burn a lamp in front of the Bhagavati known from both the Chinchani inscriptions of the time of Indra III and Kṛishna III to have been worshipped in *Kautuka's maṭhikā* at Samyāna, as well as for besmearing oil on the feet of the *vaidhgyākar* or scholars apparently belonging to the *Mahā-parshad* attached to the *maṭhikā* and of the Brāhmaṇa visitors

¹ Both the officers are mentioned in Chhittarāja's Berlin Museum plates. See ZDMG, Band 80, pp. 282-83 text lines 32-33. In the same king's Bhandup plates (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 278, text lines 6-7), the same names occur; but the name of the *Mahāsāmantāgrahika* is quoted as *Sihapaya* whom Nāpuyiya appears to have succeeded.

² Above, p. 48.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

⁴ See pp. 45 ff., 55 ff.

⁵ Above, Vol. III, p. 273; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 277; etc.

to the *mathikā*. The *svādhyāyikas* of the *Mahā-parshad* or *Kautuka-maṭhikā* of *Samyāna* are mentioned several times in the Chinchani plate of the reign of Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III as well as in the last of the three grants edited here. One of the *svādhyāyikas*, Chihada by name, received the gift which was made as a *namasya-eyiti* (i.e. a permanent tax-free holding), free from all obligations. People were warned not to cause any obstacle in the enjoyment of the oil-mill by the donee. It is stated that the mill was granted together with the oil and oil-cakes (*ghāṭika* for Sanskrit *lāṭika*) produced by it probably meaning that the produce of the mill was free from taxation like the mill itself.

Lines 21-28 quote some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas together with certain prose passages of similar import, which are both generally met with in the Śilāhāra charters. The concluding part of the record in lines 29-32 states, in the style of the Śilāhāra grants, how the donor made his decree known through the language of the charter as drafted by the scribe and how the authoritative character of the grant could not be challenged on the basis of mistakes creeping into the text. The sentence beginning with *matam mama* in this section refers in the usual way to the signature of the donor put on the original document later incised on the plates. But a peculiarity of the present inscription is that Chāmunda-rāja's name is mentioned here together with a string of epithets. One of these refers to the 64 black horses received by him from an unspecified source. In the passage in question, *Prabhavāna-nīla Mahāmudgalābhava* Chāmunda-rāja is represented as the son of *Aham-nīla Mahāmudgalābhava* Vijja-rāpaka. The charter is stated to have been written by *Dhruva* Mammalaīya. The official designation *Dhruva* is a contraction of *Dhruv-ādhiparāyika*, etc., which indicate an officer in charge of the collection of the royal share of the produce from the farmers.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it introduces Chāmunda-rāja, ruler of *Samyāna* under Śilāhāra Chhinturāja (Chittarāja), as also Vijja-rāpaka, father of Chāmunda-rāja and probably an earlier ruler of *Samyāna* under the same Śilāhāra king. The family to which Vijja and Chāmunda belonged is not mentioned. Since, however, the name Vijja-rāpaka or Vijjala was also borne by the Mōḍha chief of *Samyāna* who issued the other two charters to be edited below, it is not impossible that the two Vijja-rāpakas belonged to the same family. Thus Chāmunda may have belonged to the Mōḍha dynasty. But it should be admitted that the relationship that may have existed between Chāmunda, who issued the present grant in 1034 A.D., and Vijja or Vijjala, who issued the other two grants a few years later in 1048 and 1053 A.D., cannot be determined without further light being thrown on the subject by future discoveries.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, *Tagarapura*, to which the Śilāhāras appear to have traced their origin, is now generally identified with Ter in the Naldurg District of the former Hyderabad State.¹ Chāmunda is stated to have been ruling over the *pattana* or town of *Samyāna* (elsewhere called only *Samyāna*), which had been granted to him by Śilāhāra Chhinturāja (Chittarāja). *Samyāna-pattana* is of course the present town of Saujan in the Thana District. But the exact extent of the land under Chāmunda's rule cannot be determined, although it may have been much smaller than the *Samyāna-maṭhikā* under Madhumati Sugatipa of the Chinchani plates of the time of Indra III and the *Samyāna-pattana* too mentioned in the second of the two sets of Chinchani plates of Mōḍha Vijja, to be edited below. Chāmunda is also stated to have destroyed certain ruler or rulers of the *Lāṭa* country in the present Narsari-Broach region. The inscription does not state where the *Kautuka-maṭhikā* was situated; but we know from the Chinchani plates of the time of Indra III that the *mathikā* was built by Kautuka and others at *Samyāna* itself.

¹ Cf. *J.E.A.S.*, 1901, pp. 527 ff.

TEXT¹[Metres: verses 1, 3-4, 6 *Anuṣṭubh*; verse 2 *Vaṁśastha*; verse 5 *Śālīlī*.]

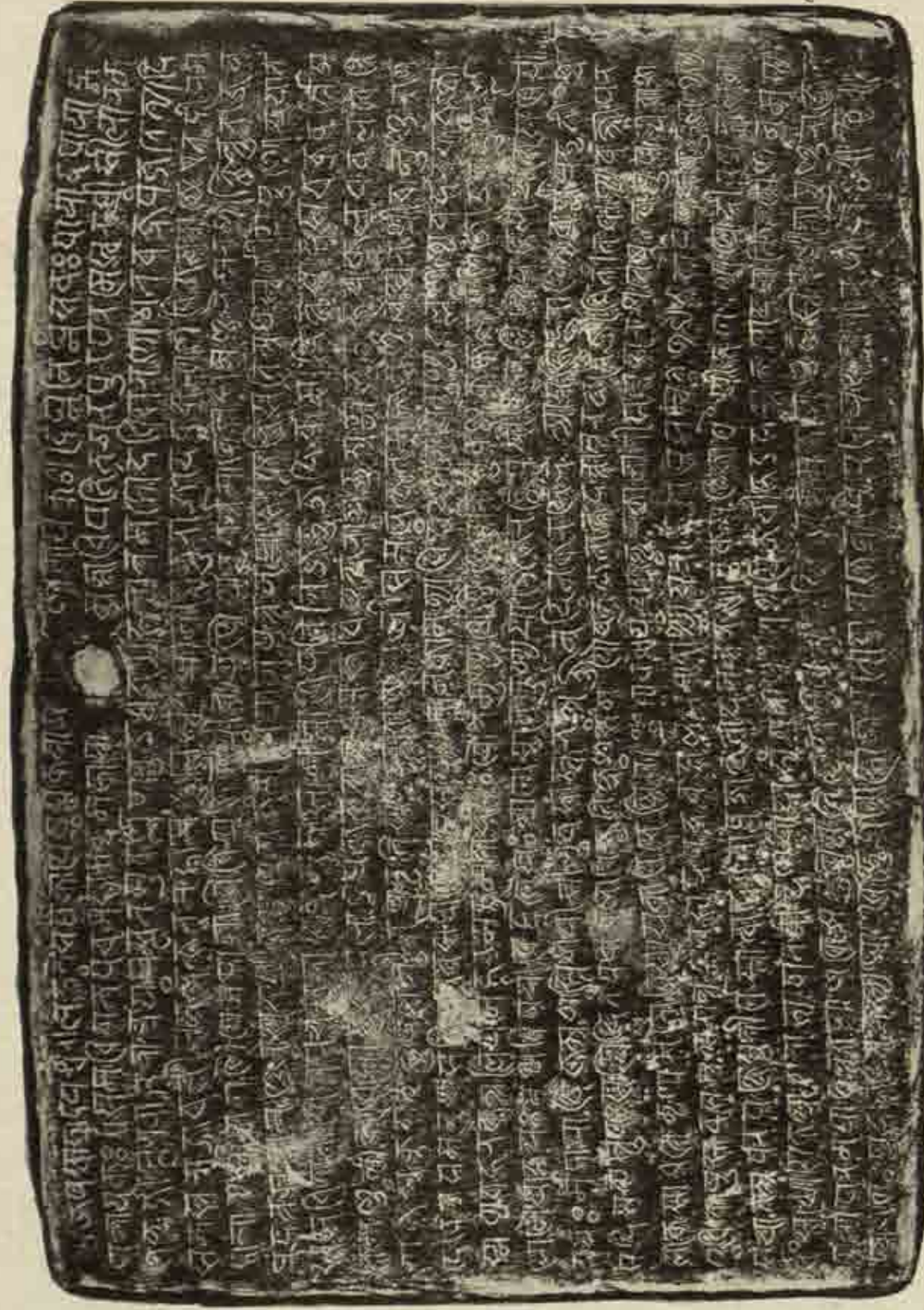
First Side.

- 1 [Siddham*] jayaś=ch=ābhyaśdayaś=cha || Labhatē sarva-kāryēṣu pūjyā gaṇanā yakaḥ |
vighna[m*] nighnañ(ghnañ) sa vaḥ pāyād=apāyād=Ga-
- 2 pañāyakaḥ || [1*] samadhigatapañcamaḥśavda(bda)-mahāsāmantādhipati-Tagataputrapara-
mōva(ēva)ra-śrī-Sūāra-na-
- 3 rēndra-Jimūtvāhan-ākva(nva)ya-prasūta-suvargna-(Ga)ruḍadhva-(ā)bhimānamahōdadhi-sa-
(sa)raḍāgatava]raparjār-ēty-ādī-
- 4 samasta-rāj-āvalī-samalaṁkṛita-mahāmaṇḍalēśva(ēva)ra-śrīmañ-**Chhinturājadēva**-kalyāṇa-
vijaya-rājyē śtadīya-ma-
- 5 hānātya-śrī-Nāgañaiḥ mahāsāntihivigrahika-śrī-Chāupyañ² aṇ(cha) na(va)rtiamāñ mahā-
maṇḍalēśvara-śrī[ma*]khihi(ch-Chhi)nturājēna
- 6 pradatta[m*] mahāmaṇḍalēś(v)a[ra]-śrī-**Chāmunda[rāja](jaḥ)** śrī-Saṁyāna-pattanarñ
prahōkūrsati³ ||*|| aṭha svakiya-puṇy-ōdayō[ta](yāt)
- 7 samadhigatāśhaparñcamaḥśavda(bda)-mahāsāmantādhipati-nijabhujavikramāditta(vya)-
sāhasaśakravartti-a*.
- 8 rimaṇḍalēśvā⁴ bhūja[m]ga-Lāḍā[ta]pra(prā)kāratāyad(v)a[m]d*]saka-vipakṣatāyabhuṅ-
gaḥ⁵-a*biḥyakuladhavala-vairi-
- 9 gaja⁶-aṁkura(śa)-śrī(tri)bhuvamañla-prahṛiti-samasta-rāj-āvalī-samalaṁkṛita-mahāmaṇḍalēśva-
(ēva)ra-śrī-**Chāmunda[rāja]-**
- 10 dīvēna⁷ samannūṛ(śā)nti [Sāmy]ānam⁸ sarvā[n]yō(n=ō)va] sta-samva(mha)dhyamānakān-
anyā(n-a*)pi [ha]ḥyamañya-mukhya-vallāna(bha)-vyavaharakavalkā⁹
- 11 amaryavalaraka¹⁰ Alliya-Mahara-Madhamat-ālayaḥ¹¹ paṇa-mukhya(khyān) śrēḍṭhi-Kēsari-
Suvargna-Kakkala(lān) vañjō(jaḥ) Uva-Suvargna-
- 12 Sōmay-ōdayaḥ¹² tathā viśay(i)-Vēthalaiyaḥ(yaḥ) ālā-sthāna-mukhya-Yājñikarñ[m*]
annaiḥay¹³ Kahi[ta]-Līmvañ(mba)ya-Vēlaiya-Kēsariy-ā-

¹ From impressions.² Expressed by symbol.³ Better read *Nva* as in the Berlin Museum plates (*ZDMG*, Band 90, p. 283, text line 32).⁴ The intended reading seems to be *prahōkūrsati*.⁵ *śanda* has not been observed here.⁶ Read 'Lādhitā'.⁷ The intended expression is *śaś-ārgala*.⁸ Read 'dīvā' or *dīvā*.⁹ The words in *va* are here required if *śāśā* is converted to *śāś*.¹⁰ Read *amaryavalaraka*.¹¹ Read *amaryavalaraka*.¹² Read 'ādya'.¹³ Read *viśayā*.

THREE GRANTS FROM CHINCHANI—PLATE I

I. Grant of Chamundaraja, Saka 956



Scale : Four-Fifths

- 13 *daya*¹ *mahā-pāreṣhika*² *Agasti-Gavi-Silva-Bhāskara-Arjuna-Dinakara-Dāśa*³ *Ā[r]ya-Sū[mā]-dūr-Āvi(di)tyavarnṇa-prabhṛttā-cha*
- 14 *sa[m]disa(sa)ty=astu vaḥ samvi(samvi)ditam yathā Chālā vibhūti[k*] kṣhaga-bhaṅga(gi) yaq-
vanam Kṛitānta-dant-āntam-vartti jivitam(tam) | tadha(th-ā)py-avā(va)jñā pam-*
- 15 *lōka-sādhanē nṛigām=ahō vismaya-kāri chēhṣṭitam(tam || 2) ity-avadhārya Śaka-nṛipa-kāl-
ātī[ta*]-samva(samva)tsara-śatēshu navasu shaṭ-parichāsa-*
- 16 *[d-a]dhikēshu Bhāva-samva(samva)tsar-āntarggata-Bhādrapada-va(ba)hula⁴-
amāvā[śy]ām(syām) yatī-āmikatō=pi Samva(Samva)t 956 [Bhādra]pada-va-
(ba)hula 15*
- 17 *sarhyātō apara-pakṣhē su-tīrthē snātvā dēvatā-pūjā-kṛitād-anantaram Kautuka-mathik-ā-
rtham⁵ śrī-Bhagavatyā(ty-a)grē dīpa-prajvalan-ā-*
- 18 *rtham avādhyāyika⁶-āgat-[ā]bhīyāgata-Vra(Brā)hmaṇa-pād-ābhyaṅga(ja)n-ārtham avādhyā-
yika-Chiṭṭaḍa-hastō [kṛit]-ōdak-ātisarggēna namasya-*
- 19 *xṛittyā(ttyā) paramayā bhaktyā ghāṇakō samutpanna-tāilya(la)-samutpanna-ghaṭika⁷-samam
mahāmaṇḍalēva(ēva)ra-ācī **Chāmunda-rājēna***
- 20 *ghāṇakab praduttah [(*] tad=asya ghāṇaka[m*] bhūmijatō bhōjayatō vā na kēn=āpi pari-
paththanū karaṇīyā ||⁸ ebha⁹ ||*

Second Side

- 21 *āchāta-bhatta¹⁰-pravēsa(sa)m anādēyam-anāśēdhyam¹¹ | Va(Ba)huhīr-vvasudhā bhuktā
rājabhīḥ Sagar-ādibhīḥ | yasya ya-*
- 22 *ya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) || [3*] Sadyō-dānam nir-āyēnam a-āyānam
dirgha-pālanaṁ(uam) | ata ēvava¹².*
- 23 *rahayab prāhur=dlānāch=abhtēyō-nupālanaṁ(uam) || [4*] Datvā(ttvā) bhūmih bhāvinaḥ
pārthiv-ēndrā[n*] bhūyō bhūyō yāchat Rāmabhadraḥ |*
- 24 *sāmānyō-yam dharmma-hē(sē)tu[r*]=nṛipānām kāl¹³ kāl¹⁴ pālanyō bhavadbhīḥ || [5*] iti muni-
vachanāny-avadhāryā(rya) samast-ā-*
- 25 *gāmi-nṛipatibhīr=api pālana-dharmma-phala-lōbha-ēva karaṇīyaḥ | na pūnas-ta[l*]-lōpana-
pāpa-kalathik-āgrēsa-*
- 26 *rēṇa kēn=āpi bhavitavyam(vyam) || yastvam=ā¹⁵vam=abhyarthitō=pi lōbhād-a[[ā]ma-timira
paṭal-āvṛita-matir=ā¹⁶chēhlidya-*

¹ Read *dāya.

² Read *pāreṣhikāśa.

³ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

⁴ Better read *saṭhikāśa*.

⁵ The intended word seems to be *mathita*.

⁶ There is a *virgula*-like mark before this double *śaśa*.

⁷ This marks the end of a section of the writing. See above, Vol. XXX, p. 218.

⁸ Read *a-chāpa-śāpa*. The passage quoting certain usual terms governing the grant of land seems to be rather out of place here.

⁹ Read **adhyam*.

¹⁰ Read *śaśa*.

¹¹ Read *yastvam=ā*.

¹² Read **rachēhlidyaśa-ā*.

- 27 mānam=annamōdēta vā sa. pāṇehabhīr=apī pātakair=upapātakai[ś=cha*] sa[ś*]līpti⁵ raurav-
ākṣha(nḍha)tāmūchā(er-ā)di-narakā[ś*]ś=chiram=.
- 28 nūbhaviṣhyati || Ā(rā)mānān sahasrāṇa ta(ḍgānām)śatēna cha | gavām kōṭi-paradānē ghāṇka-
haritā na su(śu)ddhyati || [6*]p
- 29 yathā eb=aita[ś]=vraṣṭh tathā śāsana-dātā eva-matama(m-ā)rōpayati | matam mama lavīha-
(bāha)-chatu[ś]śaṣṭi-sā(śyā)ma-turāṅgama(m-ā)dhyāsi-vā-
- 30 dya-prōddāma-ttrakṣa-t[ā]rya². Āhavanilla-mahāmaṇḍalāśava(āva)ra-śrī-Vijja-rāṇaka-anta-
Tri(Tri)bhuvaṇanila-mahāmaṇḍa.
- 31 śava(āva)ca-śrī-Chāmum(mu)ṇḍarājēna³ [i*] la(ḥ)khitam śāsanam dhruva-Mammalaiya-
(ya)-svaśastama [i*] pad-atr-ōn-ākṣaram=adhik-ā-
- 32 kṣaramvā(ram vā) tat-sarvam pramāgam=iti [i*]

2. Grant of Vijjala, Śaka 969

This is a set of **two** plates, each measuring 7.35" in length, 5.425" in height, and .1" in thickness. They have writing only on the inner side and are strung on a ring, the ends of which are affixed beneath a **seal**. The counter-sunk surface of the seal bears the figure of a standing deity looking like Viṣṇu or the Sun-god. The inscription consists of 30 lines of writing, 14 of which are engraved on the first plate and 16 on the second. The weight of the two plates together with the ring bearing the seal is about 140 *tolas*.

The **characters** resemble those in the grant of Chāmmuṇḍarāja, edited above. For the two types of *ś* referred to in connection with the other epigraph, see *śavā* in line 2 and *śagana* in line 4. There is close similarity between the two records also in regard to **language** and **orthography** and little calls for special remark in these respects. The **date** of the charter is quoted in the last line (line 30) as the **Śaka year 969** (written in figures only) without any other details. But the occasion of the grant is referred to as the **Māgha-saukrānti** in lines 11-12. The grant therefore seems to have been issued on the **22nd January in the year 1048 A.D.**⁴

The record begins with the symbol for *Siddham* followed by the word *evanti* and the *maṅgala*: 'May there be victory and prosperity.' But there is no stanza in adoration to any deity as in the record edited above. Then in lines 1-6 *Mahāmaṇḍalāśvara Vijjaladēva*, also styled *Samadhigat-āśha-paṇḍa-mahāśabda*, is represented as flourishing at *Vijayapura*. Vijjala is endowed with several other epithets, of which *Saravāgata-mjra-pañjara* was imitated from the Śilāhāra, although it is found in the records of some other royal families as well. He is also described as 'the sun that opened the lotus bud which is the illustrious *Mōḍha* family'. Another of his epithets seems to refer to his success against certain adversaries called Śilāhāra, Śilla and Sahastrabāha. They appear to have been small local chiefs; but their identification is uncertain. In the description of Vijjala, there is a stanza in lines 6-7, saying that he was successful against his enemies even when he was the *Yasurāja*. The same stanza is found in the Rāshtrakūṭa records in the description of Kṛṣṇa III (939-67 A.D.) and must have been adopted from the said source. But whom Vijjala served as *Yasurāja* cannot be determined.

¹ There is a metrical defect in the stanza.

² *Śandā* has not been observed here. The word *śandā* is difficult to explain.

³ Read **rājasa*.

⁴ There are two semantetic circles between the double *daṇḍas*.

⁵ See below, p. 70, note 3.

Lines 7-19 record the grant of the *sirāṣirbō* (apparently a sort of tax or cess) relating to the village of **Kaṇāḍḍa-grāma** in the possession of the Kavatika-maṭhikā in favour of the house-holders Bahudhara and Kāṅkua as well as the scholars Mahādēva and Lakṣmīdhara, all of them apparently attached to the *maṭhikā* of Kavatika, on the occasion of the **Māgha-saṅkrānti**. There is no doubt that *Kavatika* is a modification of *Kastaka*, the name of one of the builders of the *maṭhikā* at Saṁyāna, which is not only known from the record of Chāmuṇḍarāja, edited above, but also from the Chinchani plates of the time of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III and Kṛishṇa III. Lines 8-9 state that the grant was made in consultation with the ministers (*mantriya*) including *Varishṭhaka* Mummuraka and *Phakkura* Pōmbalaiya, the first of the two being the chief minister (*sarva ālākāra-niyakta*). It is also stated that it was made by the chief after having worshipped the lord Mayūkhamālin, i.e. the Sun-god. This fact coupled with the possible representation of the Sun-god on the donor's seal seems to suggest that the Mōḍhas of Saṁyāna were devotees of the said deity. The well-known stanza beginning with *chalā ekkāṭṭā* is quoted in this section. The grant was made on a permanent basis (apparently as a permanent endowment) and people were warned not to create any obstacle in the enjoyment of the gift by the donees.

Some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses are quoted in lines 20-27. Another stanza in lines 27-29 prays for the continued rule of **Vijjala**, the donor of the grant. The date in the Saka year is quoted in lines 29-30. The charter ends with the statement that it was written by *Limbāditya*.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the record, **Vijayapura** seems to have been the name of the capital of the chief Vijja or Vijjala. The name, apparently coined after that of the chief, may have been applied to a suburb of Saṁyāna. I am not sure about the location of **Kaṇāḍḍa-grāma** (same as Kāṇḍuka?) in the possession of the Kavatika-maṭhikā (Kutuka-maṭhikā). As stated above, the *maṭhikā* is known from other records to have been situated at Saṁyāna, modern Sanjan in the Thana District.

TEXT

[Metres : verses 1, 3-8 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 2 *Varṇavastu* ; verse 9 *Śālī* ; verse 10 *Śāṇḍilya-vikrīḍita*.]

First Plate

- 1 Siddham* svasti [h*] jayaś-ch-ābhyū(hhyu)dayaś-cha | śri-Vijayapurē samadhiḡat-āśeṣa-
pāṇcha-mahā-
- 2 śavda(bda)[h*] śri-Mōḍha-kula-kamala-kalikā-vikāśa-bhāskara[h*] sa(ha)raṇ-āgata-vaḡra-
- 3 puṇjara[h*] ari-maṇḍalika-raṇa-vijaya-lakṣmī-avyaṇhvara-dra(rā)ḡga-jalanūbi-jala-
- 4 śayana-pad-ākṛānta(uta)-Lakṣmī-vilāsa-Nārāyaṇa[h*] vidyūdhari[†]-araṇṭhala-muktāphal-ā-
- 5 hāra-rāya[h*] Sādhāra-Sēlla-Sahasrevā(bā)hv-ādi-vija[‡]-vijay-āśka-mālā-virājita[h*]
- 6 mahāmaṇḍalāvēre-śri-Vijjaladēvaḡ [h*] Yuvarājya-sthītē-āka yēn-aiṇa rājavah[§]
- 7 kahayam(yam |) nīlā hari-kisō(bō)rāṇa dvipa iva mad-āṭkaṭā[h*] 1[¶] tat-pāda-padma-ōpaḡt-

* From impressions.

† Expressed by symbol.

‡ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

§ Read *vira*.

¶ This *paḡda* is superfluous.

¶ This stanza is quoted from the description of Kṛishṇa III as found in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records. See above, p. 59, text lines 19-20.

- 8 vi sarva-śālikāra-niyukta-varishṭhaka-¹śi-Mināmakaḥ tathā th²hakura³-śi-Dōniva(mha)-
layā-
9 dayah śtair-mantribhīr-mantrayitvā | Chālā vibhūtiḥ kṣaṇa-bhaṅga(gi) yanvanath kritān-
[tā]nta-da[m*]h ā-
10 thā(nī)ra-varitī jivīth(tam |) tath-āpy-avajñā paralōka-sēva(dha)u⁴ ahō nṛpān viśa-
ya-kū-
11 ri-chāśtitam(tam |) [2*] śtat-saṁsār-śārasārā [śātvā bhagavan-Mayūkhamālīnē ch-ārgha-
[m*] datvā(ttvā) Mā-
12 gha-saṁkrāntan || Śatam-imbū-kṣayō dūnath-saṁsārā tu dīna-kṣayō⁵ ||*] viśuvā śata-
śārasa[m*] vya-
13 Upātēśv-anantakarā(kam) || [3*] śrīmat-Kavatika-maṭhikā-prabhujyamāna-Kapāḍḍa-
grāma-
14 śrīdīkā śrīmat-Kavatika-maṭhikā-grīhastha-Va(Ba)hndharah tathā

Second Plate

- 15 Kāśakaḥ | tathā śv[ādhyaya]ka[h] Mahādēvath tathā Lakṣmīdharah | śtō-
16 bhyaḥ kṣat-śalākāna-pradattā ā-chandhr-ārka-kālam yāvata(vat |) na kōn-āpi kṣāchā⁶
17 karṇyā- | yas-tu pamaḥ kām-kṛdha-lōbh-āntaritaḥ⁷ pāpa-timir-āvṛita-
18 chakṣuḥ aya-pratighātam vidhāsyati vidhīyamānath ch-ānuraḍdayishyati sa
19 paṇḍita-mahāpātākair-npapatākāś-cha saṁyuktō bhaviṣyati | tathā cha Vyāsah |
20 Prāśādā yatra suvarṇā vasa-dhārā-cha kūmadāḥ ||*] Gaṇadharev-Āpārasō yatra tatra ti-
21 śhīlāti dīnadah || [4*] Kālpa-kōpi-saṁsārāpi kālpa-kōpi-śatām cha ||*] nivasēd-Vra(d-Bra)-
hmasā
22 śikī dharma-dāyam karōti yah || 5*] Dhavalāny-ātapatrāṇi dantīnāś-cha mad-śikāṭāḥ |
23 anṭhā-[dh]autāni harṁyāṇi yuvatyō ratna-bhīṣhayaḥ || 6*] Dharma-dāyasya pūshpāṇi phala-
24 m-āyasya bhaviṣyati || [7*] Shashthi(śh)ti-r-varaṣa-saṁsārāṇi svargē tiśhṭhātī dāmadah
||*] āchchhōtā(śtā) ch-āma-
25 nantā cha tāvyō(ny-ō)va narka[m*] vrajā || [8*] Sarvān-śāna(tān) bhūgi(vi)nah pā-
rihōvōh[ā]rān bhūyō bhū-
26 yō pū(yā)śhatē Rāmabhadrah ||*] sāmānyō-yath dharma-śōnir-nṛpāṇān kālō kālō pāṇā-
27 yō bhavadbhūḥ || [9*] Yāvat-tōyam-spā[m*]patē-vrasumatī saṁtiśhṭhātē ch-āchalā ||*
vithraś chū[m*]drama-

¹ Read *śālikāra*.² *Sandā* has not been observed here. Read *śrīmat-sāś*.³ Himmādi (*Dānathāṇḍa*, Banaras, p. 75) assigns the stanza to Yājñavalkya (sic. *Logha-Sādhya-śreṣṭh*, verso 100) and quotes (*ibid.*, pp. 82-83) Vasishtha and the *Padma Purāṇa* interpreting *dīnatāyā* as the day that witnesses the end of two *vithis*. If Śaka 989 is regarded as current, the Māgha-mākrānti day (January 22, 1047 A.D.) witnessed such a phenomenon.⁴ Read *śāśhāyikaḥ*.⁵ Read *śāśhā*. The intended word may be *śāśhāpā*.⁶ Better read *vīra-matī*.⁷ This is only half of a stanza in *Anuśūkhā*. The first half is sometimes quoted as *śāśhāra śāśhā-śāśhā*.⁸ The *śāśhā* is superfluous. The last foot of the stanza is sometimes quoted as *pāṇān saṁpāṇā Purāṇān*.⁹ Read *śāśhā*.

THREE GRANTS FROM CHINCHANI—PLATE II

2. Grant of Vijja or Vijjala, Saka 969

[illegible]

Scale: Actual Size

- 28 sa[m*] ravēś-cha vimalam yāvat-tapōt(pōd) bhāṣvaran(ram) | yāvatvi(t=tv=ī)nd[ā]śikhā-
man[re-yu]va-na(ta)nan dhan[ttē]
29 dhṛitī[m*] Pārvati bhōya(gām)a=tāvad-ih-ānīsam vitanutām śrī-Vijja[adōva]ś mādā
|| 10* | Sa(Śa)kmu(ka)-vatsa*
30 969 likhitam=īdarā. Limvā(mbā)dityēna ||

3. Grant of Vijala (Vija, Vija or Vijja), Śaka 975

This is also a set of two plates, each measuring 10" in length, 7-15" in breadth, and .15" in thickness. They have writing only on the inner side. A ring bearing the seal of the issuer of the charter passes through a hole made in the side of the plates. The ends of this ring are soldered beneath the seal. The figure on the countersunk surface of the seal is similar to that found on the seal attached to the second of the two inscriptions edited above. There are in all 50 lines of writing on the two plates, 24 of them on the first and 26 on the second. The two plates together with the ring and seal weigh 278½ tolas.

In respect of **palaeography, language and orthography**, the inscription resembles the two other epigraphs from Chinchani edited above. Initial i has been written for gi in lines 25 and 31. The draft of the document and its engraving exhibit considerable carelessness on the part of the scribe and the engraver. The **date** of the charter is quoted in lines 27-29 as the expired **Śaka year 975** (in words only), **Vijaya, Kārttika-badi 15**, and the occasion of the grant is stated to have been a **solar eclipse**. The details of the date work out correctly and it corresponds to the **13th November 1053 A.D.**

The inscription begins with the symbol for *Sūddham* followed by the *Pragana*. Next follow the passages: 'Salutation to Vināyaka (Gaṇēśa)', and 'May there be victory and prosperity'. The above is followed by the stanza in adoration of Gaṇaśyaka (Gaṇēśa) which is also found in the Chinchani plate of Chāmara, edited above, and several Śākāra grants. Lines 3-4 introduce the chief **Vija-rāpaka** who is described as born in the **Mōḍha** family and as having obtained the grace of the goddess Khadrāvati, apparently the family deity of the Mōḍhas of Samyāna. The name of the ruler also occurs elsewhere in the inscription in lines 4, 7, 8, 48 and 49 in various forms. In lines 8 and 48 it is spelt as *Vija*, while in lines 7 and 49 it is written respectively as *Vijala* and *Vija*.

In the sentence referred to above (lines 3-4), *Vija-rāpaka* is stated to have been *śrī-Dīmarāka-śrī-Aigala-suta*. This passage may mean to say that *Vija-rāpaka* was the son of *Aigala* alias *Dīmarāka*. But considering the carelessness of the scribe and engraver exhibited by the inscription, it is not impossible that a word like *pantes* has been omitted through oversight after the mention of *Dīmarāka*, so that the passage was really intended to indicate that *Vija-rāpaka* was the son of *Aigala* and grandson of *Dīmarāka*. No royal title is applied to either of the two names. The next sentence in the same ruler's description in lines 4-5, which is extremely corrupt, states that he was responsible for the prosperity of the Mōḍha family even when he was a child. It is, however, interesting to note that this sentence is a modification of a stanza in the description of the Śākāra ruler *Chhittarāja* as found in the records of the Śākāra dynasty probably suggesting that *Chhittarāja* ascended the throne fairly early in his life. The same may have been the case with the Mōḍha chief who issued the charter under review. The following sentence or clause in lines 5-8 speak of **Vijaladēva** of the **Mōḍha** family, described as *Mahāmāṇḍalādēva*, *Samādhipat-Śākāra-patācī-mahāśālā*, *Mahāśāntidhīpati* and *Tugra-pura-paramādēva*. It is really unnecessary and uncalled for in the text. But apparently it was modified from a passage in the earlier records of the Mōḍha

* The *śikhā* is in the name is in excess of the metrical requirement.

* This is a contraction of the word *vatsara*.

family referring to the contemporary Śilāhāra ruler to whom the Mōḍhas then owed allegiance. This suspicion seems to be supported by the typical Śilāhāra title 'supreme lord of **Tagarapura**' applied here to Mōḍha Vijala apparently through oversight. It was over-looked by the officer responsible for the draft of the present charter that, while replacing the name of a Śilāhāra ruler by that of a Mōḍha chief in the passage in question, a title suiting only the former was left unmodified.¹

It may be argued that Mōḍha Vijala mentioned in line 7 is different from Mōḍha Vija of line 4 and that the latter was a subordinate of the former. But I do not think it possible to agree with such a view. In the first place, *Vijala* is phonetically the same as *Vijjala* which is again a mere variant of *Vijja*. It is a popular Kannaḍa name and is generally found in the various forms *Vijjala*, *Vijjana*, *Vijjano*, *Bijja*, *Bijjana*, *Bijjala* and *Bijjala*.² Secondly, the issuer of the present charter is apparently identical with the Mōḍha chief *Vijjala* of the Chinchani plates of Śaka 969 (1048 A.D.) edited above, in which the chief does not represent himself as a subordinate of any other ruler. Since the Śilāhāras were still a ruling power in the Northern Konkan, it is difficult to believe that the ruler of Saṁyāna, who issued the present grant, would have acknowledged allegiance to anybody other than a ruler of the Śilāhāra dynasty. There is no evidence of the emergence of a Mōḍha king in the Northern Konkan in the period in question, to whom the Mōḍha chief of Saṁyāna could have offered allegiance. Thirdly, we have to note the fact that, as will be shown below, the Mōḍha chief of Saṁyāna seems to have been ruling over a wider territory in 1053 A. D. than he was holding without reference to a master five years earlier in 1048 A. D. While the chief now claimed to have ruled over the Saṁyāna 700 division, the Śilāhāra king Chittarāja, to whom the rulers of Saṁyāna originally owed allegiance, claimed to have held the Konkana 1400 country.³ About 1053 A. D., the Mōḍhas were thus ruling about a half of the Northern Konkan.

Lines 8-12 state that, when *Maṇḍalika Vijja-rāpaka* was ruling over the **Saṁyāna-pattana 700** which was a *Maṇḍala* or district consisting of 4000 *śaṭhaṅgas* and extending as far as *Ākṣūka*, the burden of the administration of his kingdom lay on the head of *Varishṭhaka* Mummuraka and that of the administration of **Saṁyāna** (apparently meaning the town which was the headquarters of the Mōḍha territory) on the head of *Maḍaṭṭhaka* Dombalaiya, while there were other chief officers such as the *Mahāpandita* Badihapṛasāya. As we have already seen, the chief minister Mummuraka and the minister Dombalaiya are also mentioned in the Mōḍha chief's earlier record issued in Śaka 969 (1048 A. D.).

The chief's order in respect of the grant to be made was addressed to the following subordinates (lines 12-15): the future princes, ministers, priests, administrative officers (*amātyas*) and chief officials (*pradhāna-niyōgika*) as well as the officers in charge of the *rāshṭras* (territorial units), the cities and the *Dharmas*, as also the people of the countryside. It was also addressed with due respect to the *kashyapana* (Parsee community), the citizens, and the Mōḍha Brāhmaṇas of **Śrīsthāna** (i.e. modern Thāna). The Mōḍha Brāhmaṇas mentioned here probably hailed from **Śrīsthāna** and were settled at Saṁyāna. Then follows in lines 16-26 a long section in prose and verse dealing with the transitoriness of life and wealth, the propriety of giving grants, etc. It is found in some Śilāhāra grants⁴ and, in a smaller form, not only in most of the Śilāhāra charters but also in the two records edited above. It also contains some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas. Lines 26 ff. state how, on the date and occasion indicated above, the Mōḍha chief made a grant after having worshipped Trailōkyachakras (i.e. the Sun-god) and Trailōkyasvāmī (either

¹ For a similar case found in inscriptions, see *JAS*, Letters, Vol. XX, p. 213.

² See *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, pp. 222 ff., 468, 470.

³ Cf. *Post-pramāṇa-chaturdaśa-grāma-patī-samavāśin* *amavata* *Āśāṭapa* *thānam* *śamavāśinī* (e.g. in *EDMO*, Band 90, p. 282, line 31).

⁴ Cf. above, Vol. XXV, pp. 39 f. (lines 44 ff.).

Śiva or Viṣṇu). The language of the passage recording the grant, which follows in lines 30 ff., is defective; but it apparently means to say that the amount of three *drāmas* received by the government as *śirīḥkāl* (the same as *śirīḥkāl* of the previous record, meaning a sort of tax or cess) on account of the village of **Kopasā-grāma** in the possession of the Kautuka-maṭhikā was granted in favour of the householders and scholars attached to the maṭhikā in the form of a permanent endowment for the purpose of feeding 25 Brāhmanas probably per day. It will be seen that Kautuka's maṭhikā at Saṁyāna is mentioned in all the five grants discovered at Chinchani, including the three edited here, although, in the second of the three epigraphs now under study, the name Kautuka is spelt as *Kautika*. The endowment has been called a *bhōjan-ākṣayaṇī* or *bhōjan-ākṣayaṇī*, the word *ākṣayaṇī* or *ākṣayaṇī* being a corruption of Sanskrit *akṣaya-nīri* meaning 'a permanent endowment'. The expression thus means a permanent endowment created for the purpose of providing food free of cost. In line 42, the endowment is referred to merely as *bhōjana* and in line 46 as *grāsa*.

The following section in lines 33-47 in prose and verse contains some more of the benedictory and imprecatory stanzas. Lines 47-48 contain the statement that the donor's decree was contained in the text of the document as written by one of his officers styled *Dhruva* (i. e. the collector of the royal share of the produce from the farmers). This is followed in lines 45-49 by the sentence: 'Confirmed by me, the *Maṇḍalēśvara*, the illustrious **Vijja-rāpaka**', in the well-known style of putting the signature of the donor on a document later engraved on copper plates. The next sentence says that *Dhruva* Mammalaīya wrote the document at the request of both the parties (i. e. the donor and the donees) under orders of *Maṇḍalēśvara* **Vijja-rāpaka**. It is further stated in line 50 that the text of the charter was to be regarded as authoritative. The record ends with a *maṇḍala* of the usual type.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the charter, the most interesting is the **Saṁyāna-pattana 700** forming a *maṇḍala* consisting of 400 *drāngas*. It was apparently the district round the town of Saṁyāna (Sanjan). But it is difficult to explain the passage used in the inscription to indicate the territorial unit. We know that expressions like 'Saṁyāna-pattana 700' normally meant 'the Saṁyāna-pattana division consisting of 700 villages or hamlets' although the number may have been conventional or exaggerated.¹ But the word *drānga* generally means 'a town' and it is impossible to believe that a territorial division consisting only of 700 villages or hamlets contained as many as 4000 towns. It therefore seems that *drānga* in the inscription is a mistake for *dramma*. The intended meaning of the passage in question may therefore be that the annual revenue income of the territory under the rule of the Mōḍha chief of the Saṁyāna district consisting of 700 villages or hamlets was 4000 *drāmas* possibly meaning coins of silver. A locality called **Ākāṣikā** is stated to have stood on the borders of the said district. The donor seems to have made a permanent endowment out of the *śirīḥkāl* tax or cess amounting to 3 *drāmas*, probably payable annually or periodically to the government by the Kautuka-maṭhikā at Saṁyāna on account of a village called **Kopasā-grāma** in its possession. I am not sure about the location of this village.

TEXT*

Motres : verses 1, 3-9, 12-16 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 2 *Vamśastha* ; verse 10 *Pushpitāgrā*, verse 11 *Śālinī*.]

¹ See *JBKS*, Vol. XI, part 1, pp. 9 ff.

* From impression.

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 4 4
 6 6
 8 8
 10 10
 12 12
 14 14
 16 16
 18 18
 20 20
 22 22
 24 24

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 अथ श्रीविजयाय नमः ॥ २ ॥
 अथ श्रीविजयाय नमः ॥ ३ ॥
 अथ श्रीविजयाय नमः ॥ ४ ॥
 अथ श्रीविजयाय नमः ॥ ५ ॥
 अथ श्रीविजयाय नमः ॥ ६ ॥
 अथ श्रीविजयाय नमः ॥ ७ ॥
 अथ श्रीविजयाय नमः ॥ ८ ॥
 अथ श्रीविजयाय नमः ॥ ९ ॥
 अथ श्रीविजयाय नमः ॥ १० ॥
 अथ श्रीविजयाय नमः ॥ ११ ॥
 अथ श्रीविजयाय नमः ॥ १२ ॥
 अथ श्रीविजयाय नमः ॥ १३ ॥
 अथ श्रीविजयाय नमः ॥ १४ ॥
 अथ श्रीविजयाय नमः ॥ १५ ॥
 अथ श्रीविजयाय नमः ॥ १६ ॥
 अथ श्रीविजयाय नमः ॥ १७ ॥
 अथ श्रीविजयाय नमः ॥ १८ ॥
 अथ श्रीविजयाय नमः ॥ १९ ॥
 अथ श्रीविजयाय नमः ॥ २० ॥
 अथ श्रीविजयाय नमः ॥ २१ ॥
 अथ श्रीविजयाय नमः ॥ २२ ॥
 अथ श्रीविजयाय नमः ॥ २३ ॥
 अथ श्रीविजयाय नमः ॥ २४ ॥

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44

46

- 33 *śab(śā) [i*] na kṛm-āpi kṣhūdrādakṣetrēna¹ karaṇṭyaś | Bahubhir-(v)rasandhā bhuktā rājabhūḥ Sagar-ā.*
- 34 *di[blūḥ] [*] yaśya yaśya yadā bhūmih(mis-)tasya tasya [tadī*] phalaśh(lam || 8) Sadyō-dānaśh nir-āyasaśh s-āyasaśh dirgha-pāla.*
- 35 *naśh(nam |) ata ēv=avarshayaśh² prāhu(r=dā)jāśh=chirēyō=anupālanaśh(nam || 9) Hī kamala-dal-āmva(mbu)-vinḍu-lō[ā]h*
- 36 *ariyam=aru[ehintya manu*]śhya-jivitaśh [cha || 10*]³ Datvā(ttvā) bhūmih bhāvina-[h*] pārttha(rthi)vēmātrā[n*] bhūyō 2⁴ yāchatō Rāmabhadrē(draś |) aśmā.*
- 37 *nyō-yam dharma-kō(śō)to[r*]-aripāpāśh kālō 2⁵ pālaniyō bhavadbhūḥ [|| 11*] samast-āga(gā)mika-aripati(bhī*)r=adhi(pī).*
- 38 *pālana-dharmma-phala-lōbha eva kata(ru)ṇiyāśh⁶ na punastā lōpana ēva karaṇṭyaśh | na jṇa.*
- 39 *nastā(s=ta)-lōpana-pāpa-kalamk-āgrēṇa[sa]rēṇa⁷ kṛm-āpi bhavitavyaśh yaśh=tam-ēvam⁸=a-*
- 40 *bhyarthitō=pi lōbhād=a]nāna-timira-petaśhām(l-ā)vṛts-matira*cheliśhyamānam=anumōdō.*
- 41 *tu(tā) vā sa paśchabhir=a*⁹ papātakaish sa[m]līptō Raurava(v-Ā)[adha]ta(tā)miśrō(ar-ā)di-narakō(kām)=chiram-anubha[vi].*
- 42 *śhyati [i*] Sva-dattāśh para-dattām vā(ttām vā) yō [karō]d-śhōjanam¹⁰ [i*] [a*] viśh-ṭhāyāśh tva(kp)mir=bhūtvā kṛmibhi[h*] saha*
- 43 *pachyatō [|| 12*] Vinḍhy-ātaviśhv=a-tōyāśu supka-¹¹kōṭara-vāśinaśh [i*] mah-āhoyō hī jāyantō [bhō].*
- 44 *jan-ākahayant haraṇ(ru)nti yā¹² [|| 13*] Grā(Gā)m-śkām svarṇam=śkām mvā(vā) bhūmī(mō)it=apy-śkam-aṅgulam(lam |) haraṇ(ru)n=naraka.*
- 45 *m=śpūṭi yāvad-āhūta-saṃplavaśh(vam || 14) Ārāmāṇāśh arō(sa)hasrēṇa ta-lāgānāśh to¹³ kātēna cha [i*] ga.*
- 46 *vāśh kōḥi-pradūṇēna grāśh-harttā na su(śu)ddhyati [|| 15*] Śha[śh]ṭhi(ahṭi)=eva-raśh-sahasrāpi svargg¹⁴ tishṭha.*
- 47 *u bhūmidāśh [i*] āśhchhātā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakaśh vra[ṣṭu(jōt) || 16*] yattha(thā) ch=aitad-ēvam tathā*
- 48 *dhruv-ākharēṇa eva-matam=ārōpayati [i*] mataśh mama maṇḍalēva(ēva)ra-śh-Viṭja-rāpakasya [i*]*
- 49 *likhita=idam=uba(ha)y-ābhyarthitōśh(tō)na maṇḍatō(lō)eva(ēva)ra-śh-Viṭja¹⁵-rāpaka-(k-ā)dēśhā(sāt) dhruva-*
- 50 *Manvā(mā)laiyēna [i*] Ukhita-kāśanāśh tat=pramāṇam=iti | maṇḍalaśh mahā-śh ||*

¹ Read *kṣhūdrācpi vāgghāśh*.

² Read *ēv=avahayāśh*.

³ This is only half of a stanza in *Puskpāgṛā*. The second half is generally quoted as *sukhamaśhīdam=udābhikāśh* *As buddhaśh na hi parashāśh para-kṛtāyō vāgghāśh*.

⁴ *Lo. bhūyō bhūyō.*

⁵ *Lo. bhū bhū.*

⁶ The following 13 letters (from *na* to *haraṇṭyaśh* ||) are redundant.

⁷ Read *āgrēṇa*.

⁸ In this context, we have often got *te=svam*.

⁹ Read **vāśhchhāśhchhāśh*.

¹⁰ Read **vāśhchhāśhchhāśh*.

¹¹ Read *karōd-śhōjana-śh*.

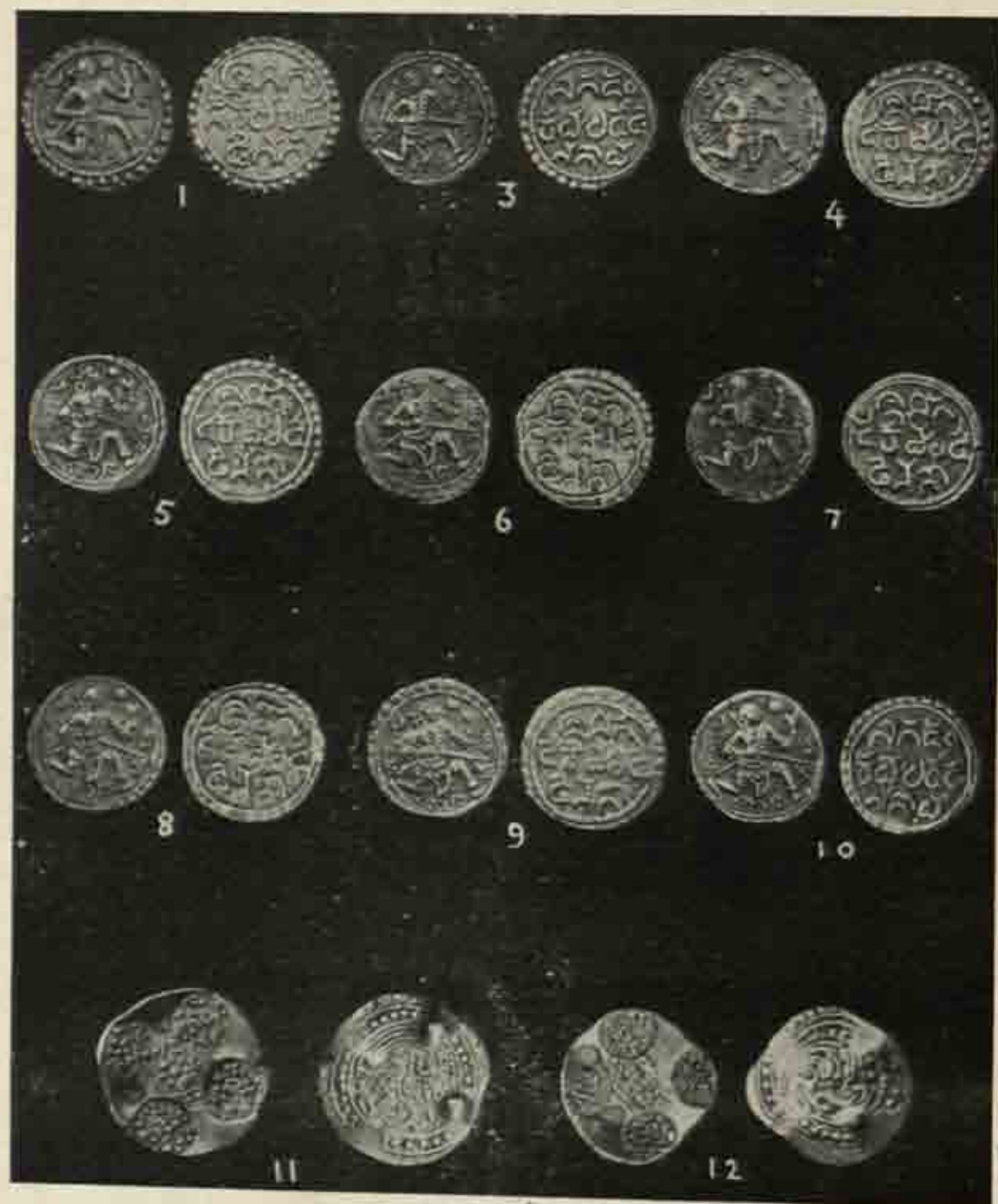
¹² Read *śakāśh*.

¹³ Better read *bhūyō-ākahaya-śh* for the sake of the metre.

¹⁴ Omit this syllable for the sake of the metre.

¹⁵ As already indicated above, the name is spelt as *Vijā* in line 4 and as *Vijja* in lines 8 and 48, while it is spelt as *Vijola* in line 7.

GOLD COINS OF DANDINAGOVA



Scale : Actual Size

No. 6—GOLD COINS OF DANDINAGOVA

(I Plate)

P. B. DESAI, DHARWAR

In November 1936 plaster casts of ten gold coins were received for examination in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India from the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay. These coins with two more, according to the information furnished, were sent to the said Museum by the Mamlatdar of Ramdurg, Belgaum District, Mysore State. The details regarding the discovery of the coins as communicated by the Numismatist of the said Museum in his letter, dated the 24th January 1937, are as follows:

"The coins were found on the 16th June 1930 by one Shri Namadevappa Ningappa Badiger in a field belonging to Shri Shankarappa Devarayappa Badiger in the village of Mudakavi, six miles from Ramdurg, about a furlong from the Ramdurg-Badami Road. It is said that the man, while going through the field, noticed a small earthen pot lying there. On breaking it, he recovered the 12 gold coins which were later deposited at the Ramdurg Police Station."

These ten coins which are circular in shape bear close resemblance to one another in their mould and design. Their diameter is about 1.5 centimeter on average. Their weights ignoring slight variations are stated to be as follows: Nos. 1-2—60 grains; Nos. 3-8—59.75 grains; No. 9—60.25 grains and No. 10—59 grains.

On the *obverse* of the coins is depicted under decorations the figure of a warrior facing right, going for a fight. He wears a helmet and armour, holding in the right hand a long dagger pointing to the front and a hawk in the left hand which is bent and turned upwards. Figures of the sun and crescent moon are shown to the right and left of the warrior's head. This figure apparently represents the issuer of the coins, whose identity is discussed below. The *reverse* bears the legend in Kannada characters of the 12th century, inscribed within two circles, the outer one of which is dotted. The coins appear to have been struck from more than one die. On account of the difference in the arrangement of the letters in the legend, it is clear that at least two different dies were used for the two legends. The readings of the legend on the two types are as follows:

I	II
1 <i>Nigajam</i>	<i>Sri-Niga</i>
2 <i>kamala-Danḍi</i>	<i>lo[m]kamala-Da[m]</i>
3 <i>nagōva</i>	3 <i>ḍinagōva*</i>

The above legend is a combination of two titles *Nigajankamala* and *Dandīnagōva*. Both these titles are familiar to the students of Kannada epigraphy as having been enjoyed by different rulers of various dates. But, for the identification of the particular chief who issued these coins under his titles only, interesting information is available from an inscription of the area.

This inscription¹ comes from Torgal in the Ramdurg Taluk. It is dated 1187-88 A.D. and describes the achievements of a local chief by name *Barma-bhūpāla* who was administering the areas round about Torgale (modern Torgal) which was his capital. By virtue of his valour,

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 93 ff.

this chief earned the distinctive title *Danḍinagodeva* meaning 'the protector of the army like the Cowherd God'. He is also referred to in the record by another title *Nigalanka* which is an abbreviation of *Nigalankamalla* meaning 'a warrior adorned with the chain of distinction'. The inscription further relates that this Barma-bhūpāla proceeded at the behest of his overlord and suzerain on a conquering expedition along the four quarters and acquired the tracts of Lohāpura-Twelve, Hojalgunda-Thirty, Doḍḍavāḍa, Navilgunda-Forty and Kojenūru-Thirty, all of which came under his direct rule. The areas mentioned above as being governed by Barma-bhūpāla embrace parts of the present Bijapur, Belgaum and Dharwar Districts.

An examination of the above details together with the provenance of the coins leads us to the conclusion that it was this Barma-bhūpāla who issued them under his distinguished title *Danḍinagodeva*. The period in which Barma-bhūpāla lived was characterised by a state of uncertainty caused by the decline of imperial power, both the later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa and their adversaries of the Kalachuri dynasty having virtually vanished from the political arena, making way for enterprising leaders like Bhillama of the Yādava family. It was under these circumstances that Barma-bhūpāla appears to have made a bold bid for territorial expansion and power and issued coins as an independent king.

As for the remaining two coins of the group, they appear to be what are known as *Padma Tanḱas*, generally associated with the rulers of the Kadamba family. One of them (No. 11) is identical with the coin published in Elliot's *Coins of Southern India*, Plate II, No. 67. The other coin (No. 12) is of a similar pattern, though not identical in all respects.

I am indebted to Shri Parameswari Lal Gupta, Numismatist, Prince of Wales Museum, who was kind enough to give me an opportunity for studying these interesting coins.⁴

⁴ Coin No. 2 could not be illustrated.

No. 7—SACRIFICIAL INSCRIPTION FROM SONDA

(1 Plate)

P. B. DESAI, DHARWAR

This inscription was copied by me at Honnehalli, near Sôndâ, in January 1940, in the course of an epigraphical survey of the Sirsi Taluk, North Kanara District, formerly in the Bombay State, but now in Mysore. The slab bearing the epigraph was set up near the Narasimha shrine inside the Svargavalli *matha*.¹ The record² is edited here for the first time with the help of impressions taken under my supervision.

The slab measures 31 inches long and 28 inches broad. Its upper part is shaped into a broad curve. In the space at the top above the inscription proper are cut in relief the figures of the sun and the crescent. Above, below and to the right of these symbols are engraved the two invocations in Kannada characters, *Vishûdevat jayati* and *Śrî-Nṛsiṃhâ jayati*, and another in the Nāgarī script referring to a third deity.³ About the middle of the slab are carved in relief four figures which are eminently conspicuous. The main figure at the centre is elongated and made up of four curves. The one to its north is almost a square; another towards the east is a semi-circle and the third one to the south is a circle. The significance of these figures will be pointed out below.

The inscription is engraved in the Kannada alphabet and language. The characters are late being normal for the date of the record. Noteworthy is the form of initial *ā* (line 12), its length being denoted by a sign attached to it and looking like the medial *ā* mark. In some cases a superfluous curve is appended to the lower limb of *ē* giving the impression that it is doubled; cf. *saravati* in line 3 and *pratiṣṭhā* in line 6. The doubling of the letter *l* in *halli* in line 3 and *belli* in line 9 is denoted by a curve affixed to its lower part. In line 8 the word *śruti* is misspelt as *śruti*.

The epigraph commences with the date which is given as Śalivāhana-Saka 1595, Pramādi, Māgha-śukla 4, Saturday. This date regularly corresponds to the 31st January 1674 A.D. It is stated that at this time Sarvāyā Rāmanandrapāyaka, the chief of Sāle, was ruling the principality. The object of the epigraph is to commemorate the completion of a sacrifice which was caused to be performed by Sarvajña-sarasvatī, a pontiff of Honnehalli, for the prosperity of the above chief. The ritual was conducted by Agnibhāra Kṛṣṇa-bhaṭṭa of Kadatōke under the guidance of Śruti Viśvapati-bhaṭṭa who was specially invited for the occasion from the holy city of Kāśī. The performance lasted for five days and was completed on Wednesday, the 8th of the bright half of the above month. The passage at the end of the inscription indicates that the stone bearing the record was set up to mark the sacred site where the sacrificial ceremony actually took place. From the duration of the sacrifice it appears to have been a Soma-yāga.⁴

An interesting part of the epigraph is the representation, on the commemorative tablet itself, of the sacrificial spot, which, as described above, consists of four figures. The central elongated figure stands for the *Vāṭi* or the raised seat intended for the performer. The adjoining three figures to the south, east and north respectively depict the three pits wherein the three sacred fires, known as Gārhapatya, Dakṣiṇa and Āhavanīya, are kept burning throughout the performance.⁵ The tablet thus presents a unique instance of sacrificial memorial.⁶

¹ This *matha* belongs to the pontiffs of the Havyaka or Harik community of Brāhmanas largely residing in the area.

² E. K. Coll., No. 15 of 1939-40.

³ [See below, p. 81, note 2.—Ed.]

⁴ Cf. A. Chinnaswami Sastri's *Vajrasamhita*, ed. A. M. Ramanatha Dikshita, for illustrations of the sacrificial fire-pits.

The chief Savāyi Rāmachandra-nāyaka of Sōde who was instrumental for the sacrificial performance is not known from other sources. The principality of Sōde, more familiarly known as Svādi,¹ played a significant role in the later period of Karnāṭak history and an authentic account of its Nāyaka rulers remains to be worked out in detail with the help of epigraphical, literary and archaeological sources.

In this context it would be worthwhile to review briefly the contents of a few epigraphs bearing on the Nāyaka chiefs of Sōndā, copied by me while conducting an epigraphical survey of the Sirsi Taluk. An inscription² in the Sōndā fort called Hosakōṭe belongs to the reign of the Vijayanagara king Dēvarāya II and is dated 1432 A.D. It introduces his subordinate *Mahāprabhu* Arasappa of Sōvade, who was the son of Samkappa. This is the earliest epigraph mentioning the Sōndā chiefs so far known. This Arasappa appears to be the first ruler of the name who founded the principality and his father's name is disclosed here for the first time.

Arasappa-nāyaka I, it appears, continued to rule during the subsequent reigns of the Vijayanagara kings. For instance, a record³ from Hulekal belonging to the reign of Virūpāksha and citing the cyclic year Hēvijambī (1478 A.D.) introduces Arasappa-nāyaka of Sōde, and another from Chalgār,⁴ dated 1478 A.D., refers to a ruler of Sōde having the same name.

Arasappa-nāyaka II was the next distinguished chief who is said to have ruled from 1555 to 1598 A.D.⁵ As the gap between Arasappa-nāyaka I and Arasappa-nāyaka II is fairly big, we have to assume that another chief whose name is not known to us ruled in the interval.

We have five records for Arasappa-nāyaka II. The earliest from Honnehalli,⁶ dated 1556 A.D., speaks of Arasappa-nāyaka as ruling at Sōmadāpuri. The next one⁷ is dated 1569 A.D. in the reign of the Vijayanagara king Sadāśiva. The information furnished by this epigraph is that this chief claimed his descent from the solar lineage and had a daughter named Arasamma. The third epigraph,⁸ which apparently has to be assigned to this chief, belongs to the reign of the Vijayanagara king Venkaṭapati and cites the date 1593 A.D. The fourth record⁹ from Hulekal referring to the death of a warrior in the service of Arasappa-nāyaka gives the date, Durmakha, Vaisākha-paurṇimā, Sunday, corresponding to May 2, 1596 A.D. The last epigraph from Karasavalli¹⁰ is dated in 1602 A.D. and extends the rule of this chief by four years. Two more inscriptions on hero-stones, one at Hulekal and another at Pañchalīnga,¹¹ the dates of which cannot be determined with precision, may also be assigned to this ruler.

¹ Sōde has become Sōndā under the influence of English. For the variants of this name and importance of the place, see above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 292. In an inscription from Guttal, Haveri Taluk (B.K. Coll., No. 51 of 1932-33), dated 1162-63 A.D., mention is made of a *Vaidatyanakari* (i.e. merchant-chief) described as an ornament of the Sōnde family. This appears to be the earliest reference to Sōndā so far known. [See below, p. 81, note 2.—Ed.]

² B. K. Coll., No. 71 of 1939-40.

³ Ibid., No. 24.

⁴ Ibid., No. 10.

⁵ *North Kanara Gazetteer*, Part II, p. 120.

⁶ B. K. Coll., op. cit., No. 16.

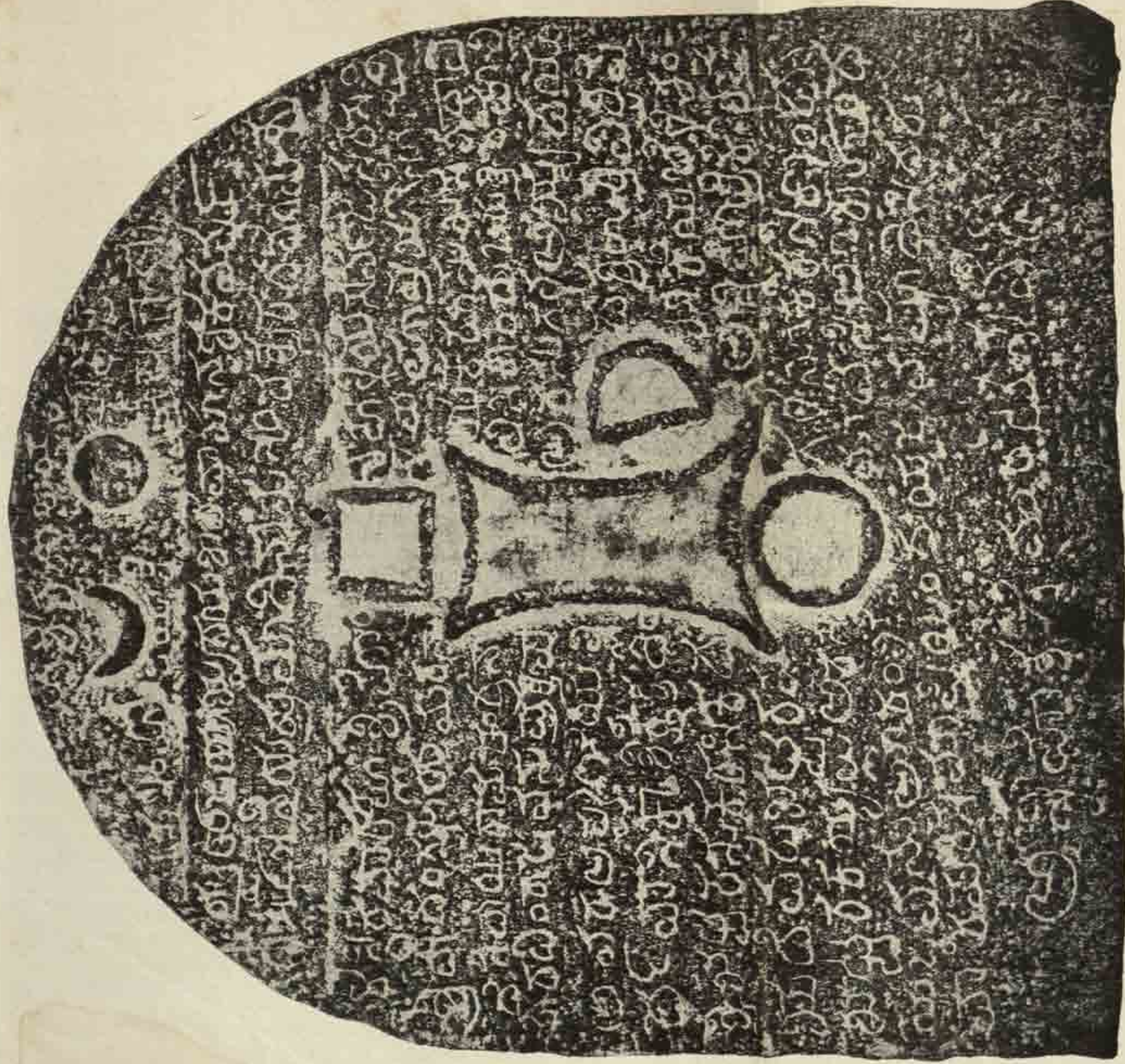
⁷ Ibid., No. 76.

⁸ Ibid., No. 73.

⁹ Ibid., No. 28.

¹⁰ Ibid., No. 46.

¹¹ Ibid., Nos. 32 and 52.



Scale : One-Third

TEXT¹

- 1 Svasti [!]² Śrī-jay-abhyudaya Śālivāhana-Śaka-varsha
- 2 1595 neya Pramādi-nāma-samvatsarada Māgha-ku
- 3 4 Śthiravārada'llū Śrī-Homn[e]ha'lliya Sarvajña-sarasvatī-
- 4 śrīpādamaṅga'llū Śrī-maṅgaḷa-mahāprabhu Sō-
- 5 de Savāyi Rāmachandra-nāyakarū sukha-samkathā-vi-
- 6 nōdadim rāja(jīya)vannu pratipālīnikom[du] barattirahalli
- 7 avara apṇapeyalli arasugaḷa abhyudaya-
- 8 rthavāgi Kāśikahōtradinda Śraṭi Viśvapa-
- 9 ti-bhāttarannu karnai Kaṭatōkeya Beḷli Śam-
- 10 bhudēvaru-bhāttara maga Agnihōtri Kāśava-
- 11 bhāttara kayyallu Arasagalanū karasīkomḍu
- 12 yaḷḷavanū ārambhava mādim ā-ku 8 Budha-
- 13 vāra paṇsamāptiyimda yaḷḷava māḍisidaru [!]³
- 14 Agnihōtrada maṇṭapa-vēdi [!]⁴

6

¹From impressions.²This *da* which was omitted first is inserted slightly above the line between *re* and #4. Read **dalu*.³(The Nāgari passage reads *Śrī-Dharmādhīra-jayati*....—The language of lines 3-6 seems to suggest that Sarvajña-Sarasvatī and Rāmachandra were ruling together and that the sacrifice was performed under their orders.—The name of the sacrifice performed is not mentioned; but the *ṛita* indicated does not seem to suit a Śamayāga. The last sentence speaks of the *vēdi* (sacrificial altar) in the *maṇḍapa* for the celebration of *Agnihōtra* (a daily sacrifice), with reference to its representation on the stone.—The name *Sōdū* is not due to English influence since it is called *Sōdū* and *Sōmadā* respectively in B. K. No. 51 (Śaka 1094) of 1222-33 and No. 10 (1506 A. D.) of 1939-40. See also Sonda in *SHI*, Vol. IX, part. I, No. 329 (Śaka 1145), line 29.—Ed.)

No. 8—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM GUNTUR DISTRICT

(I. Plato)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

It is now nearly a decade and a half that Mr. P. Seshadri Sastri of Guntur, who is an energetic student of the antiquities of the Guntur District of the Andhra State, published the tentative transcripts of two interesting early epigraphs in the now-defunct periodical entitled *Journal of Andhra History and Culture*.¹ The first of these two stone pillar inscriptions was found at Velpūru² in the Sattenapalle Taluk and Mr. Sastri's short note on it was published in the said journal, Vol. I, No. 2 (July 1943), p. 64, with a small facsimile. He published his short note on the second epigraph, stated to have been found 'at some distance from Reptachintala in the Palnad Taluk', in the same journal, Vol. II, No. 2 (July 1944), pp. 68-69, without any facsimile. On reading Mr. Sastri's notes, I, as one interested in the early history of the area in question, felt that the inscriptions should be properly edited with good illustrations. In January 1957, when I was camping for a few days at Guntur, Mr. Sastri showed me a few estampages of both the records and requested me to edit them in the *Epigraphia Indica*. This roused in me a special interest in the inscriptions. I visited Velpūru where I examined the original stone bearing the first of the two records and prepared fresh impressions of it. The pillar was found lying in front of the temple of the god Rāmalingeswara, although it is stated to have been formerly built into the shrine of the village goddess by the road-side in the neighbourhood of the other temple. I was told that the second inscription had been found in the village of Mañchikallu in the Palnad Taluk. But, on reaching the village, I learnt that the inscribed stone had been removed to the Taluk office at Guntur some six months previously. I went to Guntur but only to learn from the Tahsildar that the inscription had been transferred to the Bungalow of the Collector of the District at Guntur. I therefore came back to Guntur where the inscribed stone, which is the fragment of an octagonal pillar, was ultimately traced in the Collector's old Bungalow. In the search of the inscriptions, I received considerable help from Dr. R. Subrahmanyam, Superintendent of the Nagarjunikonda Excavations Project, who takes great interest in matters relating to the early history of Andhra.

1. Velpūru Inscription of Aira Māñjaśada

The inscription consists of six lines of writing covering an area about eleven inches in length and twelve inches in height. Individual akṣaras are roughly about 1" x 1" or slightly bigger. The inscribed surface of the stone is damaged at both the left and right ends of the writing and a letter at the beginning or end of the line is generally damaged or broken away. In a few cases, two letters at the commencement of the lines are similarly affected. The first three letters at the beginning of the last line are now completely lost; but the second and the third of them are traceable on the impressions of the inscription prepared by Mr. Seshadri Sastri in 1939. The layer of stone had broken away even before the Epigraphic Branch copied the record in 1940-41. Some akṣaras in the central part of lines 3-6 are also damaged. An original defect in the stone which compelled the engraver to leave some space further affects the same lines.

¹ A few volumes (Volume I, 1943; Volume II, 1944) of this *Journal* were published from Guntur under the editorship of Dr. M. Rama Rao. Both the inscriptions are noticed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* as No. 468 of 1940-41 and No. 22 of Appendix E of 1939-40. See the *Reports for the years 1939-40 to 1942-43*, pp. 127, 220, and for the years 1943-44 to 1944-55, p. 87.

² Shown over long a and e has not been used in this article.

The characters resemble very closely those of the inscriptions¹ of the Śātavāhana king Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi (c. 106-30 A.D.) and his son Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāvi (c. 130-59 A.D.) from Nāsik, Amarāvati and other places.² The inscription may therefore be assigned to a date about the first half of the second century A.D. The alphabet employed in the inscription under study is decidedly earlier than the Jaggaṃpeta³ (Nandigama Taluk, Krishna District) and Nāgārjunikonda⁴ (Paland Taluk, Guntur District) inscriptions of the Ikshvāku king Virapurushadatta who flourished about the middle of the third century A.D.⁵ The letter *a* has a straight horizontal base, while *i* has not the angular or flat base noticed in the Ikshvāku inscriptions. The letter *t* also does not exhibit the looped type noticed occasionally in the Śātavāhana epigraphs of the age of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāvi but generally in the Ikshvāku records of the time of Virapurushadatta. The forms of the letters *l*, *t* and *a*, as found in the present epigraph, may be compared with their forms generally noticed in the later Śātavāhana inscriptions discovered in the Krishna-Guntur region and its neighbourhood such as the Amarāvati inscription⁶ of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāvi, the Kodavali inscription⁷ of Chandra or Chandra Śāta, the Myakadoni inscription⁸ of Puṣumāvi and the Chinna inscription⁹ of Yajña Śātakarṇi. The comparison would suggest that the inscription under study should have to be assigned to a date about the time of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāvi and not to the period after the end of Śātavāhana rule in the said area about the close of the first quarter of the third century A.D.¹⁰

The language of the inscription is Prakrit and no influence of Sanskrit is noticed in it except in the use of the vowel *ai* in the word *dharmas* in line 2. As regards orthography, there is no case of the reduplication of consonants or the use of conjuncts. But the modification of *j* to *y* in the word *śaṅkṛdya* (lines 2-3) is interesting to note.

¹ Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 60 ff. and Plates; *Arch. Surv. S. India*, Vol. I, p. 100, Plate LVI No. 1.

² For the date of the Śātavāhana kings, see *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 202, 204. In spite of the great difference between the palaeography of this record and that of the Maheśhalla inscription edited below, both the epigraphs have been assigned in the *Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy*, referred to above, to the third century A.D. The Maheśhalla inscription no doubt belongs to the end of the third century; but the present record is certainly earlier by more than a century.

³ *Arch. Surv. S. India*, Vol. I, Plates LXII-LXIII.

⁴ See, e.g., above, Vol. XX, pp. 1 ff. and Plates.

⁵ *The Successors of the Śātavāhanas*, p. 16; cf. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 223.

⁶ *Arch. Surv. S. India*, Vol. I, p. 100, Plate LVI No. 1.

⁷ Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 316 ff. and Plate. This inscription has been differently read and interpreted by Sten Konow and Krishna Sastri. We are inclined to disagree with the views of both the scholars and to read the epigraph as follows:

1. Śaṅkṛdya Vāsiṣṭhī
2. puṣumāvi-śatkarṇi
3. Chandra[śa]śāta[ya] śara[śhara]
4. [10] [1] śa pa 2 śiva[sa] 2 [1] [1]
5. amach-śa[va]mi[śhama]na dharmas
6. śaṅk[ṛ]dya

The inscription therefore seems to be dated on the second day of the second fortnight of *Hemanta* (i.e. winter) of the eleventh regnal year of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Chandra Śāta (or Chandra Śāta), when his amich (i.e. a minister or executive officer) named Satyamitra established a *dharmas* in the vicinity of the inscription. The word *dharmas* here apparently means a religious object or institution, traces of which have been noticed near the findspot of the record (cf. op. cit., p. 317).

⁸ Ibid., Vol. XIV, p. 155 and Plate.

⁹ *JASB*, Vol. XVI, 1920, Plate XVI. The palaeography of this record closely resembles that of the Ikshvāku inscriptions of about the middle of the third century and does not look earlier than the Kodavali and Myakadoni inscriptions, although the rulers mentioned in these two records are generally supposed to have flourished later than Yajña Śātakarṇi.

¹⁰ Cf. *The Successors of the Śātavāhanas*, p. 163.

Considering the length of the other lines, it is clear that two letters at the beginning of line 1 are lost, although traces of the second of these two are visible. These lost *akṣaras* appear to have been *śiḍha* or *śiḍham* (Sanskrit *śiḍham*), the *maṅgala* found at the commencement of numerous early records. The above is followed by the words *namo Bhagavato* (Sanskrit *namaḥ Bhagavate*), 'Obeisance to the Lord'. This kind of adoration without mentioning the name of the deity in question is known from other inscriptions.¹ The Ikshvāku inscriptions often begin with the *maṅgala*: *namo Bhagavato Budhasa*, 'Obeisance to the Lord Buddha'. But the word following the word *Bhagavato* in the present record is not *Budhasa* and does not appear to be the name of a deity. The first two letters of this expression, viz. *ga*, are engraved at the end of line 1 and the third letter at the beginning of line 2 is broken away, while the last two letters are clearly *yaśa*. It is not possible to restore the word with any amount of certainty. But it is tempting to suggest *Gāla-* [re*] *yaśa* (Sanskrit *Gālavayasya*), 'of the Gālavaya', Gālavaya possibly being the *gotra* or clan name of the king mentioned further on. The following letters of line 2 are *Airaṃ Mahārāja* with a partially damaged *sa* (completing the second of the two expressions) at the beginning of line 3. It is clear from this passage that the king, whose name follows, enjoyed the royal title *Mahārāja* and claimed to have belonged to the *Aira* family. *Aira* as a family name also occurs in the inscriptions of the Chedi-Mahameghavāhana of Kālīṅga.² Some scholars think that the word stands for Sanskrit *Aila* (i.e. a descendant of Ilā) while others equate it with Sanskrit *ārya* through the Prakrit forms *aryā* > *ayira* > *aira*. We are inclined to agree with the second group of scholars, especially because the change of *r* to *l* does not appear to be a characteristic of the language of the inscription under study. Moreover, the forms *ayira* and *aira* (for Sanskrit *ārya*), from which *aira* seems to have been derived, are actually found in the Amarāvati and Nāgarjunikonda inscriptions.³

The letters following the damaged *sa* in line 3 are: *Hārīti[putasa] śi[r]i[ś. Mā]*. The name of the king, who enjoyed the metronymic *Hārītiputra*,⁴ born of a lady belonging to (i.e. whose father belonged to) the *Hārīti gotra*, cannot be determined with certainty as the letter following *Mā* at the beginning of line 4 is damaged, although the following three *akṣaras* read *śaśa*. Traces of the damaged letter in the facsimile published by Mr. Senhadri Sastri, however, appear to suggest the reading *sa*.⁵ Now, it may be supposed that the letters *śaśa* go with the following expression and that *sa* preceding *śaśa* represents the sixth case-ending added to the king's name in two syllables. The name of the king in that case may be *Māna*, if our view regarding the reading of the second letter is accepted. Since, however, *śaśa* added to the following word scarcely gives any sense, the suggestion does not seem to suit the context. The other possibility is that the king's name was written in four syllables beginning with *mā* and ending with *śaśa*. In that case, the name of the king may be taken, at least tentatively, to be *Mānaśaśa*; but whether *śaśa* representing the second half of the name stands for *Śāta* cannot be determined. A ruler named Śivamaka Śaśa

¹ See Arch. Surv. S. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 85, 105 (Nos. 48-49). The god referred to in line 1 of the inscription under study seems to be the one mentioned by name in lines 5-6. Sometimes a god is mentioned by name in the adoration at the beginning of the epigraph and later only by the epithet *Bhagavate* (cf. JRS, Vol. XXXIX, Parts 1-2, pp. 4-5).

² *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 206, 214. See above, Vol. XX, p. 80. For a king named Ārya-Viśākhāmīra who ruled over Magadha in the second century A.D., see above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 229 ff.

³ See *Liders' List*, Nos. 1276, 1280; above, Vol. XX, p. 26.

⁴ In ancient India, marriage was often performed without *gotra*-*śatara*, i.e. the change of the wife's paternal *gotra* to that of her husband. See *Proc. IBC*, Annamalaiagar, 1943, pp. 43 ff.

⁵ It may be conjectured that the damaged letter is *śa*, so that the passage would read *śirīśaśaśaśa* (Sanskrit *śirīśaśaśaśaśa*), 'of the illustrious Śiśa'. Cf. *śirīśaśa* for Sanskrit *śirīśa* in a Nāgaṭṭa record (*Select Inscriptions*, p. 134). In the Prakrit epigraphs, however, the name of a king is generally preceded by the word *śirī* in compound. Moreover the damaged letter at the beginning of line 4 does not look like *śa*.

is known from an Amarāvati inscription¹ and the latter part of the name is generally taken to stand for *Sātavāha* or *Sālavāha*. Consequently, Sivamaka Sada is assigned to the Sātavāhana family.² The present epigraph, however, does not look like a Sātavāhana record and seems to show that a king of the Krishna-Guntur region bearing a *sada*-ending name belonged to the Aira (possibly also called Gālavaya) and not to the Sātavāhana family. Whether Sivamaka Sada, whose inscription has to be attributed to the same age as the epigraph under study on grounds of palaeography, belonged to the Aira family cannot of course be determined without further evidence.³

The next word in the latter half of line 4 reads : *dindhārikāya* (Sanskrit *drīṣi-dhūrīkayā*).⁴ 'by the female torch-bearer'. The first letter of the name of this female official of the Aira king contained in the first word of line 5 is lost, the following two letters of the word reading [*vā*]ya, 'by ... vā'. The name was therefore something like *Revā*, *Devā*, etc.

The following four letters of line 5 are damaged; but the second and third appear to read *gava* and the expression may be restored as *Bhagavato*, 'of the Lord' which is followed by what looks like *Bhūtagā[ka][ka*]sa* containing the name of a deity. Of this name, which may be compared with the word *Bhūtagrīhya* meaning a class of domestic spirits, the fourth letter is partially damaged at the end of line 5 while the last letter was broken away at the beginning of the next line even when Mr. Sastri copied the inscription eighteen years ago. As already indicated above, *sa* (the last *akṣara* of the above expression) and *ma* (the first letter of the following word *maṇḍap[pa]*) were lost at a slightly later date. The above is followed in line 6, with which the inscription concludes, by the words *eko* [*ni*]vāhito, the passage *Bhagavato Bhūtagāhakasya maṇḍapo eko nivāhito* (Sanskrit *Bhagavataḥ Bhūtagrāhakasya maṇḍapah ekaḥ nivāhitaḥ*) meaning 'one *maṇḍapa* of the god Bhūtagrāhaka has been completed.' The word *maṇḍapa* may mean here 'a building consecrated to a deity [in the vicinity of his temple]'. The inscription thus appears to record the construction of a building for a god called Bhūtagrāhaka by a lady in the service of a *Mahārāja* of the Aira family and probably of the Gālava *gotra*.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that the rule of the Aira (Ārya) family over the Guntur District and the adjoining areas in the second century A.D. is known from it for the first time. We know that about the end of the first century B.C., the Chedi-Mahāmeghavāhana king Khāravela of Kalinga, who claimed Aira (Ārya) descent, ruled over the territory lying to the immediate east of the dominions of the contemporary Sātavāhana king Sātakarṇi and that the former besieged the city called Asikanagara (Sanskrit *Rishikanagara*) situated on the bank of the river Kanhaveṇū (Sanskrit *Kṛishnavenū*, i.e. the modern Krishna) probably within the latter's dominions.⁵ In the absence of any reference to the Chedi-Mahāmeghavāhana family in our inscription and of epithets like *Hārīti-putra* in the records of the Chedi-Mahāmeghavāhanas of Kalinga, it is difficult, in the present state of our knowledge, to determine the exact relation of the Aira king mentioned in our epigraph with the family of Khāravela. But it is equally difficult

¹ Arch. Surv. S. Ind., Vol. I, p. 61, Plate LVI, No. 2.

² Cf. Rapson, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, etc., p. III.

³ According to some scholars, the Chinnā inscription prefixes the Prakrit word *arya* for Sanskrit *ārya* to the name of Yajña Sātakarṇi (above, Vol. I, p. 96, note 8; Vol. X, Appendix, p. 180, No. 1340), although there are other scholars who disagree with this view and hold different opinions on the subject (*AEIS*, 1913-14, pp. 213-14; *JASB*, Vol. XVI, 1920, pp. 329-30). Even if, however, it may be believed that *arya* of the Chinnā inscription stands for Sanskrit *ārya* and for Aira of the Velpūra inscription, it is difficult to determine whether Yajña Sātakarṇi (not described as a Sātavāhana in the Chinnā inscription) belonged to the Sātavāhana family but was so called because he was born of an Aira princess (cf. *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 316).

⁴ *Apte's Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (1924, p. 500) recognises 'light' as one of the meanings of the word *drīṣi* or *drīṣi*. Cf. the official designation *dīpaḥkara* in the *Rajatarangīnī*, VIII, 322.

⁵ See *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 206 ff.; *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 213.

to dissociate the rule of the Airas over the Guntur region in the valley of the Kṛṣṇā in the second century A.D. from the above facts of the early history of Kāliṅga especially in view of the title *Mahārāja* claimed by Mānasada, which was popular with the Chedi-Mahāmāghavāhanas but not with the Sātavāhanas. It is thus not impossible that Airas rule was established in the Krishna-Guntur region as a result of one of Khāravela's expeditions in those areas.

In the second century A.D., the title *Mahārāja*, enjoyed by the Aira king in our record, indicated an imperial status. The Aira rule in the Kṛṣṇā valley in the period in question seems to go against the suggestion that the Sātavāhanas, called Andhras in the Purāṇas, ruled over the Krishna-Guntur region in the heart of the present Andhra country from the post-Maurya age down to the beginning of the third century A.D.¹ Elsewhere we have suggested that the Andhra people were originally living in the northern parts of the Deccan, that the early rulers of the Sātavāhana family belonging to the Andhra race ruled over territories to the north of the Kṛṣṇā and that it was Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāvi (c. 130-59 A.D.) who conquered the Krishna-Guntur area in the second quarter of the second century A.D.² The main argument in favour of the suggestion is that no inscription of the Sātavāhanas down to the days of Gantamiputra Śātakarṇi (c. 106-30 A.D.) has been discovered in the area in question and that no land lying to the south of the Kṛṣṇā seems to be included in the long list of territories quoted in the Nasik inscription³ of the nineteenth regnal year of Puṣumāvi as comprised in his father's dominions. The present inscription seems to support our view. It now appears that the Airas ruling over the Krishna-Guntur region were supplanted by the Later Sātavāhanas. This is indicated by the existence of many Later Sātavāhana epigraphs in this region such as the Amarāvati (Guntur District) inscription⁴ of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāvi, Chinna (Krishna District) inscription⁵ of Gantamiputra Yājña Śātakarṇi, Kōṣavali inscription⁶ of Chandṛa or Chandra Śāta and the Myakadoni (Bellary District) inscription⁷ of Puṣumāvi.

TEXT*

- 1 . . . [?] namō Bhagavato [?] Ga[la]-
- 2 . . . yasa¹⁰ Airasa Mahārō[ya]-
- 3 [sa] Hārīti[putasa] [s]ir[ī]-[Ma]-
- 4 [sa]dasa¹¹ [s]i[ri]-[dh]ārīkōya-
- 5 . [v]āya¹² . [gava]¹³ Bhūtagā[ha]-
- 6 . [sa]¹⁴ na[da](pā[po]) [s]ko [nīva]hito [?]

¹ Cf. K. Gopalswami, *Early History of the Andhra Country*, p. 2.

² *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 193 ff., 204.

³ *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 106, 106 note.

⁴ *Arch. Surv. S. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 100, Plate LVI, No. 1.

⁵ Above, Vol. I, pp. 98f.; *JASR*, Vol. XVI, 1920, pp. 327 ff.

⁶ Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 316 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 155.

⁸ From impressions and the facsimile published in *JASR*, Vol. I, No. 2, Plate facing p. 84. We have also utilised one of Mr. Sastri's impressions for illustrating the present article.

⁹ The lost word may be *siddha* or *siddham*.

¹⁰ The intended reading may be *Gālavayasa* (i.e. *Gālavayasa*-Sanskrit *Gālavayasa*).

¹¹ Traces of the damaged letter at the beginning of the line seem to suggest the reading *sa*. The name of the king thus appears to have been Mānasada.

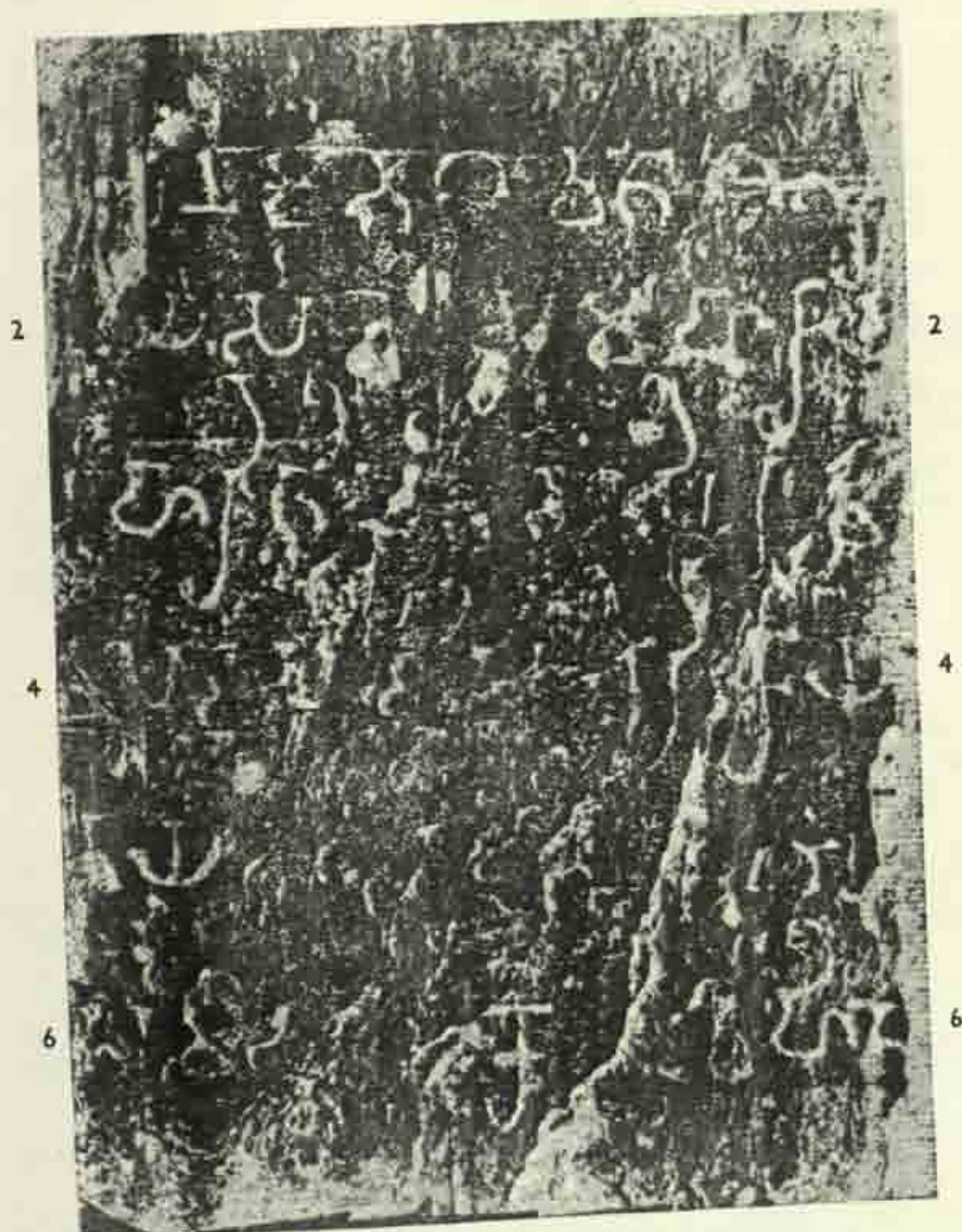
¹² As suggested above, the name of the lady was something like *Seṭā*, *Deṭā*, etc.

¹³ The word may be restored as *Bhagavato*.

¹⁴ The intended reading seems to be *Bhūtagāhata*. The *siddhas* *sa* and *ma* are traceable on Mr. Sastri's impressions but are lost now on the stone.

TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM GUNTUR DISTRICT

I. VELPURU INSCRIPTION OF AIRA MANASADA (?)





TRANSLATION

May there be well! Obeisance to the Lord. One *Maṇḍapa* for the Lord *Bhūtagrāhaka* has been completed by . . . *vā* who is the *Drīti-dhārīkā* (i.e. the female torch-bearer) of the illustrious *Mahārāja Mā(na)sada*, the son of *Hārītī* (i.e. the queen belonging to the *Hārīta gotra*), the *Aira* (and) the *Gālavēya*.

2. Mañchikallu Inscription of Pallava Sirhavarman

The area covered by the writing measures about seventeen inches in length and nine inches in height. The lower part of the inscription is broken away and lost. There are altogether five lines of writing. The first letter of line 4 is damaged and the last two or three *akṣaras* of it are broken away, while only a few letters of line 5 are visible. The *akṣaras*, each measuring about $\frac{3}{4} \times \frac{1}{2}$ or more, are boldly and neatly engraved; but some of them about the middle of all the lines are severely damaged.

The characters very closely resemble the *Ikṣvāku* inscriptions from *Jaggayapeta*. *Nāga-rjūnikoṇḍa* and other places and little calls for special remark in this connection. The consonant *t* has a looped (cf. *vardhamānīke* in line 2, *kāṭya* in line 3, *tetrikāsa* in lines 3-4 and *kāṭa* in line 4) as well as an unlooped (cf. *saṅgattā* in line 1, *saṅgati* in line 2 and *kurtakā* in line 4) form. The letter *n* generally exhibits the unlooped form (cf. *vardhamānīke* and *saṅgati* in line 2, *tetrikāsa* in lines 3-4). But *ṇ* shows both the looped (cf. *dhareṇa* in line 1, *gāyapaṇa* in line 3) and unlooped (cf. *Palavāpaṇa* in line 1, *saṅgattā* in line 2, *kāṭya* in line 3) forms. *Y* is of two types; cf. *Bhāradāya* in line 1 and *vajayāke* in line 2. The medial *ā* mark in *kāṭya* in line 3 is interesting to note. Double *ḍoṇḍa* has been used to indicate the mark of punctuation after *siddham* in line 1. The record can be assigned, on palaeographical grounds, to a date about the second half of the third century A.D. to which the *Ikṣvāku* epigraphs have been attributed, although the language and internal evidence, as discussed below, would suggest the close of the century. The letters *niya*, in Telugu-Kannada characters of about the seventh century A.D., are found at the end of line 2 while there are traces of similar *akṣaras* at the end of line 3 as well. These appear to have belonged to a different record which had nothing to do with the inscription under study and is now almost completely lost.

The language of the record is *Prakrit*; but its orthography is considerably influenced by literary *Prakrit* and *Sanskrit*. Reduplication of consonants is noticed in *siddham* and *saṅgattā* in line 1, *epi/papa* in line 2 and *bhāṭṭā* in line 4, while in line 5 we have the word *kurtakā* which not only exhibits the influence of *Sanskrit* in its spelling but is also of lexical interest. In *saṅgattā* in line 2, however, *saṅgattā* has been employed instead of the reduplication of *sa*. Double nasal has been used in *vardhamānīke* and *saṅgati* in the same line. In most cases, *n* has been changed to *ṇ*, although its use is noticed in a few words (cf. *uti* twice occurring in line 2 and *sa* at the beginning of line 4). The seventh case-ending in *-a* is used in *pāṇasāle* in line 5 and in *vajayāke* and *vardhamānīke* in line 2; but in the last two words the seventh case-ending seems actually to be meant for the fourth. These features are also noticed in other records; e.g., the *Mayidavolu* plates of Pallava *Śivaskandavarman*¹ have the passage: *Sivakṣāṇḍavarmanō Dharmakade vāpasaṁ ānapayati amṛitāni amṛitajayike dharmasāyabala-vadhanike ya gāma saṅgattāto* (*Sanskrit* *Śiva-*

¹ Some scholars are inclined to take *śiva* in the name as an honorific and *Śivaskandavarman* as the real name of the king. This is unwarranted not only because *śiva* as an honorific is scarcely used singly without any other honorific like *deva* as in the records of this ruler but also because the popularity of similar names like *Śivaskanda*, *Bhavaśanda*, *Śivashayamukha*, etc., in South India throughout the ages, can easily be demonstrated. Cf. *The Successors of the Śaśunthama*, pp. 166-67.

skandavarma Dhānyakate vyāpṛitam-ājñāpayati namāhikā idānim-amaḍ-vaṭṭayikāya dharm-āyur-bala-vārdhanikāya cha grāmaḥ sampradattāḥ'. A consideration of some of these characteristics of the language and orthography would suggest for the inscription a date about the end of the third century.²

The inscription begins with the *maṅgala*: *Siddhau*, followed by a double *darśa*. Then the Pallava king *Sinhavarman* of the *Bhāradvāja gotra* is introduced in the passage (lines 1-2): *Bhāradvāja-sagottara*.....[*dhā*]reya *Pallavāṇaḥ Sinhavarmanas* (Sanskrit *Bhāradvāja-sagottara*.....*dhareya Pallavāṇaḥ Sinhavarmanas*), 'by *Sinhavarman* who belongs to the *Pallavas* (i.e. the Pallava family), who is.....*dhara*, [and] who belongs to the *Bhāradvāja gotra*'. The epithet of king *Sinhavarman* ending in *dhara* cannot be satisfactorily restored.

The next passage in lines 2-3 runs: *ap[?]ṣṣo vṛjyāḥ*.....[*la*]-vārdhanikāya *vah-eti-vahyāyaganaḥ kātūṣa* (Sanskrit *āstanaḥ vṛjyāḥ*.....*la-vārdhanikāya vānti-vahyā-ganaḥ kātūṣa*), 'having performed *vānti-vahyāgana* for his own victory and increase of.....'. The traces of the damaged letters before *la-vārdhanikāya* in line 2 appear to suggest *dharmma-ba*³ and probably not *dharm-āyur-ba*⁴ as in the Mayidavolu plates. We may have here a reference to the increase of the merits and prowess of the king, for which the *vānti-vahyāgana* was performed. The expression *vānti-vahyāgana* means certain propitiatory rites, *vānti* being a rite for averting evil and *vahyāgana* for attaining prosperity.

The concluding part of the sentence in lines 3-4 reads: *Bhagavato*.....*Jivastivastaminas tathikāna* *kuttakā(k-o)pahātrakādī kṛtān* (Sanskrit *Bhagavato*.....*Jivastivastaminas tathikāna* *kuttakā(k-o)pahātrakādī kṛtān*), 'made presents of *kuttakas* and other [heutefacts] in favour of the *tathikāna* of Lord *Jivastivastamin*'. The word lost before the name of the god seems to be *eva* (Sanskrit *ēva*). The whole sentence in lines 1-4 thus means to say that the Pallava king *Sinhavarman* of the *Bhāradvāja gotra* made certain presents including the present of *kuttakas* in favour of the *tathikāna* of the god *Jivastivastamin* on the occasion of certain propitiatory rites apparently performed by the *tathikāna* for the victory and increase of merits, etc., of the king. The expressions *tathikā* and *kuttaka* used in the concluding section of the sentence quoted above are of lexical interest. The word *tathika* or *tathikā* means 'an adherent or head of any other than one's own creed'. In the present context, the word *tathika-tathikā* seems to be used to indicate the priests of the temple of *Jivastivastamin* who was probably a representation of the god *Śiva*. The word *kuttaka* is not found in Sanskrit lexicons; but *kuttaka* is recognised in Pali in the sense of 'a woollen carpet'. Our inscription seems to use *kuttaka* in this sense. The word does not appear to have any relation to *kutā* and *kurti* current in Hindi, Bengali, etc., in the sense of 'a shirt, tunic, bodice or jacket', as these are believed to be borrowed from Turkish during the Muslim period. Moreover, in India (especially in South India), the priests of a temple scarcely use such a garment.

The next sentence of the inscription in lines 4-5 cannot be fully read. It refers to the *Bha(t)ṛaka* (i.e. a male divinity) worshipped in a *devakula* or temple, the name of which is doubtful. The letters *sa pādamāle*, 'at the feet of.....', in line 5 suggest that the king made a gift in favour of the deity worshipped in the temple referred to.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it is the earliest epigraphic record of the Pallava family. There is no doubt that king *Sinhavarman*, to whom it belongs, was an ancestor

¹ Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 434. The expressions *amāraṇyāḥ* and *dharm-āyur-bala-vārdhanikā* were formerly taken by us to be adjectives standing for Sanskrit *amaḍ-vaṭṭayikā* and *dharm-āyur-bala-vārdhanikā*.

² Above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 170-71. Such characteristics are noticed in a few records of the time of *Indravarman* king *Kiruvāla Sāntamāla*, son of *Virapuruṣadatta*. Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 229.

of Śivaśkaṇḍavarman who issued from the city of Kāñchi the Mayidavola plates¹ as a *Yuvana-hārāja* (crown-prince) and the Hirahadagalli plates² as a *Dharmamahārājapūṣhapa*. While the first grant was issued very probably during the reign of Śivaśkaṇḍavarman's father, the second records the renewal of a grant originally made by his father mentioned as *mahārāja-happa-vāma* (i.e. the lord who was the issuer's father and enjoyed the title *Mahārāja*) without quoting his personal name.³ The first record shows that Anṭhrūpatha with its headquarters at Dhānyakata (Anantavati near Dharapikota in the Guntur District) formed a part of the Pallava empire when Śivaśkaṇḍavarman was the crown-prince apparently during the reign of his father. The present inscription seems to suggest the presence of king Śiṃhavarman in the said area. It is thus not impossible that it was he who extended Pallava power in the Krishna-Guntur region and annexed it to the dominions of the Pallavas of Kāñchi. Considering the proximity between the date of the inscription under study (i.e. about the close of the third century A.D.) and that of the Mayidavola and Hirahadagalli plates of Śivaśkaṇḍavarman (i.e. about the first quarter of the fourth century A.D.), as suggested by their language,⁴ it is also possible to conjecture that Śiṃhavarman was the father and immediate predecessor of Śivaśkaṇḍavarman. The close resemblance between the palaeography and language of the present epigraph and those of the Ikshvāku records would further suggest that it was the Ikshvākus who were supplanted from the Krishna-Guntur area by the Pallavas about the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth century A.D. The presence of Pallava Śiṃhavarman in the vicinity of the Ikshvāka capital of Vijayapura situated in the Nāgārjunikonda valley, as suggested by the inscription under study, seems to show that it was he who was responsible for the destruction of that city together with its Buddhist establishments. The bull crest of the Pallavas, as indicated by their coins and the seals attached to their copper-plate charters,⁵ appears to point to their Śaiva inclinations. In this connection it may be noted that many of the Pallava kings who flourished between the fifth and eighth centuries A.D. claimed to have been *Kaliyuga-dosh-śamāna-dharma-oddharaṇa-citya-mahādharma* which seems to refer to the fact that they were determined to revitalise their Brahmanical faith which had been encroached upon by heretical doctrines like Buddhism during the age of the Later Śātaśāhanas and the Ikshvākus.⁶

TEXT

1 Siddha[m] || Bhārādāya-saṃg[raha].....¹[dha]ṃṣa Palavāṇam Si[ha]-

2 varmaṇa ap[pl]aṇo vejayika..... [la²-va]rdha[ni]ha[n]tike sa[ni](sa)nti-santhi.¹⁰

3 yāyāṇa kātūṇa Bhaga[vato].....¹¹[Jiva]jivasāmisā tathik[ā]-

¹ *Soult Inscriptions*, pp. 433 ff.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 437 ff.

³ Some scholars take Happa to be the personal name of Śivaśkaṇḍavarman's father. But the use of the word in similar passages in numerous inscriptions clearly goes against the suggestion. Cf. *Soult Inscriptions*, p. 438, note 3.

⁴ Cf. above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 170-71.

⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 296-97; Vol. XXIX, p. 90.

⁶ See *The Successors of the Śātaśāhanas*, pp. 196-97; *ibid.*, p. 94.

⁷ From impressions.

⁸ About four characters damaged here cannot be restored with certainty.

⁹ The faint traces of the letters suggest the reading *śaśana-bala*.

¹⁰ As indicated above, there are two Telugu-Kannada letters after this. They have nothing to do with the inscription under study.

¹¹ The damaged letters may be *śaśa*.

- 4 na kurttakā(k-o)palārak-ādi kātāh [i*] Kī[ha].¹[d]evakuṣṣa Bhaṭṭ[ā]*
 5[sa] pāda[mūle]

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-4) May it be well. Presents of woollen carpets and other *(presents)* have been made by **Sinhavarman** who belongs to the **Pallavas** (i.e. the Pallava family), in *dhara*, and belongs to the Bhāradvāja *gotra*, in favour of the *śaivikas* (probably, priests of the temple) of the lord, the illustrious Jyāśrīśvāmin, after having performed *śānti* and *vastyaṅga* for his own victory (and) the increase of his merits and prowess.

(Lines 4-5).....at the feet of the *Bhaṭṭāraka*.....in the temple of Kīṣatthi(?)

¹ The first *alākara* may also be read as *śa* and the second as *pa*. The last *alākara* of the name of the *devakuṣṣa* looks like *śa*, so that the name may be *Kīṣatthi*. But, if the second letter is *pa*, there was possibly another *alākara* between this and the last letter.

² The two letters after this may be conjecturally restored as *raka*.

No. 9—VUNNA GURAVAYAPALEM PLATES OF PARAMESVARAVARMAN I,
YEAR 19

(1 Plate)

D.C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND, and P. SESHADRI SASTRI, GUNTUR

Some time ago a set of three inscribed copper plates strung on a copper ring bearing a bronze seal was shown to Sastri by the son of the Village Munsif of **Vunna Guravayapalem** in the Podili Taluk of the Nellore District of Andhra. Sastri had prepared a transcript of the inscription and got the surface of the seal and the inscribed faces of the plates photographed before the record was returned. The photographs of the plates, however, were taken without cutting the ring holding them together and taking them out of it.¹ Thus some letters on all the inscribed faces of the plates are seen covered by a portion of the ring in the photographs. In January 1957, a set of the photographs was received by Sircar from Sastri. Sircar then tried to secure the original plates for examination with the help of the State Government; but the attempt was a failure.

Each one of the three plates is of almost the same size as any of the three inscribed plates of the Râyûru grant² of the Pallava king Narasimhavarman II who, as will be seen below, was the son and successor of the issuer of the charter under discussion. But they have writing on the inner side of the first and third plates and on both sides of the second, while the Râyûru grant has writing also on the reverse of the third plate. The number of lines in the inscriptions on both the sets of plates is the same. The twenty five lines of writing in the present epigraph are distributed on the plates as follows: I—6 lines, II—6 lines, III—6 lines and III—7 lines, whereas the Râyûru grant has five lines each on the inner side of the first and third plates and on both sides of the second and six lines on the outer side of the third plate. The hole about the left border of the plates, for the seal-ring to pass through, was made in both the records before the incision of the documents in question. The space between the hole and the border of the plates is slightly bigger in the present set than in the Râyûru grant. The size of the letters in the inscription under study is slightly smaller than in the other epigraph, although they are almost as neatly and carefully engraved.

The ends of the ring holding the plates together are soldered to the bottom of the seal having a circular surface. The central part of this counter-sunk surface of the seal bears the representation of a recumbent bull with its head towards the proper left and face slightly turned towards front. There appear to be a crescent and a *hîga* above the head of the bull which is known to have been the emblem of the Pallavas. The upper part of the surface, above the back of the bull is occupied by the crude representation of what looks like a deity seated on a throne. Below the bull, there is a legend in three *aṣṭharas* which appear to read *Śrī-paṭi* apparently standing for *Śrī-Nandī*. This was probably a *śirūḍa* of the Pallava king Paramēśvaravarman I (sometimes called Paramēśvarapōṭavarman or *Iṣvarapōṭarāja*) who issued the charter under review.³ It has, however, to be admitted that this secondary name of the Pallava king is as yet unknown, although we know many of his other *śirūḍas* such as *Aṅgatalāma*, *Śrīnāḍi*, *Śrībharva*, *Raṇajaya*, *Tarṇa-*

¹ The first letter of the lines is often found partially or fully cut off from the photographs.

² Above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 89-97 and Plates. There are two more uninscribed plates in this set.

³ The legend on the seal does not appear to refer to the bull represented on it.

*Ākura, Kāmasūga, Avagrahita, Kūlakāla, Samaradhanaśyāma, Atiraṣṭhaśyāma, Vidyāśrīnīta, Lakṣmīnīta and Ugrakāśa.*¹

It will be seen that, in spite of the bull emblem, the seal described above does not resemble those attached to the Sanskrit charters of the Early Pallava kings as they do not bear any legend.² It is interesting to note that the seal of the Rājūrā grant of Narasimhavarman II resembles in this respect the seals of the Early Pallavas of the Sanskrit charters, whereas the seal of the Kurram plates³ of Paramāśvaravarman I, who was the father of the said king and issued the present charter as well, bears a legend. Still more interesting is the fact that the seal of the Kurram plates and that of the present charter, both issued by the same Pallava king, do not exhibit any close resemblance between them. The seal of the former grant has been described by Hultzsch in the following words: "The seal is about 2½ inches in diameter and bears a bull which is seated on a pedestal, faces the left and is surrounded by the moon and a *līṅga*. Further up, there are a few much obliterated syllables. A legend of many letters passes round the whole seal. Unfortunately it is so much worn that I have failed to decipher it."⁴

The date of the record is quoted (lines 23-24) as Sunday, Pausa-su. 13 in the nineteenth regnal year of king Paramāśvaravarman I. In line 13, the *Ayana* or *Uttarāyana* (i.e. the Mahara-sukrānti) is mentioned as the occasion of the grant. The importance of the date will be discussed later on.

The characters belong to the Telugu-Kannada alphabet of the seventh century A.D. They generally resemble the characters employed in the Rājūrā grant, although some *akṣaras*, e.g. *āḥa*, *y. r.*, etc., have different forms, and on the whole the present record exhibits an earlier look. Of initial vowels, *a* occurs in lines 12, 15 and 17; *ā* in lines 13, 22 and 24; *i* in line 19; *u* in line 13; and *e* in lines 17 and 23. The *upadhmāyiga* has been employed many times in line 4 (twice), 5 (twice), 9 (twice), 14, 15 and 18, while the *jīkāmāyiga* only once in line 8.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. The major part of it is written in prose, although there are three stanzas in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre in lines 19-23. Two of these are the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses. The third stanza contains the name of the executor of the document and is also found in a modified form in the Rājūrā grant.

Among orthographical peculiarities, mention may be made of the general reduplication of many of the consonants following *r*. The rules of *Sandhi*, which are optional in prose composition, have not been observed in some cases. Cases of *Sandhi* in expressions like *pāpā-āḥa*⁵ in line 19 are interesting. The writing exhibits a general tendency to use the class nasal and, excepting a few cases (cf. *śūdra*(*ś**)*jana* in line 5, *śaṅkhāḥ* in line 29), the *anuvāsa* has been changed to class nasals in *Sandhi*. The final *m* at the end of a stanza has in one case (line 20) been wrongly changed to *anuvāsa*. In another case (line 24,) it has been similarly changed before a vowel. Double nasal has been used in *śaṅkhāḥ* in line 18.

In style, the record under discussion closely resembles that of the Sanskrit charters of the Early Pallava rulers.⁶ Among copper-plate charters of the later Pallavas of Simhaviśayana's line,

¹ Cf. above, Vol. X, pp. 6-12; *SII*, Vol. I, pp. 12, 150; Sewell's *Ind.*, p. 376. Hultzsch (*SII*, Vol. I, p. 147) seems to be wrong in taking Vidyāśrīnīta to be the name of a relative of Paramāśvaravarman I. Some of these *śrīnītas* are also known to have been assumed by his grandfather Narasimhavarman I and see Narasimhavarman II. See *SII*, Vol. I, p. 13; *A.S.E.*, 1915, paragraph 8-9; Sewell, loc. cit.

² See above, Vol. XXIV, Plate facing p. 297. The Prakrit charters of the earlier Pallava ruler Śivaśaṅkavarman (about the first quarter of the fourth century A.D.) have, however, seals bearing legend (cf. *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 433, note 3, 437).

³ *SII*, Vol. I, p. 144 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 144. See *SII*, Vol. XII, Plate VII.

⁵ Cf. the Chaudāra grant of Kumāravarman II (above, Vol. VIII, p. 233 ff.); Udayendram plates of Nandivarman (*Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 142); Ongadu grant of Śaṅkaravarman II (*Ibid.*, Vol. XV, p. 246); Uruupallī grant of Viśvaśaṅkavarman (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 56); Ongadu, Pāṇa, Mangalūr and Vilaratti grants of Simhavarman (above, Vol. XV, p. 246; Vol. VIII pp. 159 ff.; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 154; above, Vol. XXIV, p. 391).

this characteristic is noticed only in the Rōyūn grant of Narasimhavarman II and not even in the Kurrām plates of Paramēśvaravarman I who issued the present charter. The records of the early rulers of the Later Pallava house (i.e. the branch represented by Sindhavishnu and his descendants) are mostly on stone. The only copper-plate grants of this house, issued by rulers who flourished before Nandivarman Pallavamalla (a descendant of Rihmavarman, brother of Sindhavishnu), are only three in number, viz. the Kurrām plates and the present record belonging to Paramēśvaravarman I and the Rōyūn grant of Narasimhavarman II. Of these, the Kurrām plates bear close affinity in respect of the script and style with the grants of Nandivarman Pallavamalla such as the Udayenduram and Kasakudi plates.¹ It is an elaborate *prashasti* written in Sanskrit prose and verse and Tamil prose and in the Grantha and Tamil alphabets and contains, besides the details of the grant, three lengthy sections, viz. an invocation, a legendary account of the origin of the Pallavas and a description of the issuer of the charter and his ancestors. The style of the present record as well as of the Rōyūn grant, on the other hand, is like that of the Sanskrit charters of the Early Pallavas, much simpler. Many of the passages occurring in the Early Pallava grants have been used in these two records without any modification or with slight modification.² The same or similar epithets applied to different rulers in different records would suggest that the officers who drafted the documents were scarcely very scrupulous about the accuracy of statement. The number of epithets used with reference to the donor and his ancestors in the present record is smaller than in the Rōyūn grant.

As in the case of the Rōyūn grant and many of the Sanskrit charters of the Early Pallavas the inscription begins with the auspicious word *svasti* followed by the *maṅgala*: *jitam Śingavatā*, "Victorious is the Lord". The next passage refers to the issue of the charter from Kāñchīpura. Then (lines 1-2) the Pallava family, to which the donor of the charter belonged, is introduced as belonging to the Bhāradvāja *gṛha* and as having performed many sacrifices including the Āśvamedha. As in many Early Pallava charters, this no doubt refers to the horse-sacrifice celebrated by two of the Early Pallava kings, viz. Śivastandavarman and Kumāravishnu.³ In lines 3-10, the donor of the grant, king Paramēśvaravarman I, is introduced as the son of Mahēndravikramavarman (i.e. Mahēndravarmān II, circa 668-69 A.D.), the grandson of Narasimhavarman I (circa 650-68 A.D.) and the great-grandson of Mahēndravarmān I (circa 600-60 A.D.). The epithets *sva-vīry-ādihigata-rājya*, *pratīp-āpanata-rājya-manḍala*, *madhyama-lōka-pāla* and *lōka-pālādhipa-patichakra*, applied in the present record to Mahēndravarmān I, are used with reference to his grandson Mahēndravikramavarman or Mahēndravarmān II in the Rōyūn grant and in connection with some other rulers in the Early Pallava charters. It is difficult to believe that all the rulers called *sva-vīry-ādihigata-rājya* succeeded in adding any territory to their paternal kingdom; but the epithet seems to suit Mahēndravarmān I (son of Sindhavishnu) better than his grandson of the same name. We do not agree with the view⁴ that the epithets *madhyama-lōka-pāla* and *lōka-pālādhipa-patichakra* refer to the god Varuṇa. As we have elsewhere⁵ shown, the four *Lōka-pālas* or the guardians of the four different quarters were Yama, Varuṇa, Kubera and Vāsava,⁶ and the king's description as the fifth *Lōka-pāla* means to say that he was a protector of the earth like those divine guardians of the quarters. In classical Sanskrit literature also the king is often called *madhyama-lōka-pāla* or protector of the central world (i.e. the earth bounded by the four quarters guarded by the *Lōka-pālas*).⁷

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 273 ff.; *SII*, Vol. II, pp. 242 ff.

² Cf. above, Vol. XXIX, p. 61.

³ See *The Successors of the Śālisthanas*, pp. 189, 201, 206.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXIX, p. 65, note 8.

⁵ *The Successors of the Śālisthanas*, p. 196.

⁶ Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 149; Dandin's *Kāvyadharṇa*, II, 331; Lüders' *Lat.* No. 1112. For the four *Lōka-pālas* of the *Bṛhadhata*, see Childers' *Pali Dictionary*, s.v. *madhāraṇa*.

⁷ Cf. *Raghuvamśa*, II, 16. *Madhyama-lōka* may also mean the earth lying between the heaven and the lower world.

Among the three epithets applied to Narasimhavarman I in the present record, the Râyûra grant applies *bahu-samara-labdha-yudha-prabâsa* and *vidhi-vihita-sarva-maryâda* to Paramêśvaravarman I and *samudhâta-sika-vîra* (forming the latter part of a bigger epithet) to Narasimhavarman II. In the inscription under study, Paramêśvaravarman I has been called *prajâ-samraja-jana-paripâlana-nitya-yukta* and *Kaliyuga-dêśa-âvâsana-dharm-âdharupa-nitya samudâtha* while these epithets are applied to Narasimhavarman II in the Râyûra grant in the slightly modified form: *prajâ-samraja-jana-paripâlan-âdyôga-sataha-suta-vrata-dîkshita* and *Kali-yuga-dêśa-âpûrîta-dharm-âdharupa-nitya samudâtha*. The claim of the Pallava rulers from the fifth century down to the age of the present charter to have up-lifted Dharmas above the *dêśa* of the Kali age seems to suggest that their ideal was to revitalise their Brahmanical faith which had been encroached upon by heretical doctrines like Buddhism. The donors of both the Râyûra grant and the present charter are called 'devotees of the feet of the lord, the father'; but, while the Râyûra grant describes Narasimhavarman II as a *paramabhâgavata* (i.e. devotee of the Bhagavat or the god Vishnu), *paramamâhêśvara* (i.e. devotee of Mahêśvara or Śiva) and *paramabrahmayya* (i.e. devotee of the god Brahman or devoted to the Brâhmanas), his father was a *paramamâhêśvara* and a *paramabrahmayya* but not a *paramabhâgavata* according to the present grant.

Another interesting fact is that the Râyûra grant applies the epithet *yathâvad-âbhyîkṛit-âśramâdêśa-âny-anêśa-kṛîta-gâjîn* to Paramêśvaravarman I. The present record of Paramêśvaravarman I himself, however, does not credit him with the celebration of the horse-sacrifice. On the other hand, it applies the same epithet to the Pallava family. This shows that the epithet has been wrongly applied in the Râyûra grant to Paramêśvaravarman I who did not perform the *âśvamêdha* till his nineteenth regnal year (i.e. the date of the present grant) and probably never at all.

Lines 10-17 record the grant proper. It is stated that the king made the grant on the occasion of the *Ayana*, i.e. the *Uttarâyana-samkrânti* (Makar-samkrânti) in this case since the month specified in line 23 is *Paushya*. The donee was the Brâhmayya Dêvâśarmā who was the son of Dôgaśarmā (Drôgaśarmā) and grandson of Sômaśarmā. The donee's family hailed from the village called *Urputûra-grâma* and belonged to the *Mandagalya-gôtra* and *Âpastamba-sûtra*. His grandfather is described as an expert in the *Vêdas*, *Vêdântas*, *Itihâsas* and *Purâṇas* exactly as the grandfather of the donee of the Râyûra grant.

The gift village was *Kubugûru* situated on the right or southern bank of the river *Musupa* within the *Pôṇi-râshṭra*. The village was made a *brahmavêṇya* and endowed with all kinds of exemptions. In the description of the village, there is an expression which seems to read *Muvuvadya-mârgyâ* which either means 'on the road leading to Muvuvadya' or 'in the subdivision called Muvuvadya'. The king's order was addressed to the inhabitants of the said village which is stated to have been granted for the increase of the longevity and health of the donor. This seems to suggest that the grant was made in connection with the king's recovery from an illness. The officers were ordered to exempt the gift village from the collection of taxes and other levies while on their tours of collection. The transgressor of the order was liable to physical punishment.

The above section is followed in the document in lines 19-21 by two of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas. Another verse that follows in lines 21-23 says that the executor of the grant was Kuśavarman who was the son of Nagî or Tagî-pallava and the ruler of *Nandakurra*. This stanza is also found in lines 20-21 of the Râyûra grant in the following modified form:

Sômaditya-nda[?] śrîmân-Nandakurra-ayipôvarab[?]**

âjñâptâ-śūsanasy-ânga Râjâditya[?] pratipavâra[?]**

* *The Successors of the Śâlisthanas*, pp. 196-97. See also above, p. 89.

The executor of the Rēyūru grant was therefore Rājāditya who was the son of Śmāditya and the ruler of Nandakurra. The word *nripātura* in these cases apparently means 'a ruler' and not 'a king of kings' or 'a ruler named Iśvara'.¹ The chiefs of Nandakurra were no doubt feudatories of the Pallava kings of Kāñchi at least during the reigns of Paramēśvaravarman I and Narasimhavarman II. Rājāditya, son of Śmāditya, was preceded in the rulership of Nandakurra by Kuṣavarman, son of Tagi² or Nagi-pallava whose name seems to point to his descent from the Pallava family. But what relations existed between the two cannot be determined without further evidence.

Lines 23-25 record that the document was written by Viśākhavidita belonging to the Ghanaskandha family (or, the family of Ghanaskandha who may have been an ancestor of the scribe) on **Sunday, Pausya-sudi 13 in the nineteenth regnal year of Paramēśvaravarman I.** The record then ends with the *maṅgala*: *svasty-asu gō-Brāhmaṇābhyaḥ*, 'Let happiness come to the cows and Brāhmaṇas.'³

The importance of the present inscription lies in its date. No dated inscription of Paramēśvaravarman I has hitherto been published and this happens to be the first record of the king, which offers a verifiable date. So long there was no means to determine the date of this king's accession with any amount of certainty. Now, with the help of this record and the Rēyūru grant which is the only dated inscription of his son, the reign period of Paramēśvaravarman I can be determined with a fair degree of precision.

The Pallava king Narasimhavarman I seems to have been living about the year 668 A.D. when, with his help, Mānavarman succeeded in seizing the throne of Ceylon,⁴ whereas the Chālukya monarch Vikramāditya I is known from the Gadval plates,⁵ dated the 25th April, 674 A.D. to have fought with the three successive Pallava kings named Narasimha (i.e. Narasimhavarman I), Mahendra (i.e. Mahendrarvarman II), and Iśvara (i.e. Paramēśvaravarman I). These facts show that the death of Mahendrarvarman II and the accession of his son Paramēśvaravarman I took place sometime between 668 A.D. and the 25th April of 674 A.D. Now the charter under study was issued in the nineteenth regnal year of Paramēśvaravarman I, that is to say, sometime between 687 A.D. and April 693 A.D. The exact date when the charter was written is Pausya-sudi 13, Sunday, while the grant was made on the occasion of the Ayana or Uttarāyana-saṅkrānti (i.e. Makara-saṅkrānti).

In his recent work entitled *A History of South India*,⁶ Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri gives the duration of the rule of Paramēśvaravarman I as 670-80 A.D. and of his son and successor Narasimhavarman II as 680-720 A.D., while we have suggested the following reign-periods for these two Pallava kings: Paramēśvaravarman I, circa 670-95 A.D.; Narasimhavarman II, circa 695-722 A.D.⁷ In the absence of any dated record of the time of the rulers in question, difference of opinion as regards the duration of their reign-periods was of course inevitable. But now we have a record of each of the two kings, both of them bearing verifiable dates. From the present epigraph we learn that Paramēśvaravarman I ruled at least down to his nineteenth regnal year and that, in the said year of his reign, Pausya-sudi 13, was a Sunday, although whether Uttarāyana occurred on the same day or a few days earlier or later cannot be determined from the words of

¹ The interpretation of the above verse of the Rēyūru grant offered elsewhere (above, Vol. XXIX, p. 63, note 6) seems to be wrong. The name of the *ājāpati* has been taken there to be Iśvara who is supposed to have been the son of Śmāditya and grandson of Rājāditya.

² Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 441 (text line 55).

³ Sewall's List, p. 24; *The Classical Age*, p. 289.

⁴ Above, Vol. X, pp. 101 ff.

⁵ Op. cit., 1953, pp. 148, 163.

⁶ *The Classical Age*, 1954, pp. 280-81, 283.

the epigraph since the document may have been written sometime after the grant had been made on the day of the Uttarāyana-sankranti or a few days before to keep the document ready for the occasion of the grant to be made on the day of the sankranti. If therefore Paramāśvaravarman I ascended the throne about 670 A.D., he could not have ended his rule much earlier than 689 A.D. Similarly, the Rēyūra grant was issued on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on the full-moon day of Vaisākha in the twelfth regnal year of Narasimhavarman II and, about the approximate period of this king's rule, lunar eclipse occurred on the full-moon of Vaisākha only in the years 701, 702, 711 and 720 A.D. suggesting that his first regnal year roughly corresponded to 690, 691, 700 or 709 A.D.¹

We have seen that the nineteenth regnal year of Paramāśvaravarman I could not have fallen earlier than 687 A.D. and later than April 693 A.D. During this entire period, Paushe-sudi 13 fell on a Sunday only in the year 687 A.D., although the Uttarāyana-sankranti occurred on the previous day. The date corresponds to the 22nd of December 687 A.D., while the sankranti took place on the 31st of the same month. Thus the 19th regnal year of Paramāśvaravarman I fell between December 686 and December 688 A.D. He therefore ascended the throne between December 668 and December 669 A.D. His first regnal year should probably be regarded as having corresponded to 669-70 A.D. His son and successor Narasimhavarman II seems to have ascended the throne about 690-91 or 700 A.D.

The following geographical names are mentioned in the inscription: **Kāñchīpura** whence the charter was issued; **Kubupūru-grāma** which was the subject of the grant; **Pāmi-rāshīra** in which the gift village was situated; the **Muvuvadya** (I)-mārga and the **Musuvu-nadi** near the gift village; **Urputūru-grāma** where the donor's family lived; and **Nandakurra** which seems to have been the capital of the chief who executed the grant. Of these, **Kāñchīpura**, the capital of the Pallavas, is well-known, while **Nandakurra** has been tentatively identified with modern Nandavaram in the Udayagiri Taluk of the Nellore District. The **Musuvu-nadi** seems to be no other than the modern Musi which runs along the boundary line between the Kandukur Taluk in Nellore and the Ongole Taluk in Guntur and falls in the Bay of Bengal to the north of the mouth of the Pālērū. Since the village of Kubupūru stood on its southern bank, it seems to have been situated in the present Podilū-Kandukur region of Nellore. The **Pāmi-rāshīra**, to which it belonged, appears to have comprised parts of the Nellore District lying to the south of the ancient **Mundā-rāshīra**. **Urputūru** is apparently the present village of **Upputūru** in the Bapatla Taluk of the Guntur District.

TEXT²

First Plate

- 1 [Sya]sti [i]* [jita]pā Bhagavatā [i]* śrīmat-Kāñchīpurāt-Pallavānām Bhāradvāja-
vagōtrūpām yathāvad-ā-
- 2 [piti]t-dēva[mā]pādh-ādya-anūka-kraṇa-yājñān eva-vi[r*]yy-ādhyagata-rāyasa prajāp-
ata-rāja-
- 3 [ma]pādalasa madhyama-lōka-pāsaaya lōkapālānām-pāñchannasa [a]t-Ma-
- 4 [hā]ndravarmmanapā-prapantrah bala-samata-lalāla-yūśāh prakāśasya vidhī-
- 5 [vi]hita-sarva-ma[r*]yyādasya vasmadhātā-sūka-vīraaya śrī-Narasimha-varmmanapā-
- 6 [pau]trah dēva-divija-gura-vriddhā-pachāyānō vivriddha-vinayaay-anūka-gō-

¹ Above, Vol. XXIX, p. 92.

² From a set of photographs.

³ These letters are hidden under the ring in the photograph, while the first letter of the line is either wholly or partially cut off. Similar is the case with the other inscribed faces of the plates.

⁴ Read "śūka". The *anvaya* has been missed away from its proper place.

VUNNA GURAVAYAPALEM PLATES OF PARAMESVARAVARMAN I,
YEAR 19

i

2	2	3	4	6
2	2	4	6	2
4	4	6	2	4
6	6	2	4	6

ii, a

8	8	10	12
8	8	10	12
10	10	12	8
12	12	8	10

iii, b

14	14	16	18
14	14	16	18
16	16	18	14
18	18	14	16

(From Photographs)

20

22

24



20

22

24

(From Photographs)

SEAL



(From a Photograph)

Second Plate, First Side

- 7 hiraṇya-bhūmy-ādi-pradānair-ahar-ahar-abhivarddhamāna-dharmma-saṇḥayasya śrī-Mahā-
- 8 ndravikramavarmanmaṇah-putrah=prajā-samra[^h]*]ana-paripālana-nitya-yuktah-Kali-
yuga-dō[sh-ā].
- 9 [va]sanna-dharmma-ōddharaga-nitya-sannadhaḥ-paramamāhōśvaraḥ-paramabrahma-
- 10 [aya]ḥ bappa-bha[ṭṭ]āraka-pāda-bhaktah śrī-Paramāśvaravarmanmā Pāmi-rāshirē [Mul].
- 11 [vu]va[dya]-mā[r]ogē Musuṇa-nadi-dakṣiṇa-taṭē Kubunūru-nāma-grāma(mō) gta(grā)-
mōya-
- 12 [k]ān-[i]ttham-ā]jōpāyati [i*] āvam grāmaḥ sarva-kara-parihāraḥ brahmaḍḍi-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 13 k[ri]tya [a]yana-nimittē Urppuṭūru-grāma-ta(vā)stavyasya Maudgalyāyana-gōtraasya
Āpasta-
- 14 vamb(mba)-cha[raṇa]sya vēda-vēdāh^g-ētiḥāsa-purāṇa-tatva(ttra)-vidah Svāmīvarmanmaṇah-
putrāya yama-mayama-
- 15 svā[dhyā]ya-tatparāyasya^g sarva-sāstra-tatva(ttra)-vidah Dōṇavarmanmaṇah^g-putrāya
abhijana-vid[yā].
- 16 vṛitta-sampannāya satata-satya-vrata-samyuktāya ahaṭ-karmma-niratāya Dēvalarmanma-
- 17 nē amad-āyur-ārōgy-ābhivarddhayē mayē pradattah [i*] āvam-avaganya sur[v]v-ādhi-
karaṇa(niyu)-
- 18 ktāḥ rāja-vallabhās=cha sm[^m]ācharantah sarva-kara-parihāraḥ-pariharanta parihāraya-
[ntu]

Third Plate

- 19 [aba] [i*] ya idam-amnash-chūhāsa(=)nom-atikramōt=sa pāpā-sārīran-daojam-arhati
[i*] bhavātō^g-tra [āhika^g] Bahu].
- 20 [bhīr-vvasu]dhā dattā bahubhī=ch-ānuhā[ṭṭ]itā [i*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmī=tasya
tasya tadā phala[m]lam] [Bhūmī].
- 21 [dā]nā[ṭṭ] pa[ra]ḥ-dāna-pena bhūtan-na bhaviṣyati [i*] tasya-aiwa karaṇāt-pāpan-na
bhūtan-na [bhaviṣyati] [i*] [Na(Ta^g)].

^g The *amnash* has been engraved away from its proper place.

^h I.e. *śādhya-purā*.

ⁱ The correct form of the name may be *Dōṇa*.

^j This obviously refers to the following two imprecatory and benedictory stanzas, without counting the third verse mentioning the *āhika*.

- 22 *gi-pallava-sambhūtō Nandakurṇa-nṛpēśvaraḥ* [i*] ā[ṇā]p[ā]ṇ[ā] Ku[ā]varmm-āya
 āśanasya ma-
- 23 *hāya[sā]ḥ [] ** pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsarē *ākān-na-vimśatyāḥ*
Pauṣya-māsē
- 24 *[śukla]-[pa]kṣa-trayōdaśyām(śyām) Āditya-dinē Ghaṇaśandh-āvaya-prasūtēna*
Viśēṣa[vi]di-
- 25 *[ā]na [li*]khitam-idam(dam []) svasty-asu gō-Brāhmaṇṣbhyah* []²



² The full-stop is indicated by a spiral followed by a few *daṇḍas* and horizontal strokes.

No. 10—KILUR INSCRIPTION OF NANDIVARMAN, YEAR 16

K. G. KRISHNAN, OOTACAMUND

The inscription¹ edited here is engraved on a rock in the *prākāra* of the Virattāṅgōvara temple at Kilūr, Tirukkōvilūr Taluk, South Arcot District. The text of the record has been published in the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. VII, No. 325. Palaeographically the inscription may be attributed to the ninth century A. D. The script as well as the language of the record is Tamil. The inscription is dated in the sixteenth year of the reign of Kō-Vijaiya-Nandivikrama-paruman and records a gift by Maravan² Pūdi alias Tennavan Ḥaṅgōvēlār. The gift consisted of twentyfour *kaṭaṅṅu* of pure gold weighed by *Vaiḍēṇḍayū*, the standard stone, out of the interest of which the *Nagarattār* of Tirukkōvalūr undertook to supply ghee for burning a lamp day and night in front of Mādēva of Tiruvirattāṅgam at Tirukkōvalūr.

The record is important in that it proves the contemporaneity of Bhūti Vikramakēśari, the earliest well-known Koṭumbāḷūr chief, with the Pallava king Nandivarman (III). The genealogy of the family of the Irukkuvēḷa, to which this chief belonged, has been thoroughly discussed by Shri K. V. Subrahmanya Iyer and Shri K. S. Vaidyanathan.³

The name of the donor in this record consists of two words, viz. *Maravan* and *Pūdi*. While the former stands for his father's name, the latter is his own name and is only a Tamil variant for Sanskrit *Bhūti*.⁴ It is known from the Mūvarkōvil inscription⁵ of Bhūti Vikramakēśari that *Vikramakēśari* was a title earned by him for his success in battle against the Pallava king as well as Vira-pāṇḍya and Vāḷi: Vēl (i.e. the Chēra king). Maravan Pūdi alias Tennavan Ḥaṅgōvēlār figures in a number of inscriptions of Rājakēśarivarman who has been identified with Āditya I. Of these, a record⁶ from Tiruppalāturai, dated in the 27th regnal year of a Rājakēśarivarman, mentions one Tennavan Ḥaṅgōvēlār alias Maravan Pūdiyār. Karraḷi, the wife of Tennavan Ḥaṅgōvēlār alias Maravan Pūdi who is the same as the donor of the present record, figures as the donatrix in another inscription⁷ from Tiruppalāturai. It is not unlikely that the same Karraḷi is spoken of as one of the wives of Bhūti Vikramakēśari in his Mūvarkōvil record. Varaguṇā, his other wife, may be identified with the homonymous lady mentioned as the wife of Tennavan Ḥaṅgōvēlār in another inscription⁸ of Rājakēśarivarman. Bhūti Parāntakan, a son of this chief according to the Mūvarkōvil inscription, built a stone temple for the god at Andanallūr in the

¹ *A. R. Ep.*, No. 296 of 1932.

² The final *ṇ* is changed to *ṇ* in association with *p* of *Pūdi*. This is in accordance with the rule *Mellaiṇṇaṇṇuṇṇu vāṇṇuṇṇu* in the *Tolṭappiṇṇu* (Tūṭaiṇṇiṇṇu, *Pallināyāṇṇiyal* Sūtra No. 341).

³ *QIMS*, Vol. XLIII, p. 79 ff.

⁴ The best examples of such double names referring to both the father and the son will be found in *A. R. Ep.*, Nos. 147 and 148 of 1937.

⁵ *JOR*, Vol. VII, p. 1 ff.

⁶ *SII*, Vol. VIII, No. 560. The identification of this Rājakēśarivarman with Āditya I is supported by palaeography and the high regnal year quoted in the inscription. The absence of the *prattā* of Rājartja I, viz. *Tirumagaḷ pōḷu*, etc., in it would confirm this view.

⁷ *SII*, Vol. VII, No. 541.

⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 338. In the impressions the letters *Pa...* can be read before the word *Ḥaṅgōvēlār*.

fourteenth regnal year of Parakēsarivarman¹ and gave land as *kāyakkūṣamaḥ* five years later² to Araiyan Vira-pādya who in his turn gave it back to the *śrīs* of Āṇḍavanallūr after a period of six years³. The date of this last transaction is the twentyfifth year of Parakēsarivarman's reign, which is too high for any king bearing the said title and ruling in the period in question except Parāntaka I. It follows that Bhūti Vikramakēśari, the father of Bhūti Parāntaka, was a contemporary of Āḍitya I. It will thus be seen that Maṇavan Pūdi is the same as Bhūti Vikramakēśari who was the husband of Karmāḥ and Varagunā and was a contemporary of both Nandivarman and Āḍitya I.

The donor's relationship with the Chōlas may be examined here. His mother Anupamā was a Chōla princess according to the Mūvarkōyil inscription. One Pūdi Mādēvaḍigaḥ⁴ is mentioned as the queen of Kaṇṇamadēva who may be identified with the homonymous son⁵ of Āḍitya I, as she figures as the donatrix in an inscription⁶ dated in the 8th year of Maḍuraikonda Parakēsarivarman, i.e. Parāntaka I. This Pūdi Mādēvaḍigaḥ was probably a sister of Maṇavan Pūdi.⁷ A record⁸ dated in the third year of the reign of Parāntaka I mentions Pūdi Āḍitta Piḍāri, the wife of Prince Ari-kulākēśari and the daughter of Teppavan Iḷaṅgōvāḷār. Thus Bhūti Vikramakēśari seems to be allied to the Chōla family through his female relatives, viz. his mother Anupamā, sister Pūdi Mādēvaḍigaḥ, and daughter Pūdi Āḍitta Piḍāri. It is interesting to note that within a few years from the date of the present record, the Chōla kings succeeded in weaning away the allegiance of the family ultimately from the Pallava side.

Maṇavan Pūdi alias Bhūti Vikramakēśari claims, in his Mūvarkōyil inscription, to have fought against Vira-pādya who has been identified with *Chōlan-talai-konda* Vira-pādya, the adversary of Sundara-chōla and Āḍitya II. It may be noted here that Vira-pādya was a junior contemporary of Rājasiṃha, the opponent of Parāntaka I. In one of Rājasiṃha's inscriptions,⁹ a servant of Vira-pādya is referred to and hence it may be presumed that Vira-pādya continued the feud between the Chōlas and the Pādyaas after Rājasiṃha's flight to Ceylon. Therefore it is possible to surmise that Bhūti Vikramakēśari encountered Vira-pādya during the reign of Parāntaka I. This may very well explain the vigour with which Āḍitya II fought and ultimately killed Vira-pādya who was perhaps a continued source of trouble for the Chōlas from the days of Parāntaka I.

The Pallava king mentioned in the record under study may be identified with the last king of that name, viz. Nandivatman III. Of all the inscriptions referring to Maṇavan Pūdi, only the present record belongs to the reign of Nandivarman III and therefore its date may be taken as the

¹ *SII*, Vol. III, No. 139. Parakēsarivarman of this record is Parāntaka I and not Uttama-chōla as is shown below.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, No. 668. The inscription refers to the nineteenth regnal year of Parakēsarivarman. It may be noted that the transactions recorded in the inscriptions referred to in this and the next foot-note conclusively prove the identity of the kings mentioned in them as well as the date of Bhūti Vikramakēśari.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 669.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 665.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 233 and n. 6.

⁶ *SII*, Vol. VIII, No. 634. She is first referred to (without her name being mentioned) in a record (*Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, No. 321) dated in the 27th year of a Rājakēsarivarman who has been identified with Āḍitya I. Another inscription (*Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, No. 534) in which she figures as a donatrix is dated in the 23rd year of a Parakēsarivarman who is no doubt Parāntaka I as the regnal year is too high for any other Parakēśari of this period.

⁷ A similar example of both a brother and a sister bearing the same name may be found in Pūdi Āḍitta Piḍāri and Pūdi Āḍitta Piḍāraṅ, daughter and son respectively of Bhūti Vikramakēśari (*QJMS*, Vol. XLIII, p. 94).

⁸ *SII*, Vol. III, No. 96. This lady is first mentioned in an earlier record (*Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, No. 629), dated in the 22nd year of a Rājakēsarivarman who may be identified with Āḍitya I on account of the high regnal year and the palaeography of the inscription.

⁹ Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 87; *QJMS*, Vol. XLIII, p. 87.

earliest for Bhūti Vikramakēśari. Another epigraph, dated in the 3rd year of Parakēśarivarman identified with Parāntaka I and referring to Pūdi Āditta Pēlārī, the queen of Arikulakēśari and the daughter of Tēṇṇavan Iṇṇōvēlār, seems to provide the latest reference to this chief. The range of the period covered by these inscriptions, which is less than fifty years, does not allow us to suggest the existence of different chiefs bearing the same title *Tēṇṇavan Iṇṇōvēlār*. Moreover every member of this family adopted a different title in order to distinguish himself from the others¹ and Maṇavan Pūdi was the only chief with the title *Tēṇṇavan Iṇṇōvēlār*. In view of the identification of his Pallava overlord mentioned in the present record with Nandivarman III, Bhūti Vikramakēśari's claim to have defeated a Pallava king's army (cf. *Pallavaraya dāvajayāḍi*)² on the banks of the Kāvēri deserves to be studied in the context of Parāntaka's claim to have conquered the Pallavas.³

The association of Tirukkōvilūr, the findspot of the present record, with one of the forebears of the Vēlirs of Koḷumbāḷūr is clearly referred to in some of the verses in the Saṅgam literature.⁴ Malaiyanāṇ Tirumōḷikkāri, a chief of this region, was famous for his philanthropy. Very interesting is the statement⁵ that the three kings (i.e. the Chēra, Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya) vied with each other in enlisting the support of this chief. We have already seen how the Koḷumbāḷūr family was wooed and ultimately admitted into the circle (*varu*) of the Chōḷas. The common patronage bestowed upon Vikkiyappan, probably a Vēli chieftain, by both the Chēra Śhēṇa Ravi and the Chōḷa Āditya I furnishes a clear contemporary evidence⁶ of the unique position enjoyed by the Vēlirs in the Tamil country.

TEXT⁷

- 1 Śvasti Śeṭ []⁸ K[ō]-Vijaiya-Na[n]divik-
- 2 kiramaparumarku yāḍu padi[nā]rāvadu
- 3 Malāṭṭu-Kkurukka-ikkūṇṇattu-Tu-
- 4 rukkōvalūr-Tu.....⁹at-
- 5 tu Mādō[va]rk [a]....¹⁰
- 6 iravum pagala.....¹¹
- 7 darku Tēṇṇavan-Iṇṇōvēlār.....¹²

¹ *QJMS*, Vol. XLVIII, p. 94 and table.

² *JOK*, Vol. VII, p. 9, text line 11.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 148 ff.

⁴ *Aṅkuraṅga*, No. 33; *Pāṇḍya*, Nos. 121-126.

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 122, lines 4-5. See also No. 123, lines 10-17.

⁶ *SIJ*, Vol. III, No. 89.

⁷ From impressions.

⁸ This gap may be restored as 'ructaḍḍ'.

⁹ This passage may be restored as 'kura mudai ellāḍu'.

¹⁰ The missing syllables are 'a chandakittamunai erippa'.

¹¹ The missing syllables are 'pō-ellār-āṅga'.

- 8 Maravam Pādi vaitta...¹vidēl-
- 9 viduga tīp-pōkku-eh(chempon)
- 10 irupattu-nār-kalaṣṣu ni...²
- 11 idan palṣai kaṣṣijir pūrti-ku³.
- 12 I uriy ney aṭṭuvadāga Tinnakkōva-
- 13 iūr-inaḥarattār kaivali vaitta-
- 14 du [||*]

* The missing letters may be restored as pēn-

* The lost letter is no doubt rai.

* The letter lost here may be restored as 'an'.

NO. 11—INSCRIPTIONS OF CHANDRAS OF ARAKAN

(I Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, GOYACAMUND

In February 1957, the Director of the Archaeological Survey of Burma, Mandalay, kindly sent to me for examination photographic prints of two small inscriptions recently found at **Vesālī** near Mrohaung in the Akyab District, Arakan. While informing him of the results of my examination of the epigraphs, I requested him to send me a few inked impressions of the records for further study and publication. He was kind enough to comply with my request and stampages of the epigraphs reached me in March together with an impression of a third record from the same place.

The **first inscription** is engraved on a slab recovered from the ruins of a Stūpa on the U-nhissaka hill at Vesālī. The slab bearing the second record belongs to what is called the *Āvanda-chandra* Stūpa standing on a hill near Vesālī. It is still *in situ*. The third epigraph is incised on an octagonal pillar six feet high. It belongs to a Stūpa traditionally known to have been constructed by a ruler named *Sūryachandra*.

The slab bearing the first inscription is stated to measure eighteen inches in length, ten inches in height and six inches in thickness. There are only five lines of writing. The lines are about thirteen inches long, although line 2 is slightly bigger owing to two letters, originally omitted through oversight, being engraved in the left margin. The highest number of letters in a line is 18 (line 2) and the smallest only 13 (line 4).

The **second inscription**, consisting of four lines of writing, covers an area about ten inches in length and four inches in height. The letters are slightly smaller in size than in the first epigraph. The preservation of the writing in both these records is fairly satisfactory although a few letters are damaged or rubbed off here and there. The **third inscription**, which is **fragmentary**, shows traces of six lines of writing covering an area about twentyfour inches in length and nine inches in height. In this inscription, only traces of a few letters in the first line remain while a number of letters in all the other lines are broken away. Some of the extant letters of the record are also worn out and difficult to decipher.

The **characters** of the first epigraph closely resemble those of a votive inscription in two lines on a monastery bell found at Vesālī, which was published with an illustration by the late Prof. E. H. Johnston in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. XI, 1943-46, pp. 358 ff.¹ The alphabet of both the records has a close resemblance with that used in certain inscriptions of the fifth and sixth centuries A.D., discovered in Eastern India. There is, however, an amount of local development noticed in the palaeography of all the three epigraphs now under study. This element is just slightly exhibited by Inscription No. 1 which is the earliest of the three. It is a little more pronounced in Inscription No. 2 which is a few decades later than the first inscription, while Inscription No. 3 belonging to a still later date exhibits it in a more considerable degree than even the second epigraph.

In a careful analysis of the characters of the Vesālī bell inscription which may be assigned on palaeographical grounds to the same age as our Inscription No. 1, Johnston observes that the date of the record 'is shown by its forms for the letters *ka* and *sa* and its tripartite *ya* to be probably not later than A.D. 650' and that 'other indications, particularly the forms of *sa* and *sa*, suggest

¹ See Plate IV, figure 1.

the unlikelihood of its being much earlier.¹ He further notes the close resemblance of the script with that of the Faridpur plate (A)² of Dharmāditya and the Faridpur plate³ of Gōpachandra. He doubts the genuineness of the Faridpur plate (B)⁴ of Dharmāditya and suggests that Gōpachandra's inscription may be earlier than Dharmāditya's. In this connection, he observes, "Sa has the triangle on the left in both plates (Dharmāditya's A and Gōpachandra's); but, while it is normal in Gōpachandra's, there are two instances, ll. 11 and 19, in 1722 (Dharmāditya's A), where the triangle is enlarged and the apex reaches right up to the top line, as in the bell. Ma is nearly normal in 1724 (Gōpachandra's plate), but shows the beginning of the process whereby the bell form is reached. 1729, on the other hand, has it in a form even more exaggerated than the bell and in l. 20 for instance the point of the angle is only just below the main line." After pointing out a few more differences between Dharmāditya's and Gōpachandra's inscriptions and comparing some of the letters in the bell inscription with those in certain other inscriptions of Eastern India, Johnston concludes, "These comparisons are sufficient to prove that we are dealing in the bell with a script which was derived from Eastern Bengal, descending possibly from a variety slightly later than any of those described. . . . If the date is fixed on the palaeographical evidence as somewhere in the first half of the seventh century A.D. the margin of error is likely to be small."

The above views on the date of the Vśālī bell inscription (of the same age as our Inscription No. 1) do not appear to be fully justified as the inscription seems to be somewhat earlier. In the first place, the palaeography of our Inscription No. 1 closely resembles not only that of the Faridpur plates of Dharmāditya and Gōpachandra who flourished in the sixth century A.D. but also in respect of most of the characteristics that of certain earlier records of about the middle of the fifth century A.D. such as the Kalaikuri-Sultangpur plate⁵ of the Gupta year 120 (439 A.D.) and the Baigram plate⁶ of the Gupta year 128 (448 A.D.) even though the affinity may be slightly closer with the epigraphs of the sixth century. Secondly, the suggestions that Gōpachandra's plate is earlier than Dharmāditya's plates A and B and that the bell inscription is closer to the latter in respect of letters like *s* and *m* are both confusing. Pargiter seems to be justified in suggesting a later date for Gōpachandra's inscription as compared to Dharmāditya's epigraphs on the basis of the forms of the letter *y'* while similar forms of *s* and *m* are also noticed in earlier records like the Baigram plate of 448 A.D. There is also no reason to doubt the genuineness of Dharmāditya's plate B. Thirdly, on the other hand, forms of letters like *y* and *h* and signs like that of medial *i* as exhibited by our inscription (as also earlier records like the Baigram plate) are not met with in Bengal inscriptions later than the sixth century A.D.⁷ Of course *k* and medial *i* do not appear

¹ Op. cit., pp. 280-81.

² Bhattacharya's List, No. 1722; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 193 ff. and Plate.

³ Bhattacharya's List, No. 1724; *Ind. Ant.*, op. cit., p. 204 and Plate. See also the Mallanur plate apparently belonging to the reign of Gōpachandra (above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 165 ff. and Plate).

⁴ Bhattacharya's List, No. 1713; *Ind. Ant.*, op. cit., pp. 200 ff. and Plate.

⁵ *IHQ*, Vol. XIX, pp. 128 ff. and Plate; above, Vol. XXII, pp. 57 ff. and Plate.

⁶ Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 81 ff. and Plate.

⁷ See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 206-07.

⁸ Cf. the Vappaghodhaya grant (end of the sixth century) of Jayanāga (above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 90 ff. and Plate), Midnapur plates (first quarter of the seventh century) of Śaśāha (*JRASS*, Letters, Vol. XI, pp. 1 ff. and Plates), Tipton plate (Gupta year 344-603 A.D.) of Lohānātha (above, Vol. XV, pp. 308 ff. and Plate; *IHQ*, Vol. XXIII, p. 224), Kufun plate (first quarter of the seventh century A.D.) of Śekhānāgarīa (*IHQ*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 221 ff. and Plate), etc. The script of our Inscription No. 1 may also be compared with that of the Umāchal rock inscription of Śurindravarman (circa 479-84 A.D.) and the Berganga inscription of Bhūticarman (circa 518-42 A.D.), discovered in Assam and published above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 67 ff.; cf. Vol. XXX, pp. 62 ff.

in the bell inscription. Fourthly, the internal evidence of our Inscription No. 1 seems to go against Johnston's dating if his own views on the date and evidence of the Mrohaung inscription¹ of Ānandachandra are taken into consideration. On palaeographical grounds and other considerations, Johnston places Ānandachandra's epigraph 'in the first half of the eighth century' and more precisely to a date not 'much later than A.D. 700'. Now, as will be shown below, our inscription was engraved during the reign of king Nitichandra who ascended the throne, according to the epigraph of Ānandachandra, 209 years before the incision of the latter's record. This would place Nitichandra's accession 'not much later than' 491 A.D. As a matter of fact, Johnston's dating of Ānandachandra's inscription was influenced by his views that the coins of Dēvaachandra (who ended his rule 266 years before Ānandachandra's accession) and Dharmavijaya (who began to rule 55 years before Ānandachandra) should be assigned on palaeographic grounds to the first half of the fifth and seventh centuries respectively. Our Inscription No. 1 as the Vāṣṭi bell inscription may be actually assigned on palaeographical grounds to the **first half of the sixth century A.D.** In our opinion, their characters may have descended from a variety slightly earlier than the Faridkot plates of Dharmāditya and Gopachandra.

We have referred above to an amount of local development in the palaeography of the inscriptions under study. In Inscription No. 1, the letter *k* is written with a vertical line and a curve opening upwards or towards the right and joining the vertical towards the left not at the latter's bottom but slightly or considerably above it. This form of *k* is not noticed in East Indian inscriptions, in which the letter has its bottom curved towards the left. A vertical similar to that of *k* is sometimes noticed in *ch* as well (cf. line 2). Sometimes the form of *m* (cf. *maññ* in line 2) appears to be more cursive than noticed in the East Indian records. Inscription No. 3 exhibits the same type of *k*. Medial *ḍ* in this inscription is in many cases indicated by a curve opened towards the right and placed at the head of the consonant.² The vowel mark in *ṣ* in *bhūḥṣṣ* (line 1) is also of this type, though this form of the letter is not found in Indian epigraphs. In several cases, medial *ḍ* sign ends in an inward bend almost making a loop. This resembles medial *f* as used in some Indian inscriptions as well as in the modern Tamil alphabet. The form of the letter *ṣ* in *evāṣṣ* in line 1 (cf. also *vāṣṣ* in the same line) exhibits a cursive form more developed than that found in Inscription No. 1. Generally, however, the palaeography of the present record resembles that of the other epigraph and appears to be only a few decades later than that of the latter. This is supported by the internal evidence of Inscription No. 2 which was incised during the reign of king Virachandra, the successor of Nitichandra of Inscription No. 1 according to Ānandachandra's epigraph referred to above although it quotes the name slightly differently. This record may be palaeographically assigned to a date about the **last quarter of the sixth century**. Nitichandra is stated to have ruled for 55 years and his successor, called Virachandra in Ānandachandra's inscription but Virachandra on his coins, for 3 years only. The palaeography of the two records appears to suggest that Inscription No. 1 was engraved fairly early in Nitichandra's reign. It is interesting to note that the second epigraph writes Buddha with *b* while in Eastern India *b* was generally written by the sign for *v* from the seventh century A.D.

Inscription No. 3 exhibits the tripartite form of *y* as in the other two records as well as the same type of *k*. That, however, it was somewhat later than Inscriptions Nos. 1-2 seems to be suggested by the later *double*-like medial *ḍ* sign and the slightly more developed sign of medial *u* (cf. also medial *ṣ*) resembling subscript *y* and rising to the level of the top *matr* of the consonant to its right. A local development seems to be exhibited by the serif at the top of these signs for medial *u* and *ṣ*.

¹ Op. cit., pp. 303 ff.; cf. *ARANI*, 1923-26, pp. 146-48.

² This form of the sign may be compared with that in certain East Indian records. See, e.g., *ibid.* in line 3 of the Barganga inscription (above, Vol. XXX, Plate facing p. 97).

This tendency is noticed once in subscript *y* in Inscription No. 2 as well (cf. *mya* in line 2 with *yyē* in line 4). The form of *m* in Inscription No. 3 also shows some modification when compared to the same letter as found in the other two epigraphs. This type of *m* is not generally noticed in East Indian inscriptions. The epigraph possibly belongs to a date not much earlier than the **second quarter of the seventh century A.D.**

The **language** of Inscriptions Nos. 1-2 is corrupt Sanskrit. The first inscription begins with the Buddhist formula which is a stanza in the *Āryā* metre and Pāli language; but it is found in a Sanskritised form in our record as in some votive epigraphs discovered in India.¹ The word *param-śpāśikāya* has been wrongly used for *param-śpāśikāyā*. Of **orthographical** interest is the female name *Chandraśrī(śrī)ṣā* for Sanskrit *Chandraśrī*, *Chandraśrī(śrī)ṣā* of this record may be compared with names like *Śrīyādēvi* found in Indian epigraphs.² In *dēyya-dharmma* (line 5), *dēyya* is a Pāli word standing for Sanskrit *dēya*. The use of double nasal in *dharmma-yaṇa* and *sāṁśāṇa-ana*³ (line 5) is noteworthy. The note *m* at the end of the first of the two expressions has been retained before the following *s* of the word *surva*. Some consonants following *r* have been reduplicated.

Inscription No. 2 contains only two stanzas in the *Anuśtubh* metre. The **language** is not faulty as in Inscription No. 1. But its **orthography** is characterised by the wrong use of *y* for *n* in several cases. Final *m* has been wrongly changed to *anuvāra* in *mayānaṁ* (line 3) and final *ḥ* in the word *saṁpāḥ* (line 2) similarly to *n* (instead of *a*) before the following *n* in *saṁdhi*.

The language of Inscription No. 3 seems to be corrupt Pāli. Its purport is, however, not clear, although it seems to contain a Buddhist tract. The passages that can be read in this fragmentary inscription are: *dharmma cha* at the end of line 2; *śāśāṇa cha tu dayatu saṁpā* about the middle and *mahāddhāṇa* at the end of line 3; *[Sa]māśrī(bā)dhāṇa(dhā)na-arayaṇa-niya*, about the middle and *vishayaṇa bhāṭṭa* at the end of line 4; *dhāṇa phumma sūma-uttama[ṣa]* at the end of line 5; and *sāṁsa sāṁsa ri* in the last line.

The first two lines of Inscription No. 1 contain the stanza 'Yē dharmma', etc. The language of the remaining three lines (lines 3-5) is corrupt; but the sentence covering them appears to say that the stone bearing the inscription, apparently meaning the object or structure to which it belonged, was the gift (*dēyya-dharmma*) of the *param-śpāśikā* named *Sāvitārī-Chandraśrīyā* who was the queen (*dēvi*) of the illustrious **Nīticandra**. The letters in the king's name are damaged, but the reading is certain. Whether the *anuvāra* in the name *Sāvitārī* is unnecessarily added cannot be determined. There is an epithet applied to the king's or queen's name, which seems to read *chandraśrī-śpāśikāyā* and is unintelligible unless the reading is amended. The purpose of the gift is quoted as 'the *anuka(or kta)na* . . . of all beings,' there being no space for more than two or three letters after *anukama* or *anukama* at the end of the line (line 5), although the expression expected here is *anuttama-jāṇa-āpāyā*.⁴ The letters *anuka(kta)na* in our record possibly stand for *anuttama* with the letters *jāṇāyā* lost at the end of the line.

The two stanzas in *Anuśtubh* in Inscription No. 2 state that the illustrious **Virachandraśāva** constructed a hundred Buddha-stūpas, out of his love for the *Saṁsa-dharma*, with his own money. The expression *Buddha-stūpa* appears to mean stūpas built on the relics of the Buddha while *Saṁsa-dharma* or the true faith refers to the Buddhist religion usually called the *Sad-dharma* by its followers.⁵ One of the epithets of the king says that he obtained his kingdom or sovereignty

¹ For Sanskrit influence on the stanza in Indian epigraphs, see above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 223 ff.

² See *ibid.*, p. 64.

³ Cf. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, op. cit., p. 382 (text line 2).

⁴ Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 77 (text line 3); *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, op. cit., p. 277 line 26; p. 378, line 1.

⁵ See *ibid.*, p. 64.

through Dharma. This probably suggests that he normally succeeded his predecessor on the throne and was not a usurper.

The importance of the two inscriptions lies in the fact that they are the only epigraphic records of kings **Nitichandra** and **Virachandra** of the Buddhist royal family of the **Chandras of Arakan** although both the rulers are known from their coins as well as the Mrohaung pillar inscription of **Ānandachandra**. **Nitichandra's** coins bear the legend *Niti* or *Nitichandra* while **Virachandra** is similarly called *Vira* or *Virachandra* on his coins.¹ As pointed out above, the Mrohaung inscription of **Ānandachandra** mentions **Virachandra** as **Viryachandra**.

The Mrohaung pillar inscription gives very valuable information regarding the **genealogy and chronology** of the **Chandras of Arakan**, who had their capital at **Vesālī**. It is a *prokṣa* of king **Ānandachandra** belonging to a family called *Dēv-āṇḍaj-ānvaya* or *īrī-Dharmasūj-āṇḍaja-varaṇa*. **Ānandachandra's** father **Dharmachandra** seems to be described as belonging to the *Is-ānvaya*, probably meaning 'a family of kings' or 'a royal family', while an ancestor of **Ānandachandra**, named **Vajrasakti**, is called 'born in the *Dēva* family' either to impart the same idea or to indicate that his mother belonged to the *Dēva* dynasty. The word *āṇḍaja* means a bird and *dēv-āṇḍaja* possibly indicates the divine bird *garuḍa*. The expression *īrī-Dharmasūj-āṇḍaja-varaṇa* possibly means 'the bird (*garuḍa*) family of the illustrious and virtuous kings'. The inscription was written for recounting **Ānandachandra's** pious activities in the first nine years of his reign and was apparently engraved in his ninth regnal year. While the second part of the inscription is a eulogy of **Ānandachandra**, its first part contains three sections quoting the names of the kings together with the duration of their reigns, who were believed to have ruled over the area in question before **Ānandachandra**. The first of these three sections deals with certain kings who altogether ruled for 1018 or 1060 (*sahasraṁ śat-dś-ādhikam*) years. The beginning of this section is damaged; but, as all the five kings at the commencement of the extant portion are stated to have each ruled for 120 years, it is clear that this section (or at least its earlier part) is mythical. The second section deals with the **Chandra** kings, sixteen of whom are stated to have ruled for 230 years. The list, however, enumerates only thirteen names although their reign-periods as quoted in it come up to 230 years. This is possibly because three kings of the dynasty, who may have ruled for a few weeks or months, were omitted from the list. The last of the three sections deals with the family to which **Ānandachandra** belonged and quotes the names of his eight predecessors stated to have together ruled for 119 years and 9 months. While the first section reminds us of the mythical account of the ancient history of Kashmir in the earlier chapters of Kalhana's *Rājatarangīnī*, the second and third sections resemble the genealogical part of the inscriptions of such dynasties as the Eastern **Chalukyas** of **Vēṅgi** and the Imperial **Gaṅgas** of **Kaliṅga**² and have the appearance of being based on fairly authentic information. It has, however, to be pointed out that Indian inscriptions, earlier than **Ānandachandra's** record, often quote the names of the predecessors of a king generally without the duration of their reigns.

The **chronology of the Chandras of Arakan** depends on the determination of the date not only of their coins and the inscriptions now under study but also of the Mrohaung pillar inscription of **Ānandachandra**. Johnston points out how the script of **Ānandachandra's** record is 'almost entirely identical' with that of the **Nalanda inscription**³ of **Yaśovarma**⁴ both in the form of the

¹ *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, op. cit., p. 385 and Plate I (Phayre, *Coinage of Arakan, of Pegu and of Burma*, pp. 28-29 and Plate II; Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, Plate XXXI, No. 8. Smith wrongly reads *īrī-Sicarya* (or *Śicarya*) for *Nitichandra*.

² Cf. Stein, *Rājatarangīnī*, trans., Vol. I, Introduction, pp. 82 ff. (*SH*, Vol. I, pp. 26 ff.; above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 235 ff.

³ Bhattacharya's List, No. 2165; above, Vol. XX, pp. 37 ff.

letters and in the style of writing'.¹ This Yaśovarman is known to have sent an embassy to the Chinese emperor in 731 A.D. and was defeated by king Lalitāditya Mukhāptja of Kashmir, who ruled in the period circa 726-60 A.D.² He seems to have died in or shortly before V.S. 811-754 A.D.³ Yaśovarman's reign may thus be assigned approximately to the period 725-54 A.D. The Nalanda inscription seems to have been incised fairly early in his reign since Nalanda lay outside his own dominions in the territories of the Gauda king of Bengal and Bihar, whom Yaśovarman defeated and killed sometime before his own defeat at the hands of king Lalitāditya of Kashmir about 733 A.D.⁴ We may therefore assign the incision of the Nalanda inscription to a date in the period 725-33 A.D., say, to 729 A.D. If Ānandachandra's inscription is assigned approximately to the same date, his accession may be tentatively assigned to 729 A.D. On this basis, Ānandachandra's eight ancestors' rule of nearly 120 years may be roughly assigned to the period 600-729 A.D. and the 230 years of Chandra rule approximately to the period 370-600 A.D. On the same basis, the rule of the individual Chandra kings may be tentatively assigned to the following periods:

1. Dhātichandra	55 years	circa 370-425 A.D.
2. Rājachandra	20 "	" 425-45 "
3. Kālachandra	9 "	" 445-54 "
4. Dēvachandra	22 "	" 454-76 "
5. Yajñachandra	7 "	" 476-83 "
6. Chandrachandru	6 "	" 483-89 "
7. Bhūmichandra	7 "	" 489-96 "
8. Bhūtiachandra	24 "	" 496-520 "
9. Nītiachandra	33 "	" 520-75 "
10. Virachandra or Vīryachandra	3 "	" 575-78 "
11. Prītiachandra	12 "	" 578-90 "
12. Prītiachandra	7 "	" 590-97 "
13. Dhṛatichandra	3 "	" 597-600 "

No. 1. Inscription of the time of Nītiachandra

TEXT*

1. Yē dharmāḥ hātu-grahavā hātu[ni] tśabā[ni] Tathāga[ta]

2. āha* [[*] tśahān cha yō nirōdhō* śvaṇ-vādi[ni] [Ma]ñjārānaga[ḥ] [[*]

3. āri-[Nītiachandra]sya chandavat-parchh[ā]naya)* dēv* Sāvitrām-

* Op. cit., p. 385.

* See Stein, op. cit., pp. 67, 88-89.

* Tripathi, *History of Kausambi*, pp. 198-97.

* Ibid., pp. 204-68.

* From a photograph and an impression.

* These two letters seem to have been originally left out and later engraved in the margin.

* Better read *śāśān*.

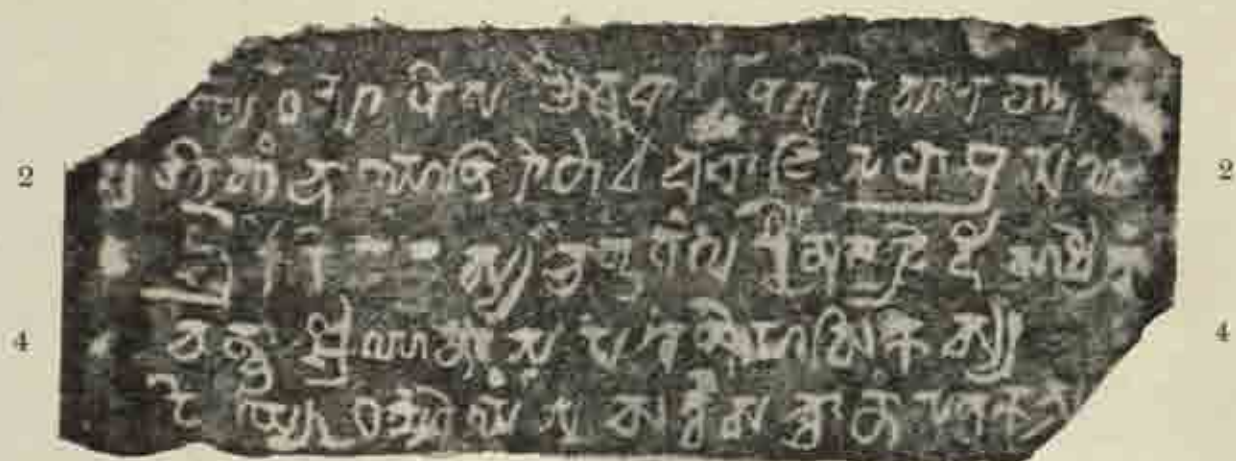
* The reading and meaning of the passage are doubtful. It may be an epithet of the king in the sixth ascending (*śva*) or that of the queen ending in the word *śva* joined in compound with the following word. The word intended may also be *yāśān*.

* Better read *śāśān*.

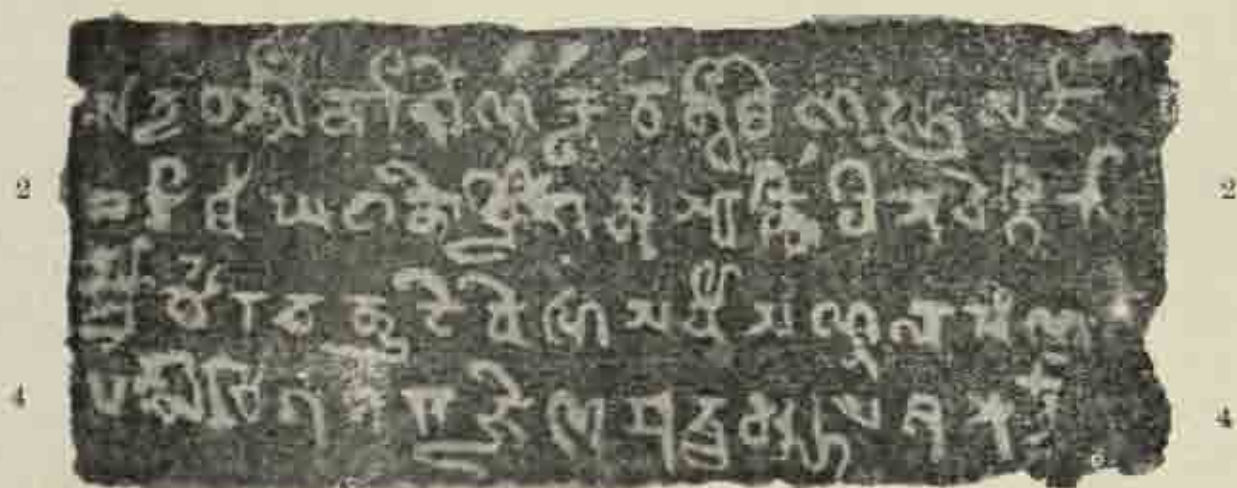
INSCRIPTIONS OF CHANDRAS OF ARAKAN

A

No. 1.—Inscription of the time of Nitichandra



No. 2.—Inscription of Virachandra



(From Photographs)

B. Fragmentary Inscription from Vesali



Scale : Three-eighths

‡ Chandrasri(eri)ya-nāma-parō(ra)[m-6]pāsikasya¹

§ dēyya²-dharma³-yasma⁴ sarva-satvā(ttvā)nām(nā)m-anuka(tta)ma⁵

TRANSLATION

The Sentient Being (*par excellence*, i.e. the Buddha) spoke of the cause of the conditions arising from a cause. The Great Ascetic (i.e. the Buddha) also spoke about their destruction.

This is the pious gift of the queen of the illustrious **Nitichandra** who is⁶ (the queen) by name Sāvlān-Chandrasriyā who is a devout lay worshipper (of the Buddha), for (the acquisition) of the best [knowledge?] by all creatures.

No. 2. Inscription of Virachandra

TEXT⁷

1 Satya-dharmā-śa(n)cāgga kritam sv-ārthāna(na) bhāḥhājā [1]⁸

2 [pa]r-ārtha-ghaṭan-ōdyōga-samyama(ā-ni)hita-śhēti(ta)sā [1]⁹

3 Śrī-Virachandradēva(na) mahi-maṇḍala-maṇḍana(na) [1]

4 dharmā-ādhiṣṭa-rājyēna(na) Buddha-stūpa-śata(m*) [śh-ēti]¹⁰ [1]¹¹

TRANSLATION

A hundred Buddha-stūpas (i.e. structures enshrining relics of the Buddha), which are the ornament of the earth, are made owing to his love for the true faith¹² (and) with his own money by the illustrious king **Virachandradēva** who has his heart fully set on exertions for effecting good to others (and) who obtained kingdom (or, sovereignty) through righteousness.

¹ Read ³śhāgā.

² This is Pall for Sanskrit *dēya*.

³ Read ⁴para. The mark below the last letter may suggest it to be a final m. If it is ignored, we have to read it as ma.

⁴ The third letter of this word may also be read as ś[ra]. The word ⁵śhāgga seems to be broken away after this.

⁶ As indicated above, this may also have been intended for an epithet of the queen.

⁷ From a photograph and an impression.

⁸ The traces of these letters may also suggest the reading *śhāti*. But this word occurs in line 3 and would therefore be redundant, although it has to be admitted that *śh-ēti* does not suit the metre.

⁹ The expression *satya-dharma-daroga* may also be an epithet of the king.

No. 12—VELUR INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYA-NARASIMHAVARMAN

(1 Plate)

K. D. SWAMINATHAN, MADRAS

The subjoined inscription¹ is engraved on a hero stone set up in the Vēdiappan temple² at Vēlūr in the Chengam Taluk of the North Arcot District. Below the inscription is the representation of a warrior in bas-relief in a defiant attitude, holding a bow in his left hand and a sword in the right. There is also the representation of a small structure near his feet. I edit the inscription with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The language of the inscription is Tamil and the alphabet Vattejutta. But the forms of certain *absharas* remind us of Tamil characters; e.g., *y* in *vidaiya* (line 1), *Puraiya*³ (line 3) and **mūlīgār* (line 4); *l* in *Mūl* (line 3); *lu* in *Vēlūr* and *śum* (in line 3). In respect of *palaeography*, the epigraph closely resembles the Hanumantapuram inscription⁴ of Vijaya-Īśvartavarman. The form of *ā* in *āṅṅa* (line 4) is slightly different from the usual form found in the inscriptions of the same period copied from the southern Districts.⁵ The characters are assignable to the 9th century A.D. The orthographical peculiarities do not call for any remarks. The word *toru* occurs also in Kannada⁶ and Telugu⁷ epigraphs of almost the same period.

The inscription is dated in the 2nd year of king Vijaya-Narasimhavarman (Narasimhavarman) and records the death of Paṅṇiyamśiṅṇār, the chief of Mēl-Vēlūr in Mikoprai-nāḍu and a servant of Vāṇakūṇ Adityaraiśar, in a cattle raid. Only four inscriptions of Vijaya-Narasimhavarman are so far known, though he ruled for at least 24 years. Two of them dated the 3rd and 18th years of his reign are found at Kij-Muttugūr⁸ in the North Arcot District, while a third dated the 24th year comes from Baṅṅarāḍi⁹ in the Kolar District of Mysore, on the borders of the North Arcot District. The fourth record is found at Chinna-Nāḡapūḍi¹⁰ in the Tiruttani Division of the Chittur District. The present inscription offers the earliest date for Narasimhavarman.

The importance of the record lies in its being the only inscription of Narasimhavarman in the Vattejutta script, while the alphabet used in his other known inscriptions is Tamil. The use of Vattejutta in an epigraph found so far north as Vēlūr is noteworthy. The existence of a number of similar hero stones in and around North Arcot¹¹ testifies to the disturbed state of the region during the 9th century A.D. The major portion of this District, with the bordering portions of Salem and Kolar, were under the sway of local chiefs who ruled contemporaneously with the Bāṇas, Nolambas and Gaḅḅas during the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. During this period of confusion, Narasimhavarman of our record may have assumed the status of an independent ruler.

¹ *A. R. Ep.*, No. 69 of 1933-34.

² There is another Vēdiappan temple at Idaiappan in the Polur Taluk of the North Arcot District. It contains an inscription of Parakrama-pāṇḍya, dated in his 8th regnal year. See *Ibid.*, No. 141 of 1941-42.

³ Above, Vol. VII, p. 24 and Plate.

⁴ *Id.*, Vol. IX, p. 90 and Plate; *SIH*, Vol. V, No. 783 and Plate.

⁵ See *SIH*, Vol. IX, part 1, No. 10; cf. No. 15.

⁶ *A. R. Ep.*, No. 298 of 1935-36.

⁷ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 178, 366.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 22.

⁹ *A. R. Ep.*, No. 133 of 1943-44. The date portion of this record is damaged.

¹⁰ *A. R. Ep.*, Nos. 104 to 106 of 1940-41; Nos. 102 and 116 of 1941-42; No. 68 of 1933-34; *SIH*, Vol. XIII, No. 268.

VELUR INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYA NARASIMHAVARMAN



Scale: One-fifth

Printed at the Survey of India Offices (H.L.O.)
Dehra Dun

As the figures of the elephant and the swan are found sculptured beneath the record of Narasimhavarmān at Kū-Muttugūr, Hultzsch was inclined to assign this chief to the Gaṅga family.¹ There are two interesting epigraphs of the Western Gaṅga king Śrīpuruṣa in Vatteluttu characters at Oddapattī in the Uttangarai Taluk of the Salem District bordering on the North Arcot District. Inscriptions of other Gaṅga chiefs are also found in the North Arcot District. From Namuniyēndal in the Pohir Taluk comes an epigraph recording an order of Gaṅgaraiyaṅ Ālappirandān, who claims to have been born in the Gaṅga family and bore the titles 'lord of Kuvāḷāla', *Kāṣṭhivallabhan* and *Nandagiriśūlāy*, to the *Uruvar* of Ammai-āndal assigning their village with its taxes as *maḥappuram* to the *maṭha* of Aghōraśiva-Mudaliyār at Tiruvannāmalai to be enjoyed permanently by him and his disciples in succession.² A hero stone from Veṅmani bearing an epigraph assignable to the 9th century A.D. records the death of one Gaṅgarayan, who is described as the disciple of the preceptor (*śāstrī*) Teṅṅavan, when Veṅmani was destroyed in the time of Valluvikkaṭṭavaiyār.³ During the second half of the ninth century, a branch of the Western Gaṅga family is known to have flourished in parts of the North Arcot District.⁴ All these show that North Arcot was under the sway and influence of the Gaṅgas during the ninth century. The emblem of the elephant in the Kū-Muttugūr record suggests the association of Narasimhavarmān with the Gaṅgas. It is, however, not possible to say precisely the nature of this association. He may have been an early member of the branch of the Western Gaṅga family which held sway over the North Arcot District. It may be said that he was an independent ruler and was the overlord of the Bāṇa chief Vāṇakōṇ Adiyaraiṇar, mentioned in the inscription. Vāṇakōṇ Adiyaraiṇar appears to be the same as Skandha Bāṇadhiraṇja who figures in the Baṅṅavāḍi inscription of Narasimhavarmān.

The use of the Vatteluttu script in this inscription requires explanation. The scribe who engraved the record may have hailed from the west coast where Vatteluttu was popularly used, or the warrior Paraiyaṇḍiḷḷiṇar who was killed in action might have been a native of that region and the inscription recording his death might have been engraved in the script used in his native place. Instances of inscriptions engraved in characters unusual to a particular area are not wanting.⁵

Mikōṅṅai-nāḍu as the name of a territorial division in the North Arcot District is also known from other inscriptions.⁶ **Māi-vāḷūr** may be identified with Vāḷūr, the finisport of the record under review.

TEXT*

- 1 Kō-viṣaiya-Narasīṅṅaparamaṅku {yāṇḍu*} iru(va)ṇḍā-
- 2 vāḍu Vāṇakōṇ Adī[va*]ṇaiṇar iṇvakar Mikōṅ-
- 3 rai-nāḍṭu Māi-Vāḷūr āḷum Paraiyaṇḍi-
- 4 ḷḷiṇar iṇvūr-tiṇṇu-kkōṇḍa-ṭāṅṅu pāṭ[ḷi] [i*]

¹ Above, Vol. IV, p. 177. The views of Hultzsch were questioned by Jouveau-Dubréuil (*Tr. Pallavas*, pp. 62 ff.) and T. A. Gopinatha Rao (*Madras Christian College Magazine*, April 1907, pp. 1 ff.) on rather insufficient grounds. Narasimhavarmān of the Kū-Muttugūr record cannot be identified with either of the two Pallava kings of that name, viz. Narasimhavarmān I (Vāṇakōṇḍa) or Narasimhavarmān II (Kāṣṭha).

² *A.R. Ep.*, Nos. 211 and 212 of 1910.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 114 of 1941-42.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 116.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1929-31, part II, p. 40, para. 8.

⁶ cf. *J.P.A.S.B.*, Vol. XX, p. 41 ff.; *A.R. Ep.*, No. 209 of 1953-54; etc.

⁷ *A.R. Ep.*, Nos. 66 to 68 of 1933-34; No. 106 of 1940-41.

⁸ From inked impressions in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India.

No. 13—INDRAGADH INSCRIPTION OF NANNAPPA, V. S. 767

(I Plate)

KRISHNA DEVA, BHOPAL.

This inscription¹ was discovered in March 1964 at the old site of Indragadh situated two miles north of Bhānjarā, headquarters of a Tahsil of that name in the Mandla District of Madhya Bharat (now Madhya Pradesh). The inscription was unearthed in the course of digging for building stones and was found about 3 feet below the surface amidst the excavated remains of an early medieval temple. The remains consisted of a shrine of sandstone with a Śivaliṅga in situ and many Śaiva images and architectural fragments of the early medieval period, which point to the existence of a Śiva temple in the age to which the inscription belongs. The place is studded with ancient remains and is picturesque, being enclosed by a rivulet on two sides and a hill containing an old ruined fort on the third side.

The sandstone slab, bearing the inscription, measures 39" long, 20" broad and 3½" thick. The record consists of 19 lines which are neatly and beautifully engraved. The characters belong to the North Indian Kṛtī script of the early 8th century A.D. and closely resemble those of the Jhalrapatan stone inscription² of the time of king Durgagana of V.S. 746 and Kanavara stone inscription³ of Śivagana of V. S. 795. Among noteworthy forms may be mentioned final *i* in *maḥi* (line 13) and the conjuncts *ñā* in *krucñā* (line 14), *jā* in *mañjā* (line 7), *ry* in *śāchārya* (line 6), etc. Medial *u* is expressed usually by means of a wedge-shaped attachment as in *maṇḍhā* (line 4) and occasionally by the curly form as in *gaurā* (line 10). Medial *ā* is generally indicated by a double curl as in *pāṇā* (line 15); but two variant forms are noticed in the same line in *pārā* and *pārva*. Medials *ī*, *ē* and *ō* have ornamental curly forms in line 1. The letter *ḥ* has been indicated by the sign for *u*. Short wedge-shaped strokes have been frequently used in the place of a *śaṅka* to mark the end of the first half of a stanza. As regards orthography, the consonants joined with a subscript *r* have not been generally doubled, while those in conjunction with a superscript *r* have been occasionally doubled. For cases of wrong sandhi, cf. *garma*—*itān* (line 2; but see *jarma*—*iva* in line 9). Final *m* has been wrongly changed to *anumāra* before a vowel in some cases.

The language is Sanskrit and the major portion of the record is in verse, composed in elegant *Ārya* style. The record opens with the symbol for *Om* and an obsequence to Śiva, followed by two invocatory verses in praise of Śiva and Gaufi. Verse 4 describes the excellence and war-like exploits of king Nannappa who was the son of Bhāmāna of the Rāshtrakūṭa lineage. In the following four stanzas are praised two teachers of the Pāṇpata sect, viz. Vinitarāṭi and his disciple Dēnarāṭi. The ninth verse refers to the construction of a stone temple of Śiva by Dēnarāṭi. This is followed by two stanzas charging the city (i.e. the council of the elders of the city) for the maintenance of the temple. The next verse is merely imprecatory. Verses 13 and 14 supply the year and the season when the temple was constructed. Verse 15 which is the last stanza in the record under study mentions Durgāditya who was the son of Śaṅkara and hailed

¹ [The inscription was noticed in *JHQ*, Vol. XXX, pp. 192 ff., Vol. XXXI, pp. 93 ff. It has been published in *JHRS*, Vol. XLII, part iv, pp. 248 ff.—Ed.]

² *Jnd. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 181 and Plate.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 57 and Plate.

from *Gauḍa-dēśa*.¹ Then follows a section in prose which, after stating that the record was engraved by one Chāmugdasūra, furnishes details of the endowments made in favour of the temple. This section, written in faulty and ungrammatical Sanskrit, was obviously drafted by a person other than the one who composed the beautiful verses; but the entire record appears to have been engraved by the same hand.

The date of the record is expressed in words (verses 13-14 in lines 15-16). It is stated that the temple was constructed during winter when seven hundred years exceeded by sixty-seven of the [era of the] world-famous Mālava kings had elapsed. Year 767 of the Mālava (Vikrama) era corresponds to 710-11 A.D.

The object is to record the construction of a temple of Śiva by the Pāśupata ascetic Dīna-rāṣi. It is obviously represented by the excavated ruins of the temple that yielded the inscription. The inscription also records the endowments made to Guhīśvara,² which appears to be the name of the deity enshrined in the temple, by Daulikā, Takshulikā and Bhāgīnikā, daughters of one Kumāra of the Prāgavāta caste. The endowments included a house situated near the street in the western part of the fort which may be identified with the fort of Indragadh existing in ruins on the hill adjoining the site.³

The inscription is interesting in various ways. Firstly, it provides epigraphic evidence of the antiquity of the Indragadh site. Secondly, it furnishes the names of two Pāśupata teachers, Vinitarāṣi and his disciple Dānarāṣi who built the Śiva temple at Indragadh. Incidentally it proves the existence of the Pāśupata sect of Śaivism in Malwa during the early medieval period. Thirdly, by showing that the city was charged with the responsibility of carrying out repairs to the shrine and maintaining worship therein, the inscription throws light on one of the functions of the ancient city administration. Fourthly, this record dated in the year 767, supplies the latest date in 'the Mālava era' to be found in Malwa, which is 178 years later than the Mandasaur inscription of Yaśodharman. Viśṇuvardhana of the Mālava year 589.⁴ Fifthly, the name Nannappa, ending in the Kannaḍa honorific *nappa*, affords another proof of the Kannaḍa origin of the Rāshtrakūṭas.⁵

But the importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it supplies the names of two new Rāshtrakūṭa chiefs, viz. Nannappa and his father Bhūmīna. From the way the name of Nannappa is mentioned in the record it is plausible to conclude that he was the reigning prince of Malwa in Mālava year 767=710-11 A.D. Now a Rāshtrakūṭa prince called Nannarāja is mentioned in the Multai plates⁶ dated Śaka 631 (709-10 A.D.), Tiwarkhed plates⁷ dated Śaka 553 (631-32 A.D.) and Sangalooda plates⁸ dated Śaka 615 (693-94 A.D.). In these plates, which all come from Berar, Nannarāja is called son of Svāmīkarāja. Prof. Mirashi has shown the Tiwarkhed plates to be spurious.⁹ The dates provided for Nannarāja by the Multai plates, viz. Śaka 631 (709-10 A.D.), and by the Sangalooda plates, viz. Śaka 615 (693-94 A.D.), come very close to the Mālava year 767 (710-11 A.D.) furnished by the present record and one is tempted to identify Rāshtrakūṭa Nannarāja of the Berar plates with Rāshtrakūṭa Nannappa of the present record. The

¹ The stanza in question (verse 15) says that the *pāra*, i.e. the eulogy (cf. above, Vol. XXX, p. 123), was composed by Durgadhara. In the epithet *pāraṇa-pāraṇa* applied to *pāra*, the word *pāraṇa* has been used to indicate the god Śiva.

² Guhīśvara is the name of Śiva also occurs in the Ellora plates of Dantidurga (above, Vol. XXV, pp. 228).

³ [See below, p. 117, note 1.—EJ]

⁴ *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 152 ff. and 157

⁵ Cf. A. P. Altekar, *Rāshtrakūṭas and their Times*, pp. 24 ff.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 226 ff. and Plate

⁷ Above, Vol. XI, pp. 276 ff. and Plate.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 109 ff. and Plate

⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 3.

only discrepancy is that the name of the father of Nannarāja of the Berar records is given as Svāmīkarāja, while that of Nannappa is mentioned as Bhāmāna; but this discrepancy can be solved by assuming that Bhāmāna was the *biruda* of Svāmīkarāja and that, in the metrical composition of the present record (verse 4), the *biruda* suited the exigencies of the metre better than the name. Nannarāja would thus become identical with Nannappa, *appa* being the Kannada honorific attached to the name Nappa or Nauna.¹ If this identification be accepted, it will show that Rāshtrakūta Nannarāja or Nannappa reigned from 693 to 712 A. D. and that his rule extended from Berar in the south to Malwa in the north. But from the undated Uddikavāṭikā grant² of Rāshtrakūta Abhimanyu we know of another Rāshtrakūta family ruling in *circa* seventh century A. D. over the Hoshangabad-Mhow region which falls between Berar and Malwa.³ How could two ruling families hold sway over the same region simultaneously? The difficulty is resolved by assuming that either the two Rāshtrakūta families were friendly and had agreed to have concurrent jurisdiction over the Mhow-Hoshangabad region or the two families were mutually at war trying to grab each other's territory. It is, however, more probable that the family of Abhimanyu had already passed out of the stage before the rise, in *circa* 693 A. D., of Nannarāja-Nannappa who could thus hold undisputed sway over the region extending from Berar in the south-east to Malwa in the north-west.

We have one more inscription mentioning Nannarāja from Berar, *viz.* Nagardhan plates⁴ of Svāmīrāja, dated in the year 322 of an unspecified era. These plates were issued from Nāndīvardhana by Nannarāja, brother of the reigning prince Svāmīrāja and differ from the other Berar plates of Nannarāja not only in respect of palaeography, but also in leaving the era as well as the name of the dynasty unspecified and in calling Nannarāja a brother of Svāmīrāja instead of a son of Svāmīkarāja. As the year 322 of the record has been shown⁵ to refer to 573 A. D., this grant antedates the Multai and Sangalooda plates by over a century, thus indicating that Nannarāja of the Nagardhan plates was different from Nannarāja of the other Berar plates. The similarity of the names and the identity of territory, however, may show that Nannarāja and Svāmīrāja of the Nagardhan plates were probably earlier members of the same family. If this view is accepted, we have to conclude that Nāndīvardhana (modern Nagardhan near Bamtak, Nagpur District), the place of issue of the Nagardhan plates, was the earlier capital of the family. Their capital was subsequently shifted to Achalapura (modern Ellichpur) which is prominently mentioned in literature as well as in the spurious Tiwarkhed plates. Padmanagara, the place of issue of the Sangalooda plates, has been identified with Padmin near the town of Akola.⁶ It appears to have been an important town in the time of Nannarāja-Nannappa, if not the new political seat of the family.

Nauna appears to have been a popular name among the Rāshtrakūtas and Rāshtrakūta chiefs bearing this name are also known from other inscriptions. One Nauna Guṇāvalōka is mentioned as the grandfather of Rāshtrakūta Tuḅga Dharmāvalōka in the latter's Bodhgaya stone inscription,⁷ dated in the year 15 of a regnal reckoning. Nauna Guṇāvalōka of this inscription, which is palaeographically assignable to *circa* 9th century A. D., is obviously not the same as Nauna of

¹ [The identification does not appear to be supported by any evidence besides the contemporaneity of the two chiefs bearing similar names.—Ed.]

² *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 165 ff. and Plate.

³ [The Rāshtrakūta home represented by Abhimanyu ruled in the Satara-Kolhapur region of the South Marāṭhā country about the sixth century A. D. It had little to do with Malwa. See *The Classical Age*, ed. by Majumdar, pp. 199-200. Ed.]

⁴ Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 1 ff. and Plate.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁶ Above, Vol. XXIX, p. 113.

⁷ H. L. Mitra, *Buddha Carya*, p. 105 and Plate.

our record (710-11 A. D.). Similarly, Nanna referred to as the father of Rāshtrakūṭa Śaṅkara-gaṇa who issued the Daulatabad plates¹ dated Śaka year 715 (793 A. D.), too, cannot be identified with Nanna of our record due to the considerable gap of time between the two. A Rāshtrakūṭa Nannarāja is mentioned in a Prakrit inscription engraved in ball-headed characters of the 8th or 9th century A. D. on the back wall of the chapel between caves XXVI and XXVII at Ajanta.² On account of closer proximity of time and place, Nannarāja of the Ajanta inscription may more plausibly be identified with Nanna of the Daulatabad plates than with the homonymous chief of our record.

The Bayana memorial stone inscription,³ palaeographically datable in circa 8th century A. D., also refers (without specifying the family name) to a prince called Nanna during whose reign one Durjāditya was killed in the course of a fight at a place called Pūṃpala-Gaṇḍala. Mere identity of name and similarity of script do not warrant the identification of this prince with Nanna of our record; as the tract of Bayana is not contiguous with the known extent of Nannarāja-Nannappa's kingdom.⁴

The laudatory status of the family of Nannarāja-Nannappa is indicated by the non-assumption of paramount titles by any member of the family. We should also note the fact that Svāmīrāja of the Nagardhan plates bears the significant epithet *bhaṭṭaraka-pādānuvīhita*. The paramount rulers of Berar in the time of Svāmīrāja (573 A. D.) were the Kalachuris who were ousted early in the 7th century A. D. by the Chālukyas of Badami. The territories of Pulakāṣin II (610-42 A. D.) who is credited with the conquest of the three Mahārāshtrakas included Berar and also probably Malwa which continued to form part of the Chālukya empire in the time of his successors, viz. Vikramāditya I (655-80 A. D.), Vinayāditya (681-96 A. D.), and Vijayāditya (697-733 A. D.). The last two were the Chālukya suzerains of Nannarāja-Nannappa.⁵

TEXT*

[Metres: Verses 1, 4, 6 *Śruggādhā*; verses 2-3, 8 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*; verses 5, 7, 9-15 *Anuśtubh*.]

1 ॐ नमः शिवाय ॥ सूचीपातेन सद्यः प्रचलति वसुधा कम्पते नागराजः
पादोद्गारेण नीतो द्रुम इव धवलो दुग्धसिन्धुर्विभाति । दोर्दण्डैश्च
भ्रमद्भिः पुनः-

2 रपि गिरयो जालपक्षाः* प्रयान्ति यस्मिन्नि(त्रि)त्वं प्रनुते भवति जगदिदं
सोऽस्तु मृत्यो भवो वः ॥ [१॥*] प्राप्तं तस्य कलं मयाद्य तपसो
यत्तत्कृतं तत्पुरः(रो) यन्मे मूर्ध्नि

¹ Above, Vol. IX, pp. 195 ff. and Plate.

² G. Verdani, *Ajanta*, Part IV, Text, pp. 121 ff. and Plate.

³ *Arch. Surv., West. Prov., An. Rep.*, 1903-09, p. 49.

⁴ [A ruler named Nannappa, who seems to have belonged to the Rāshtrakūṭa lineage and ruled about the close of the seventh and beginning of the eighth century, is known from the Salem plates of Gaṅga Śaṅkara, dated Śaka 698 (771 A. D.). See above, Vol. XXVII, p. 147 and note 5, pp. 235-36. For an earlier ruler named Nanna who may not have been a Rāshtrakūṭa, see *The Classical Age*, p. 197.—Ed.]

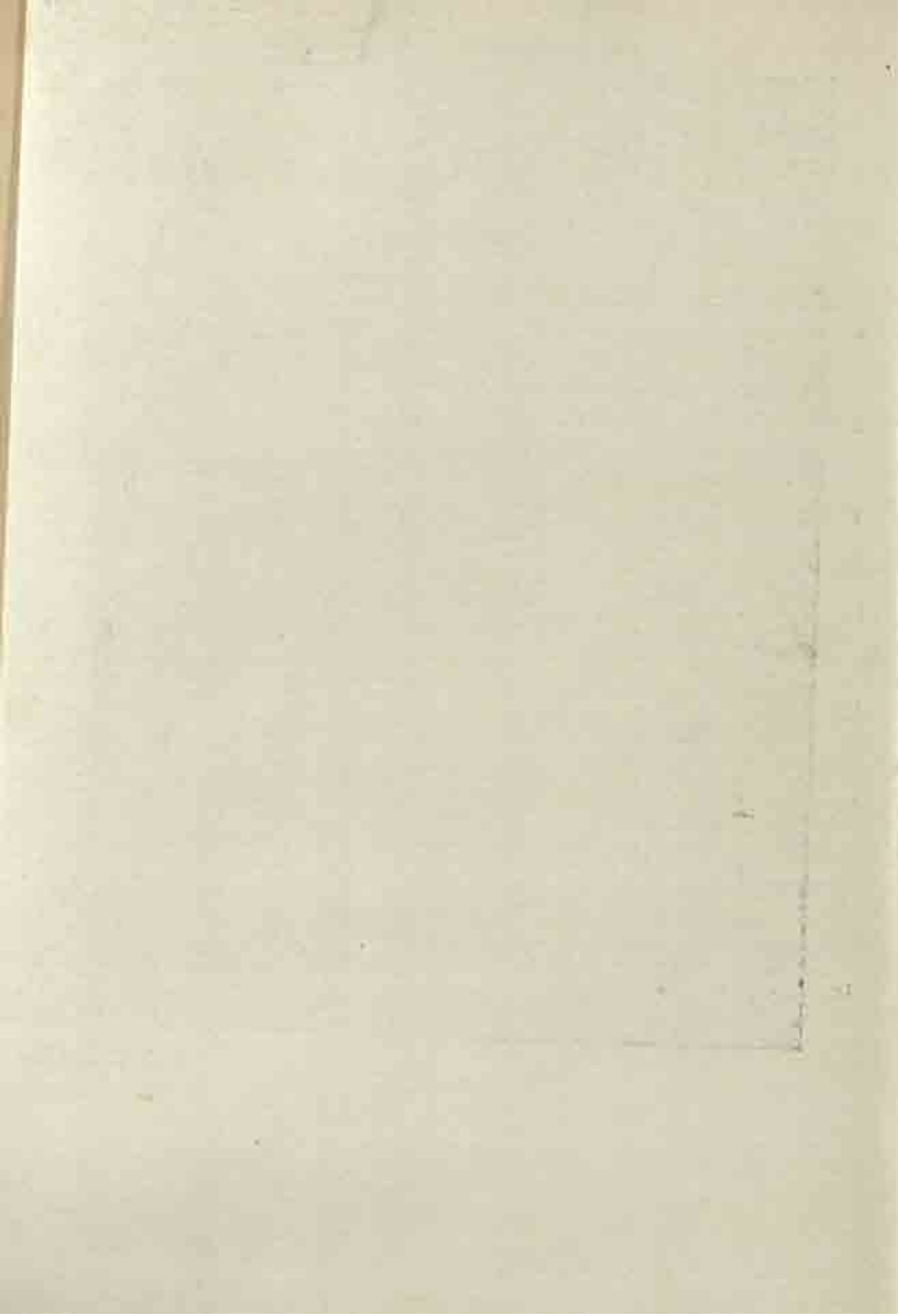
⁵ [This is extremely doubtful. There is as yet no evidence to show that the Indragadh region formed a part of the dominions of the Chālukyas of Badami. It is also not certain that Nannappa was a laudatory ruler.—Ed.]

* From the original stone and inked impressions.

* Expressed by symbol.

- 3 पदं करोति हर हे त्वल्लालिता जाह्नवी । गेहं यामि पितुर्गृहाण तनयं
सोढुं न शक्तास्महं(हम्) एवं मन्युमरालसं गिरिजया प्रोक्तो हरः पातु
वः ॥ [२॥*] श्रीमत्कङ्कण-
- 4 पद्मगेन्द्रशिरसि ज्वालावलीभासुरो यस्तिष्ठत्यमलो मणिस्तदुदरे संक्रान्तविम्ब(म्ब)-
द्युति(तिम्) । रूपं भर्तुरपे(वे)क्ष्य लज्जितमुखी गौरी मनोहरेण रोमांचं
दधती
- 5 विवाहसमये नित्यं शिवायास्तु वः ॥ [३॥*] यस्मिन्दुष्टेरिवृन्दं घटितगजघटापीठ-
मप्याहवेष्टु क्षिप्रं याति प्रणालं कमसमुपचितं स्वं परित्यज्य मा-
- 6 नं(नम्) [१*] भामानस्य प्रसूतिः प्रकटितयशसो राष्ट्रकूटान्वयस्य श्रीणणप्पः
स राजा जयति निजगुणार्वाज्जिताशेषलोकः ॥ [४॥*] आसीत्पाशुपताचार्यो व-
- 7 द्रष्टृल्लालिकाशयीः [१*] विनीतराशिसंज्ञो यः घान्तः प्रसवगोचरी ॥ [५॥*] यः
स्यातो भूतलेस्मिन्प्रकटपुष्पयशाः सत्ययुक्तः सुशान्तो विद्वां(द्वाज्) शानी
- 8 कृतज्ञः सकलवसुमतीमण्डनो भावितात्मा । नित्यं राज्ञां समूर्हभंतचरणयुगलशब्द-
(ब्द)शास्त्रे स्वभिज्ञो निष्पन्नः शिष्यसर्पचरतवरतमभिष्टुय-
- 9 मानः सुशीलः ॥ [६॥*] अभवत्तस्य शिष्यो यः(यस्)तपस्याकत्या ज्वलन्निव ।
वानराशिरिति स्यात्तः यशाङ्कुरनिर्मलः ॥ [७॥*] शास्त्रार्थप्रविचार
निर्माणमतिर्वा-
- 10 ग्मी गुणैर्भूषितः शान्तात्मा प्रथमः प्रकाशयशसो नित्यं दयालुर्भूष(भम्) ।
योगाभ्यासवशादतीन्द्रियगतज्ञानेन यो विश्रुतः शिष्याध्यापनसक्तधी-
- 11 रतितप्तमोक्षस्य कार्ये रतः ॥ [८॥*] स्वयम्भोलोकनाथस्य शैलं शीलैकता स्वयं(यम्) ।
तेनेदं कारितं दिव्यं मन्दिरं मन्दरोपमं(मम्) ॥ [९॥*] स्व(स्व)स्कृतितसस्कारः
- 12 स्वातन्त्र्यं चात्र कीर्तने । नगरेणैव कर्तव्यं सर्वसनाध्यकारिणा ॥ [१०॥*]
अपरापि हि यः कश्चिन्न(त्त)गरानुमते स्थितः [१*] पुनः करोति संस्कारं
तस्यानुज्ञातमे-
- 13 व हि ॥ [११॥*] यावद्भूलोकपालाश्च यावच्चाम्बु(म्बु)धमः स्थिराः । तावदास्तां
स्थिरं शम्भोरिदमापतत महत् ॥ [१२॥*] सप्तपट्टाधिके याने वर्षाणां
शतसप्तके ।

[illegible]



- 14 मालवानां नरेन्द्राणां पृथिव्यां विश्रुतात्मनां(नाम्) ॥ [१३॥*] हंसकारण्डवक्रौञ्च-
निनादसुभगेनिले । काले क्षरदि संप्राप्ते कृतं देवालयं त्विव(दम्) ॥ [१४॥*]
गौडदेशोद्भव-
- 15 स्यं शङ्करस्यात्मजेन तु । दुर्गादित्येन [वि]हिता पूर्वा पूर्वजपूजना ॥ [१५॥*]
उत्कीर्णा महावृतिना चामुण्डसोमेन ॥ ० ॥ प्राग्वाटजात्य(तीयः) कुमारः त-
- 16 स्व बुहितरः देउल्लिका तधुल्लिका भोगिनिका तृन्(ल्लिको)पि स्वप्रतिपत्या त्प्र(प्र)तिग्रहाय
प्रयच्छन्ति य देवा(स्यासाम्) इह कोट्टाभ्यन्तरे भववरकपूर्वाभिमुख प्रतिग्रहाया-
- 17 त' मस्याघाटनानि पूर्वतो(तः) अङ्गणं क्षरभोग्यं सुवीथि च दक्षिणतो(तः) अन्तिम'गृहमर्यादा
पश्चिमतो लिकापात उत्तरतोस्व'वो(वा)ववरकभित्तिमर्यादा एव चतुराश[ः]-
- 18 टनीपलक्षितः परलोकसाधनार्थं गृहेश्वराय प्रतिपादितमिति' ॥ इह कोट्टाभ्यन्तरे
पश्चिमप्रतोलीसमीपे पूर्वाभिमुखं गृहं यस्याघाटनानि पूर्वतः रथ्या मा-
- 19 र्गः दक्षिणतः ।

* Read *amaraṅkaḥ pāra-dhāraṅkaḥ* and *pratiṅgrāḥaḥ* *dhātuk*. The word *amaraṅkaḥ* is the same as Palli *amaraṅka* meaning 'a store room'.

* The letter *ma* has been engraved below *ni*.

* [Read 'pāṇiṭi' *ni*.—Ed.]

No. 14—THREE CHANDELLA CHARTERS

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

About the middle of 1955 I went to Banaras in order to examine and copy the inscriptions preserved at the Bhārat Kālā Bhavan, now attached to the Hindu University. On that occasion, Rai Krishnadasji, the founder-curator of the Kālā Bhavan, was kind enough to lend me pencil-rubbings of four copper-plate grants for examination. The rubbings enabled me to decipher the major parts of all the four inscriptions. But, for the publication of the records, an examination of the original plates was necessary. I therefore requested Rai Krishnadasji to secure the inscriptions for the Kālā Bhavan and also to give me an opportunity of examining them when acquired. About the end of the year, I was glad to receive for examination three out of the four inscriptions, which, I was told, had been secured for the Kālā Bhavan through the generosity of Seth G. D. Birla. All the three grants belong to the Chandella dynasty, one to king **Madanavarman** (known dates between 1129 and 1163 A. D.) and two to his grandson and successor **Paramardin** (known dates between 1167 and 1202 A. D.). These three inscriptions are edited in the following pages with the permission of Rai Krishnadasji. I was not supplied with any information regarding the findspot of the records and the story of their discovery, but, when I visited Banaras again about the close of 1957, I was informed that all the four copper-plate grants had been purchased from Shri Thakur Das Jain *alias* Jain Master of Tikamgarh (also called Tehri), capital of the former Orchha State which was originally merged in Vindhya Pradesh and now forms a part of Madhya Pradesh. From whom and where the said gentleman secured the plates, however, remains as yet unknown. It may be mentioned in this connection that the last of the four inscriptions, obtained by the Kālā Bhavan from the source referred to above, was received by me sometime later about the end of 1956 and was found on examination to be a charter issued by the Pratihāra king Harisīja from his camp at Sīyalōṅṅ in Vikrama Samvat 1040 (984 A. D.) on the occasion of a solar eclipse. This inscription has already been published in the pages of this journal.¹ I take this opportunity to offer my sincere thanks to Rai Krishnadasji for his kindness which has enabled me to place the results of my study of the records before the students of Indian history.

The three Chandella charters published below resemble other known copper-plate grants of the family in respect of **palaeography, orthography and style**. Among the three grants, the resemblance in these respects is of course closer between the two records of Paramardin than between those and the charter of Madanavarman. The engraving of the letters is carefully and beautifully done in all the plates, although the preservation of the writing on Paramardin's inscriptions is more satisfactory than in the case of Madanavarman's charter. There is little difference between the forms of the letters *ch* and *e* and this fact renders the reading of personal and geographical names doubtful in some cases. The same difficulty is sometimes also noticed in

¹ Paramardin's father Yaśovarman apparently predeceased his father Madanavarman. But the epithet *maḥ-ānura-śīrṣa-muni* (i.e. 'the crest-jewel of great rulers'), applied to Yaśovarman in the Bānars inscription (above, Vol. I, p. 209, verse 8) has led some scholars to believe that he 'had a very short tenure of power, after which he was succeeded by his son Paramardi' (Ray, *DHNS*, p. 112). The epithet, however, is justified even if Yaśovarman was the ruler of a district under his father. If Paramardin really succeeded his father, the latter's name should not have been omitted from the former's charters.

² See above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 369 ff.

determining the value of a sign which may be taken to be either as the *ā-śātrā* of the preceding consonant or the *ā-śātrā* of the following letter. The subscript *r* often resembles the subscript *v*. The sign for *r* indicates *ṛ* as well; but the sign for *ṛ* seems to be used in *Ambarisha* in line 26 of Madanavarman's grant. Subscript *y* in *ryy* looks like *ā*. As regards orthography, it may be noticed that often the class nasal is used for *anāsāra* and *vice versa*. Some consonants have been redoubled in conjunction with *r*. The spelling of *śāstrīnā* (for *śāstrīnā*) and *parasāra* respectively in lines 7 and 15 of Madanavarman's grant is interesting.

✓ 1. *Plates of Madanavarman, V. S. 1192*
A. S. 1152

This is a set of two plates which are rather thick and heavy and have writing only on the inner side. Each of the plates measures about 17.6" by 16". For the protection of the writing, copper bands are fixed with copper rivets on the margins of the inscribed sides of the plates. There is a hole in both the plates apparently to hold them together by means of a ring. But the ring seems to be lost. The figure of seated Gaṇaśakuni is engraved in a space measuring 2.1" by 1.7" about the middle of the upper part of the inscription on the first plate, thereby disturbing the continuity of the writing in lines 1-3. This was the royal emblem, by which the Chandēllas used to authenticate their charters in lieu of a regular seal. There are altogether 43 lines of writing, 22 on the first plate and 21 on the second. The two plates together weigh 600 tolas.

✓ The charter was issued by the Chandēlla king Madanavarman on Tuesday, Chaitra-vadi 5, Vishuva-sankranti, in V. S. 1192. The date corresponds to the 24th March 1136 A.D. if the month is regarded as *Amānta*.

The record begins with a variant of the symbol for *siddham* followed by the word *śaṣṭi*. Then follows the stanza generally used in Chandēlla grants to introduce the family of the Chandēśtrēya (Chandēlla) kings. This is followed by a passage in prose which introduces the reigning monarch, *Paramabhāṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Madanavarman* who was a devout worshipper of the god Mahēśvara (Śiva) and the lord of Kālāṅṇata. The king is described as the successor of *Paramabhāṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Pīṭhivīvarman* who himself succeeded *Paramabhāṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Kīrtivarman* and as belonging to the family rendered famous by the birth of such heroes as Jayasakti and Vijayasakti. The above is followed in lines 4-7 by two stanzas eulogising king Madanavarman. The first of these, already known from the *Seura plates*¹ of Paramardīn, says how the creator endowed the king with a multitude of good qualities. The second verse says how the king's liberality put the mythical wish-fulfilling trees on the golden mountain (*Sumeru*) to shame.

The grant portion begins in line 7 and records the king's order addressed to the Brāhmanas and other people including officials, agriculturists, scribes, messengers, physicians, *śakattaras* (heads of villages), *Mēdas* and *Chandēllas*, assembled at *Valabhaudā-grāma* in the *śāhaga* or district of *Mahisāpēha*. The order was in respect of the grant of 21 *paḍas* out of 28 *paḍas* of cultivated land in the said village, which was made by the king on the date discussed above from his camp at *Parēyi-grāma*. The donor was the Brāhmana, *Paṇḍita Śaṁkharman*, who belonged to the *Kaṁṭha gōtra* and the *Āṅgīra*, *Āmbastika* and *Yanvanūya parvata*. He was the son of *Thādhara śrī-Śrīpāla*, grandson of *Dovēda Śahāraṇa* and great-grandson of *Aśmāṭha* (probably meaning 'the teacher of a school') *Dovādha*. His family hailed from the *Bhāṭṭāgrahā* of *Pāṭaliputra*. Whether the gift land was made a rent-free holding is not clearly stated in the inscription.

The record of the above grant is followed by that of others made in favour of two other Brāhmanas,² the first of whom was *Dīkṣita Nārāyaṇasarma* who belonged to the *Gaṁṭha gōtra*

¹ *Shore*, Vol. IV, p. 187.

² They received the grants in the same village in exchange for other lands in their possession apparently for the sake of convenience.

and the Goutama, Āṅgīrasi and Aṅgīra *parivraṭa*. He was the son of *Dikṣita* Dīvyānita, grandson of *Dikṣita* Vamanavāman and great-grandson of *Dikṣita* Kṛṣṇa, and his family hailed from the *Bhatta-grahāra* of *Paṇikavaḍa*. It is stated that originally *Astavāla-grāma* in *Ēraśchha-pattalā* was granted to Nāṭhyapaśurman in exchange for the lands in his possession at *Pipalahā* in *Tintiri-pattalā*, *Vasauhā* in *Kōlavā-pattalā*, *Gōulā* in *Vāndiuri-pattalā*, *Dādari* in *Navaratha-pattalā* and *Dēnavāḍa* in *Mahisipēha-pattalā*. Now the king granted to the same Brāhmaṇa four *paḍas* of land (apparently at *Valahaṇḍa-grāma* in *Mahisipēha-pattalā*) in exchange for *Astavāla-grāma* and the land in his possession at *Pipalahā-grāma* in *Tintiri-pattalā* as well as his lands at *Valahaṇḍa-grāma* in *Mahisipēha-pattalā* and *Dāvaha* (or *Davēha*)-*grāma* in *Nandāvapa* (or *Nandavēpa*)-*pattalā* which he had received respectively from Nāḍḍika, the priest attached to *Rājāi* Lakṣmīdēvi, and *Sōmika*, son of *Thakkura* *tri* *Śrīpāla*.²

The third donee was the Brāhmaṇa *Sahajūsarman* who was a brother of *Sōmēsarman* of *Sōmika* mentioned above. It is stated that he received from the king 1½ *paḍas* of land (apparently at *Valahaṇḍa-grāma* in *Mahisipēha-pattalā*) in exchange for his lands at *Pipalahā-grāma* in *Tintiri-pattalā* and *Mahuāli-grāma* in *Kōlavā-pattalā*. He is stated to have received the lands in the two villages respectively from *Mahārājāi* *Vāḥnapadēvi* and *Rājāi* *Chāṇḍaladēvi* (or *Chandēladēvi*). It is said that these grants were made by the queen with the king's permission.

The conditions of the grant, which are the same as in other *Chandēlla* charters, are quoted in lines 29-33. Some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas are quoted in lines 34-40. This is followed by a passage conveying the king's consent to the grants and must have been originally endorsed by the king himself on the original document that was later engraved on the plates. Then follow in lines 41-43 two stanzas, the first of which says that the copper-plate charter was written by the *Dharmā-dīkṣita* *Sūḍha* who belonged to the *Vāstavya* community. The same person also wrote the *Angul* plate³ of the same king. The contractions *pha* and *si* before his name in that record stand for *thakkura* and *tri* respectively. The same verse was utilized with slight modification by *Prithvīdhara* and *Śubhānanda* who wrote respectively the *Semra*⁴ and *Pachar*⁵ copper-plate grants of *Paramardīn*. The present plates were engraved by the *vijāṇin* *Chēga* who belonged to the *Ritākṣa* (i.e. *Kāṣṭhāḍra* or *brāhṇa*) community. The record concludes with a *maṅgla* and a set of three symbols or contractions thrice quoted. The meaning of these cannot be determined.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, *Kāḷaṅjara* is the well-known hill-fort in the Banda District of U. P., which was one of the centres of *Chandēlla* power. The grant was made when the king was staying at *Parvī-grāma* while the various plots of gift land were situated at *Valahaṇḍa-grāma* in the *vishaya* or *pattalā* (i.e. district) of *Mahisipēha*. The families of the donees hailed from *Pāṇaliputra*, either inaccurately called a *Bhatta-grahāra* (i.e. a rent-free locality in the possession of learned Brāhmaṇas), and *Paṇikavaḍa* *Bhatta-grahāra*. *Pāṇaliputra* is no other than the well-known ancient city of that name, which stood near modern Patna in Bihar. The other villages mentioned are (1) *Pipalahā* in *Tintiri-pattalā*, (2) *Vasauhā* in *Kōlavā-pattalā*, (3) *Gōulā* in *Vāndiuri-pattalā*, (4) *Dādari* in *Navaratha-pattalā*, (5) *Dēnavāḍa* in *Mahisipēha-pattalā*, (6) *Astavāla* in *Ēraśchha-pattalā*, (7) *Dāvaha* or *Davēha* in *Nandāvapa* (or *Nandavēpa*)-*pattalā* and *Mahuāli* in *Kōlavā-pattalā*. The *pattalā* of *Nandāvapa* or *Nandavēpa* is mentioned in the *Ichchhewar* plate⁶ of *Paramardīn* as *Nandāvapa-vishaya* which may be identified

² It may also be that lands in *Dāvaha* and *Pipalahā* were received from these persons.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 202, 207 ff.

⁴ *Abern.*, Vol. IV, p. 170.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. X, p. 49.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, p. 205.

with the district round Ichchhawar in the Pallam Tahsil of the Banda District. *Rasobchha-pattalā* may be the same as the *Raschha vishaya* of the Mahoba plate,¹ the name of which has been preserved in that of modern Erich on the Betwa, about sixty miles from Mahoba. Navarāṣṭha-pattalā seems to be the same as the Navarāṣṭra-maṇḍala *vishaya* of the Charkhari plates,² while the names of Vāndini, Tintirī-pattalā and Pipalāhā remind us respectively of the Banda District, the Teonthar Tahsil of the former Rewa State and the Pipalūm *ḍuṅga* mentioned in the Alhaghat inscription.³ The district of Navarāṣṭra was situated on the river Yamunā.

TEXT*

[Metres : verses 1, 4-9, 13 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verses 2-3 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 10 *Indracandrā* ; verse 11 *Sālinī* ; verse 12 *Māhāt*.]

First Plate

- 1 Siddham* Svasti | Jayaty-āhlādayan-vishvan Vīśvōvama-śrī-ṭhṛtāḥ | Chandrātrēya-narā-ndrāgāṁ varāśa-chaudra iv-ōjivāḥ || [1*] tatra pravaśedhamānā vi-
- 2 rōdhi-vijaya-bhāṣābhāṇa-Jayaśakti-Vijayaśakti-śrī-vīr-āvīrbhāva-bhāṣarā paramabhaṭṭā-
raka-mahārājādhirāja-paramōvara-śrī-Kīrtiva-
- 3 rmmadēva-pād-ānūdyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramōvara-śrī-Prithvi-
varmmadēva-pād-ānūdyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirā-
- 4 ja-paramōvara-paramamāhōvara-śrī-Kālāṅjar-ādhipati-śrīman-Madanavarmmadāvō
vijayī || Saundaryam-Makaraḍhvajō jalani-
- 5 dhan gāmbhīryam-aryō divō-py-aiāvaryam Dhībhagō dhiyam cha Tapasah astyām cha
vāchan sūtē | śrīstv-ābhyāsa-vasō(śā)d-gatō paripatn nimmāṣa-śilpō dhru-
- 6 vaṁ yatr-āsau niramāyy-ananya-sudhō Dhātṛ guṇānāḥ gaṇah || [2*] sṛi cha | Tan-
nah sarva-samūhit-ārtha-ghatanō-lapdha(bdha)-pratishṭham janō rōjō-ānōna-mandāth-
ādika-
- 7 dhana-tyāgāḥ pramāṣṭhāḥ yataḥ | yad-dānō-iti lājītaiv-iva chiram chāmīkar-ādri-
sthālī-sukrā(sukrā)nta-pratimāir-adhō-mukhatayā kalpadrumāḥ sthīyatō || [3*]
sa śha
- 8 durvishabatare-pratāpa-tāpita-sakala-ripa-kulāḥ kula-vadhūm-iva vasundharāṁ nirā-
kulāḥ paripālāyana-śvikala-vivēka(n)(ka)-nimmallkṛta-matīḥ | Ma-
- 9 hsiyōṣha-vishay-āntaḥpāti-Valahauḍā-grām-ōpagatān-Vrō(a-Brā)hmaṇō-anyāḥ cha
mānyāḥ-adhikṛtān-kutumpā(mā)-kāyaśha-dīta-vaiṇya-mahattarān-Mōḍa-Chapā-
- 10 la-paryantān-sarvān-sārvō(bō)dhayati samājñāpayati ab-āstu vah saṁviditam yath-
ōpari-likhitō-amūn-grāmō sa-jala-sāhāḥ sa-ethāvara-jaḍgamō sva-din-ā[va]chchhinnō
s-ā-
- 11 dha-śrīdhvō bhūta-bhaviśhyad-va(r*)ttamāna-nibhōṣh-ūjā(dā)ya-sahitō pratishiddha-chā-
[d]i-pravṛṣṭ cha kshata-pad-āṣṭaka-mādhvō*-mūbhīr-ibha-kalabha-karṇa-tāla-tarālā-
[u*] dṛa-
- 12 vīpa-saṁpādam pratipadya vidvān-śloka-jōṭapāḥ cha lōk-ādhipa*)tyaṁ matvā matt-
ōgaṇ-ōpāḍga-vībhrama-bhaṭṭarāṇ cha jagaj-jīvitam-avadhōrya paryanta-paritāpi-
- 13 nīm-ōpāta-mātra-madhurāṇ ch-āśēsha-vishaya-paramōpatāṁ parihārya mabhaḥ-stambha-
vad-asāram* saṁsāram-avalōkya lōk-āntara-mahāharāṇ dharmam-ākama-ākalaya-
dbhīḥ

* Above, Vol. XVI, pp. 9 ff.

* *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 212-14.

* Expressed by symbol.

* *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, pp. 124 ff.

* From the original plates and impressions.

* Better read 'nikṣāṇānāṁ madhva' with the preceding adjectives in the sixth case-ending phrase.

- 14 Parāyi-grāma-samācāśe dvi-navaty-adhika-śat-ōpēta-sahasratamē samva(samva)-
tearē Chaitrē māsi Kripṇa(śhṇa)-pakshē pañchagyām(mayām) tithāv-añkatō-pi
Samva(Samva)t 1192 Chaitra-vadi 5
- 15 Bhaumē Vishuvat-saṁkrāntau puṇya-tīrth-ōdakēna vidhivat-saṁtvā, dēva-manushya-
pitrē-samīcarṇya Bhāskara-pūjā-purascarān char-āchāra-guṇān bhagavantān Bha-
vān-patim-abhyarchchya hutabhujā
- 16 hutvā mātī-pitrōr-ātmanāś-cha puṇya-yāśō-vividdhayē Pāṭaliputra-bhāṭṭāgrahāra-
vinirggatāya Kautsa-gōtrāya Āgiraśa-Amṇa(e-Āmba)riśha-Yau-
- 17 vanāśva-tripravatāya Avasathī-Dēvadha-prapaṇtrāya Dvivēda-Sahāraṇa-pantrāya ṭhakkura-
śrī-Śrīpāla-putrāya paṇḍita-Sōmēśarmagē Vrī(Brā)hmaṇē-
- 18 ya kusa-latā-pūtēna kust-ōdakēna svasti-vāchana-pūrvva[m] chandr-ārka-sama-kālaṁ
putra-pantr-ādy-anvay-ānugāmītvēna śāmanāḥ kṛtvā sa-pādān pada-dvayān datta-
- 19 m | tathā Paṇḍikavada-bhāṭṭāgrahāra-vinirggatāya Gautama-gōtrāya Gautama-Ā(m-Ā)-
āgiraśa-A(e-Ā)ya(yā)[eva]-tripravatāya Dikshita-Kēśava-prapaṇtrāya Dikshita-Vāma-
- 20 nasvāmī-pantrāya Dikshita-Dēvēndra-putrāya Dikshita-Nārāyaṇasarmagē Vrī(Brā)-
hmaṇāya Tī[ri]pattalāyām Pipalāhā | Kōlavā-pattalāyām Vasauhā |
- 21 Vāndiuri-pattalāyām Gōulā | Navarāṭha-pattalāyām Dādari | Mahisipēha-pattalāyām
Dōnavāda | ēśha grāmābhv-ētadīyām
- 22 bhūmim-ādāya prāk-parivarttō dattam-Ērachchha-pattalāyām-Āstavāla-grāmān |
Mahisipēha-pattalāyām Valahauḍ-ē-grāmē eb-ai-

Second Plate

- 23 tadīyām bhūmim rājñī-Lakhamādēvi(vī)-satka-purōhita-Nādākēn-āya dattatvān-Nandā-
vapa-pattalāyām Dāvaha-grā-
- 24 mē eb-aitadīyām bhūmim Ṭhakkura-śrī-Śrīpāla-putra-Sōmēkēn-āya dattatvāt-Tīrtīrī-
pattalāyām Pipalāhā-grā-
- 25 mē eb-aitadīyām bhūmim grihītvā parivarttō pada-chatuṣṭaya[m] dattam | tathā
Pāṭaliputra-bhāṭṭāgrahāra-vinirggatāya Kautsa-gōtrāya Āgī-
- 26 rasi-A(e-Ā)mbarīśha-Yauvanāśva-tripravatāya Avasathī-Dēvadha-prapaṇtrāya Dvi-
vēda-Sahāraṇa-pantrāya Ṭhakkura-śrī-Śrīpāla-putrāya Paṇḍi-
- 27 ta-Sahajūna(ka)rmagē Vrī(Brā)hmaṇāya mahārājñī-śrī-Vāḥṇadēvy-āśmad-anumatyā
Tiditirī-pattalāyām Pipalāhā-grāmē dattatvād-ētadīyām bhūmim rā-
- 28 jñī-śrī-Chāndaladēvyā* eb-āśmad-anumatyā Kōlavā-pattalāyām Mahauḥ-grāmē datta-
tvād-ētadīyām bhūmim-ādāya parivarttō pād-ōna-pa[da]-dvayān datta-
- 29 m-iti matvā bhavadbhīr-ājñā-ś[ri]vaṇa-vidhēyair-bhūtvā bhōga-paśu-hiraṇya-karu-śulka-
śādi-sarvvaś-ābhyaś samupanāstavyam | tad-ēnamē(d-ē)chān sa-mandīra-
- 30 prākāram sa-nirggama-pravēśam sa-sarv-āśan-ēśhu-kaśmā(sambha)-[kā]ppāsa-saṁ-
āmra-madhuk-ādi-bhūruham sa-vana-kham-nidhānam sa-lōha-lavaṇa-trīṇa-parṇ-ādy-ā-
- 31 karam sa-talla-tadāga-nadī-parvatān sa-gartta-chatvar-ācharam sa-kūśth-āhtakā-
pāshāpam sa-gōkulaṁ sa-kāru-karshaka-vaṇṇi-vāstavyam sa-paśu-mṛiga-viha-

* The *śāpa* is superfluous.

* The reading may also be *Nandakēna*.

* The reading may also be *Chandla*.

* The reading may also be *Chandla*.

THREE CHANDELLA CHARTERS—PLATE I

I. PLATES OF MADANAVARMAN, V.S. 1192.

[illegible]

॥ अथ श्रीमद्भगवत्पञ्चविंशोऽध्यायः ॥

॥ अथ श्रीगणेशोत्थानम् ॥

[illegible]

पुस्तकालय

नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

जोरीमदनादिप्रधानाङ्गुलमाहात्म्ये तस्य पुत्रवर्णनम्

[illegible]

कृष्णजीनेतड्यानेदोपत्रंमजानेवतएवधकं

[illegible]

॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

अथ हस्तिपद्मद्वीपसंज्ञाप्रकरणम्

॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

[illegible]

॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

मद्वत्तुमुदय्यस्तुम्। विनित्तसक्त्या

पदवर्णितायाज्ञाभश्रीनदीसुहृन्निनि

॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

- 32 āgama-jalacharam=apatair=api sīm-āntarggatair=vvastubhiḥ sahita[n] sa-vā(bā)hy-ābhyatar-ādāyam bhūjānānām karṣatām karṣayatām dān-ādāna-vikrayam vā kurvātām
- 33 na kēnachit-kāchid-vādā kartavyā | atra rāja-rājapurush-ātavika-chāḍ-ādibhiḥ svam svam=ābhāvyam parihartavyam-idaṁ ch=āsmad-dānam-anāchchhēdyam-anāhāryam
- 34 ch=ēti bhāvibhir=api bhūmi-pālaiḥ pālaniyam=it[i] || uktam cha | Śaṅkham bhadr-āsanam chhattraṁ var-āsvā vara-vāraṇāḥ | bhūm[i]-dānasya pushpāṇi phalaṁ sva-
- 35 rggab Purandara || [4*] Sauvarṇṇa yatra prāsādā vasōr-ddhārā=cha kāmādāḥ | Gandharv-Āpsarasō yatra tatra gachchhanti bhūmidāḥ || [5*] Bhūmim yaḥ pratigrihṇāti
- 36 ya=cha bhūmim prayachchhati | ubhau tau paṇya-karmmagau niyatam svargga-gāminau || [6*] Shashṭim varsha-sahasraṇi svarggō vasati bhūmidāḥ | āchchhē-
- 37 tīā ch=ānumantā cha tūny-ēva narakē vasēt || [7*] Śva-dattām para-dattām vā yō harēta vasundharām | sa viśṭhāyam krimir-bhūtvā pītṛibhiḥ saha majja-
- 38 ti || [8*] Suvarṇṇam=ēkam gām-ēkām bhūmēr-apy-ēkam-aṅgulam | haraṁ-narakam-āpnoti yāvad-ābūta-saṁplavam || [9*] Yān-īha dattāni purā narēndrai-
- 39 r-ddānāni dharm-ārtha-yaśaskarāṇi | nirmālya-vānta-pratimāni tāni kō nāma sūdhub punar-ādadīta || [10*] Sarvān-ētān-bhāvināḥ pāṛthivē-
- 40 ndrān-bhūyō bhūyō yāchatō Rāmabhadraḥ | sāmānyō-yam dharmma-ētur=ṇipāṇān kālō kālō pālaniyō bhavadbhir=it(i)dbhiḥ || 11 || iti |) sva-hastō-yam ārīma-
- 41 n-Madanavarmanmadēvasya matam-mama || Virachita-śubha-karm-ōṇnāma-Vāsatvyavahāryaḥ sakala-guṇa-gaṇānām vī[ś]ma' Sūdh-ābhichānaḥ | alī-
- 42 khad-avani-pālas-ājjhāyā dharmma-lēkhī sphuṭa-lehita-nivēśair-akaharais-tāmra-pattam || [12*] Ūhēḥō nāma vījñāni ritikāra-
- 43 kul-ōdbhavaḥ | uchchakāra śubh-ākārām-imām-akahara-saṁhatim || [13*] śubham=astu sarvva-jagata iti || 6 thū [u] || 6 thū u || 6 th[ū u] ||

2. Plate of Paramardīa, V. S. 1239

This is a single plate measuring about 15.2" in length and 11.7" in height. In order to protect the writing, which is on one side of the plate, four copper bands of a width of about $\frac{1}{4}$ " are fixed with copper rivets on all the four borders of the inscribed side. There are altogether 20 lines of writing. In the central part of the upper section of the inscription, a space about 2.3" square is occupied by the engraved figure of seated Gajalakṣmī which has disturbed the continuity of the writing of lines 1-4. In the middle of the last line of the inscription a space measuring 1.6" in length is left blank apparently for a hole that would have been required if the inscription had continued on a second plate. The plate together with the rivetted border bands weighs 282 tolas.

The date of the document is quoted in lines 8-9 as Tuesday, Phālguna-vadi 4, V.S. 1239. It corresponds to the 23rd February 1182 A.D. if the year is regarded as current.

The beginning of the record in lines 1-5 is similar to that of Madanavarman's grant edited above. But, instead of Madanavarman, *Paramabhaṭṭaraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Paramardīa*, who was likewise a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara and the lord of Kālāṇjara, is introduced

¹ Originally sma was written.

here as the successor of *Paramabhattāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramāvara Madanavarman* who himself succeeded *Paramabhattāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramāvara Prithivivarman* and as belonging to the family of the Chandrātrīya rulers. There is no varied eulogy of the reigning monarch in the present record as in Madanavarman's grant.

The grant portion beginning in line 6 records the king's order addressed to the Brāhmanas and others assembled at *Vavaudā-grāma* in the *Duduhī-vishaya*. The order relates to the grant of the said village, made by the king when he was stationed at Sallakshapavilānapura, on the date discussed above, in favour of *Pada Padumadhamasarmān* (i.e. *Paṇḍita Padmādhamasarmān*) who belonged to the Kautsa-gotra and *Vajrasūrya-sikhā* and was the son of *Ṭha* (i.e. *Thakura*) *Dhātū*, grandson of *Ṭha* *Śarpāla* and great-grandson of *Ṭha* *Sahāraṇa*. His family hailed from *Pāṭaliputra-nagara*. It will be seen that the donee of this grant was the son of a brother of *Sāmān* or *Sāmān* known from Madanavarman's charter.

The conditions of the grant (lines 13-17) are similar to those of Madanavarman's charter. The imprecatory and benedictory stanzas are quoted in lines 17-19. This is followed by the king's endorsement on the original document that was later copied on the plates. Line 20, with which the record ends, mentions the *Dharma-śākhin* *Ṭhakāva* *Vishyuka* who wrote the charter and *Pālhaṇa* who engraved it on the plates. The other charters of Paramardīn were also engraved by *Pālhaṇa* who is called a *paṭaladhāra* (lexicist) in the *Samra* plates¹ of 1163 A. D., *śilpa* and *varṇa-gṛhaṇā-vaidagdhī-vivṛṇāna* in the *Ichchhāwar* plate² of 1171 A. D. and the *Pachar* plate³ of 1176 A. D. and *vijānī* in the *Mahola* plate⁴ of 1173 A. D. But *Vishyuka* was not the writer of any of these charters. The writer of the first three grants was *Prithivīdhara* and that of the fourth charter *Subhāmaṇḍa*, both belonging to the Vāstavya-Kāyastha community.

Of geographical names, the inscription mentions, besides *Kālānjara*, *Sallakshapavilānapura*, whence the grant was made by the king, and the gift village of *Vavaudā* in *Duduhī-vishaya*. *Sallakshapavilānapura* seems to have been named after *Sallakshapavarman* who was the elder brother of *Prithivivarman*, great-grandfather of *Paramardīn*. The locality may be the same as *Vilānapura* whence *Paramardīn* issued his *Ichchhāwar* and *Pachar* plates. It has been suggested that *Vilānapura* is the same as modern *Pachar* about 12 miles to the north-east of *Jhansi* in U. P.⁵ *Duduhī-vishaya* seems to have been the district round modern *Dudahi* in the *Lalitpur* subdivision of the *Jhansi* District. The name of the place, whence the donee's family hailed, is quoted here as *Pāṭaliputra-nagara* (not *Pāṭaliputra-bhattāgrahāra* as in Madanavarman's grant).

TEXT⁶

- 1 *Siddham** *Svasti* | *Jayaty-śubhāyana-vivānā Vajrasūrya-sikhā-dhṛitah* | *Chandrātrīya-natījā**⁷ *drisṭvān yamaśāle-chandra* *te-śjvalah* ||⁸ | *tatra pravarādhāmā-*
- 2 *nā* *vitrōdhi-vijaya-bhrōjashya-Jayashakti-Vijayashakti-śilī-vir-āvirbhāva-bhāvarō* *parama-*
bhattāraka-mahārājādhirāja-pa-
- 3 *mēvara-śrī-Prithivīvarmanmadēva-pād-ānudhyāta-paramabhattāraka-mahārājādhirāja-pa-*
mēvara-śrī-Madanavarmanmadēva-pād-ānudhyāta-pa-

¹ Above, Vol. IV, p. 179.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XXV, p. 206.

³ Above, Vol. X, p. 49.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, p. 15.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

⁶ From the original plate and impressions.

⁷ Expressed by symbol.

- 4 ra[ma*] bhātāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramamahēśvara-śrī-Kālañjar-ādhipati-
śrīmat-Paramarddidevā(vō) vijaya[ī*]
- 5 sa śaṣa durvishahatara-pratāpa-tāpita-sakala-ripu-kulab kula-vadhūm-iva vasudhārān-
nirākulām paripālāyana-avikala-vivēka-nirmuṣalīkṛita-ma-
- 6 tū | Duḍuhi-viśay-āntahpāti-Vavaudā-grām-ōpagatān-Vrā(n-Brā)hmaṇān-anyaṇi-cha
mānyān-adhīkṛitān-kuṭumvi(bi)-kāyastha-dīta-vaidya-mahattārān-Mēla-Chandāla-
paryantā-
- 7 n-sarvvān-sa[m]vō(mbō)dhavati samājñāpayati ch-āstu vaḥ samvi(sarvi)ditān yath-
ōpari-likhitō-yañ grāmab sa-pala-ethalab sa-ethāvara-jāgamab eva-sim-āvachchhinaḥ
s-ūtha-
- 8 ūrdhō(nihvō) bhūta-bhaviṣyad-varttamāna-nihśēsh-ādāya-sakītab pratishūdha-chāt-ādi-
pravēśā-cha-āsmābhīb śrī-Sallakshapavilāsapurē ākōna-chatvārī[m*]śad-adhi-
- 9 ka-śata-dvay-ōpēta-sahasratamē samvatsarē Phālgunē māsī kṛishṇa-pakṣē
chaturthyām tithāv-aṅkatō-pi Samvat 1239 Phālguna-vadi 4 Bhauma-vārē
punya-ti-
- 10 rih-ōdakēna vidhivat-śātrvā dēv-ādīn-samtarpya Bhāskara-pūjā-purahastam char-āchara-
gaurāṇ bhagavāntam Bhavānīpatim-abhyarchya hutabhuji kutvā mātā-pi-
- 11 trōt-ātmanā-cha punya-yaśō-vivīdha(dhah)lē Pātālīputra-nagara-vinirgatāya Kautma-
gōtrāya | Ādvārshī-Āmvarshī-Yōvanāsa-trihpravarāya¹ Vājasa-
- 12 nēya-śākh-ādhyāyīnē |ha| Sahāraṇa-praputrāya |ha| Śrīpāla-pautrāya |ha| Dhāma-
putrāya pañ| Padumadhara-sarmmaṇē Vrā(Brā)hmaṇāya kṛuṣ-ātā-pūtāna
- 13 hast-ōdakēna svasti-vāchana-pūrvan-chaṇḍr-ārka-samakālām putra-pautr-ādy-anya-
ānagāmi kṛānān kṛitē pradatta iti matvā bhavadbhīr-ājñā-śravaṇa-vidhē-
- 14 yat-bhūtvā bhōga-bhōg-ādikañ sarvvam-śamā samuparētavyam tad-ēnam-asya grāmān
sa-mahādīra-prākāram sa-nirggama-pravēśāni sa-sarvv-āśan-ākāṣa-karppā-
- 15 sa-kṛuma(mbha)-saṇ-āmra-madhūk-ādi-bhūruhañ sa-vana-kāmi-nidhāna[ch*] sa-lōha-
kavāṇa-trīpa-parṇ-ādy-ākaram-apatāit-āpi sim-āntariggatair-avyastabīb sakītan
sa-vā(bā)-
- 16 bya(hy-ā)stā-ādāyach bhūjānasya na kēn-āpi vādhā kāryā | atra cha rājapurush-
ādībīb svam svam-ābhāvyam parihartavyam-idañ-ch-āśmad-dānam-anāchchbē-
- 17 dyam-anāhāryaścha(n-cha-ē)ti bhāvibhir-āpi bhūmi-pālān pālānyam-ōti || uktañ-cha ||
Sankham bhadr-āśa(sa)nam chelha(chha)tra[m*] var-āśv(āśv) vana-vāraṇā || bhūmi-
dānasya
- 18 pushyāñi phalañ svarggāḥ Parandara || Bhūmīn yaḥ pratigrihṇāti yaś-cha bhūmīn praya-
chchhāti | ubhau tau punya-karmāṇān niyatān svargga-gāmi-
- 19 nan || Śaśhṭīn varaha-sahasrāñi svarggē vasati bhūmidab | āchchbōttā ch-ānantaḥ cha tāny-
āva narakē vacēta(ēt) || eva-hastō-ya[m*] ri-
- 20 ja-śrīmat-Paramarddidevāya matam-mama | likhitañ-cha dharmmaśēkhī-ṭhakkura-śrī-
Viśhukēna | utkrāṇa[m*] Pālhapēna [ī*]

¹ Road Jagdās-Āmbartās-Pannuāśa-tripravardpa.

3. Plate of Paramardī, V. S. 1247

This is also a **single** plate which is rather thick and heavy and weighs 108 *tolas*. The plate contains 18 lines of writing on one side only. In the centre of the last line, there is a hole as if the writing continued on another plate and the two plates were held together by means of a ring passing through the hole in both of them. The diameter of this hole is about .7". In the central part of the upper section of the inscription, a space about 2.4" square is occupied by the engraved **figure** of seated Lakṣmī instead of the usual Gajalakṣmī. For the protection of the writing, copper bands were fixed on the margins of the inscribed side of the plate by means of copper rivets. These bands are now broken at some places where only the small holes in the plate meant for the rivets can be seen.

The date of the charter is quoted in lines 9-10 as **Saturday, Phālguna-śudi 14, V.S. 1247**. It corresponds regularly to the **9th February 1191 A.D.**

The beginning of the document is similar to that of Paramardī's grant of V. S. 1239 edited above. The grant portion commencing in line 6 refers to the king's order addressed to the Brāhmanas and other people assembled at **Itālā-grāma** in the **Pāsuṇi viśaya** in respect of the grant of 10 *śūlas* of land in the said village. The king made the grant on the date discussed above when he was at the **Maṇikarpikā-ghaṭṭa** at **śrī-Vārāṇasī** (i.e. modern Banāras in U.P.) apparently in the course of a pilgrimage. In the present state of our knowledge, it is difficult to believe that the Banāras region formed a part of Paramardī's dominions about the time of the record. The Gāhaḍavāla kings are known to have had their headquarters at Vārāṇasī and, according to tradition, the contemporary Gāhaḍavāla monarch Jayachandra (c. 1170-93 A. D.) maintained friendly relations with Paramardī whom he is said to have helped in his wars against the Chāhamāna king Piṭhivīrja III (c. 1177-92 A. D.).¹ A recent writer has, however, suggested that Chandella Paramardī was really on hostile terms with Gāhaḍavāla Jayachandra.² But there is really no proof in favour of this suggestion and the present inscription referring to the Chandella king's stay at Vārāṇasī seems to go against it. If Paramardī succeeded in capturing the Gāhaḍavāla capital even for a short time, that fact is not expected to have been suppressed in his records like the one under review.

The donee of the present charter was Padmadhatasarman already known from the other grant of the king edited above. The conditions of the grant, quoted in lines 12-16, are the same as in the other record. The document ends with the imprecatory and benedictory stanzas quoted in lines 16-18. It seems that the writing was continued on another plate which is now lost. But the inscription on this lost plate would have contained only the passage *eva-hastā-gaṇa vāja-trīṇaḥ Paramardīdātavya matam mama* together with a reference to the names of the writer and engraver of the document.

Of **geographical** names, besides Kālāñjara, the inscription mentions Maṇikarpikā-ghaṭṭa at Vārāṇasī (i.e. the well-known Maṇikarpikā Ghāṭ at Banāras), where the king was staying at the time of making the grant, and the village of **Itālā** in **Pāsuṇi-viśaya**, where the gift land was situated. The name of the locality, whence the donee's family hailed, is quoted in the present record as **Pāṭalipura** instead of Pāṭaliputra or Pāṭaliputra as found in the two inscriptions edited above. The locality is mentioned here as a *Bhaṭṭāgrahāra*.

¹ Ray, *DHN*, p. 341.

² N. Sen, *History of the Chandellas*, pp. 96-97.

THREE CHANDELLA CHARTERS—PLATE I. I

2. PLATE OF PARAMARDIN, V. S. 1239

पञ्चादशजानादनाद्विषयविराजितम्
 2 जविषादिजानादनाद्विषयविराजितम्
 4 रमयीद्विषयविराजितम्
 6 ममद्विषयविराजितम्
 8 निम्नद्विषयविराजितम्
 10 निम्नद्विषयविराजितम्
 12 निम्नद्विषयविराजितम्
 14 निम्नद्विषयविराजितम्
 16 निम्नद्विषयविराजितम्
 18 निम्नद्विषयविराजितम्
 20 निम्नद्विषयविराजितम्

TEXT¹

- 1 Siddham² Svastē(sti) || Jayaty-āhlādayan=viśvaṁ Viśvēśvara-śrī-dhṛitaḥ | Chandrātrēya-
narēndrāpām varāśaś=chandra iv=śjvalaḥ || tatra prava-
- 2 rādhmānē virōdhi-vijaya-bhṛājishgu-Jayaśakti-Vijayaśakti-ādi-vi[r]-śvirbhāva-bhāvarē
paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājā-
- 3 dhīrāja-paramēśvara-śrī-**Prithvivarmmadēva**-pād-ānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahā-
rājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-**Madanata(va)rmmadē-**
- 4 **va**-pād-ānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramanāhēśvara-
śrī-**Kālāṇjar**-līhpati-śrīmat-**Paramarddi-**
- 5 **devā(vō)** vijayī | sa śaha duryviśahatara-pratāpa-tāpita-sakala-ripu-kulāḥ kula-
vadhūm-iva vaśo(su)ndharān=nirākulām paripālayann=avikala-vikē(vivēka)-nimmall-
- 6 kṛita-matīḥ | **Pāsūpi**-viśay-ānta[ḥ*]pāti-**Iṭṭalā**-grām-ōpagatān-Vrā(n=Brā)hmaṇāte-
anyā[n*]=cha mānyān=avi(dhī)kṛitān=kuḍu(tu)mv[iḥ](mbi)-kāyastha-dūta-vē(vai)dyā-
mahattarē-
- 7 n=Mēda-Chandāla-paryantān=sarvān=samvō(mbō)dhayati samāhāpayati ch=śeta vaḥ
samvi(samvi)ditāḥ yath=ōpari-lē(ḥ)khīta(tē)=smin=grāmē sa-jala-ethalā sa-ethāvara-ja-
- 8 āgamā sya-sūm-āyachchinnā s-ādha-ārdhvā bhūta-bhaviśyad-varitamaṇa-niḥśah-
ādāya-sahitā pratishiddha-chāt-ādi-pravēśā ch=śema(ema)hhiḥ śrī-**Vārāṇasyām Ma-**
- 9 **nīkarṇṇikā**-dyaddhā(ghaṭṭē) sapta-chaṭvāri[n]śad-adhika-śata-dvay-ōpēbha(ta)-
sahasratamē samva(samva)(sarē Phālgunē māsi śukla-pakṣhē chaturddāsyān-
tithāv-a-
- 10 ākatō-pi Samvata(Samvat) 1247 Phālguna-śudi 14 Śanivārē Pāṭalipura-bhaṭṭāgra-
hāra-viniggatāya Kautsa-gōtrāya Āṅgīrīṣhā-Āmvarīṣhā-Jau-
- 11 vanūsa⁴-tripravarāya Va(Ba)hviṣha-śākḥ-ādhyāyīnē tha| Sahāraṇa-prapaurāya tha|
Śrīpāla-paurāya tha| Dhāmī⁵-putrāya paṇi| Padmadharasa(śa)rmmaṇē Vrā(Brā)-
hmaṇā-
- 12 ya kuśa-latī-pūtēna hast-ōdakēna avastī-vāchana-pūrvvakam chandr-ārkkā-sama-
kāla[n*] putra-paute-ādy-anvay-ānugāmi[n*] dāśa-lāva-chchinnā bhūmih śāśant-
- 13 kṛitya pradatā(titā) | [bhi(t)] matvā bhavadbhīr-ājā(jāś)-āravaṇa-vidhāyair-bhūtvā bhūga-
bhōg-ādīkam sarvvaṁ=śamai samapanātavyaḥ tad-ānām-asya bhūmih sa-madhira-
- 14 prākārāḥ sā(sa)-na(ni)rgama-pravēśān sa-sarv-āśan-ākāśa-kudh(ka)rpāsa-kuśuma(śma-
lha)-saṇ-ānra-madhūk-ādi-bhūruham sa-vana-śāni-mūhānām sa-lōh-ādy-ākārām=aparai-
- 15 r=api śīm-ānta[r*]ggatā(tai)r=vvastubhiḥ[h*] mahitā(n*) sa-vā(hā)hy-ālōhyam(bhya)ntar-
ādāyām bhūjānāyām(sya) na kēn=api vādā kāryā [l*] atra cha rāja-rājapuruṣh-ā-
dibhiḥ(bhiḥ) avasth svam-ā-

¹ From the original plates and impressions.² Expressed by symbol.³ Read *pāt-Ipāt*.⁴ Read *Āṅgīrīṣh-Āmvarīṣh-Āmvarīṣh*.⁵ The name is spelt in the other record as *Dhāmī*.

- 16 bhāvyaṁ pariha[r]ttavyam-idaṁ-eh-āmad-dānam-anūchēbhēdyam-anāhāryaṁ-eh-eti
bhāvibhir-āpi bhūmipālaiḥ pālaniyam-iti || uktaṁ-cha || Śaḍkham-bhadr-āṁ(ṣa)-
- 17 naṁ chettha(cha)tra[ti: *] var-āsvā(śvā) vara-vāraṇāḥ | bhūmi-dānasya puehyāṁ phalaṁ
svarggaḥ Putradata || Va(Ba)huhir-vvasandhā bhuktā rājabbhī Sagar-ādibhī | yasya
yasya
- 18 yaṁ bhūmi-tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) || Shashtim vapa(reha)-sahasrāṇi svarggā vasati
bhūmidat | āchchhōttā eh-āmmantā cha tāny-ēva narakā vaset || *
-

No. 15—JAVAKHEDA PLATES OF AMOGHAVARSHA I, SAKA 742

(3 Plates)

D. R. BHAT, DHULIA

Javakhēḍa is a small village in the Shahada Taluk of the West Khandesh District, Bombay. It is situated on the bank of the Gōmī, a tributary of the Tāptī. The Gōmī, also called Gōmatī, has its origin in Madhya Bharat and meets the Tāptī near Prakasha where the Department of Archaeology recently conducted excavations. The copper-plate grant was discovered while digging a pit for the repairs of a public road in February 1953. I came to know of the discovery in May 1954. On making enquiries, I learnt that the plates were with Shri Bhaskar, a P. W. D. contractor of Dhulia. He very graciously handed them over to me. The Rajwade Sanshodhan Mandal, Dhulia, is very thankful to him for his kindness.

The inscription, like most other Rāshtrakūṭa grants, is written on three plates. The outer sides of the first and last plates of the set are blank. The inner sides of these plates and both sides of the middle plate are inscribed. Each plate is nearly 11½" long and 8½" high. The breadth of the plates in the middle is slightly less than at the borders. The middle plate is nearly ½" thick and the outer plates are slightly thinner. The plates were strung on a ring passing through a hole (roughly ⅜" in diameter) near the left edge of each plate. The ring is nearly 4½" in diameter and is made of a round bar ⅜" thick in the middle and ½" near the extremities which are soldered to the seal. The seal bears a representation of the goddess Lakshmi.¹ The goddess is squatting on a lotus and has a swan on each lap under her arms. It appears that the goddess in her right hand behind the bird holds a chowry and in her left a ladle or a *paraśu*. On the right and left respectively near the head of the goddess are seen the sun and the moon. The image is finely executed in relief in a circle 1½" in diameter. This appears to be the first seal of the Malkhed Rāshtrakūṭas bearing an image other than that of Garuda or Śiva.²

The characters resemble those of other Rāshtrakūṭa records of the ninth century as the Vāṅi Dindōri plates of Gōvinda III, dated Śaka 730.³ They are well engraved. The preservation of the writing is satisfactory with the exception of 7 or 8 letters in the first line on the obverse of the second plate. The language is Sanskrit. The text of the record contains some grammatical and orthographical errors.

The twenty stanzas engraved on the inner side of the first plate and the obverse of the second are also found in the Radhanpur plates of Gōvinda III, dated Śaka 731.⁴ These are followed by five verses in praise of Amoghavarsha and the details of the grant and the date of issue in a passage in prose on the reverse of the second plate.

The grant was made by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Amoghavarsha I at the request of one Bhattārīkā (noble lady) Asagavvā⁵ on Friday the 8th of the bright half of Āshāḍha of the Śaka year 742 expired (current 743), which corresponds to the 22nd of June, 820 A.D., on the occasion of the Dakṣiṇāyana-saṅkrānti. The king made the grant when he was residing at Śrī-Nivāpura to a Brāhmaṇa named Jōgaddi-bhaṭṭa who was the son of Rāvaddi-bhaṭṭa and belonged to the

¹ [The representation on the seal is clearly of Garuda as on the seals of other charters of the family. He has a kirtimukha on his head and a serpent in each of his two hands. Above his outspread wings is a flywhisk in the proper right and an aśvīnī in the proper left.—Ed.]

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 156 ff.

³ *ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 229 ff.

⁴ [See below, p. 136, note 2.—Ed.]

Kaundinya *gōtra* and Taittiriya *jākhā*. The name of the gift village was Vōyipadraka. The village was bounded by Laghu-Mōyipadraka in the east, Umbarōpika-grāma in the south, the boundary of the same village in the west, and the Vindhya mountain in the north. Vōyipadraka is stated to be in the Ekāsāya division.

Two years after the accession of Amōghavarsha I, i.e. about the year 816 A. D., his feudatories and the enemies of the house were up against him and, as a result of the confusion and anarchy that followed, he was deposed. This state of affairs lasted for about three or four years.¹ The earliest known record issued after Amōghavarsha's restoration is the Surat plates of Karka, dated the 13th May, 821 A.D. The charter under study was issued by Amōghavarsha I himself on the 22nd June, 820, A. D. It is clear that his restoration must have taken place some time before this date.

Amōghavarsha is obviously not the name of the boy king but a *biruda* like Prabhūtarasha, Akālavarsha, etc. The proper name of the king was Śarva (cf. verse 22). The present record shows for the first time that he also enjoyed the *biruda* Tribhuvanavallabha.

Lady *Asagavvā*, at whose request the grant was made, probably belonged to the Rāshtrakūṭa house. There is little likelihood of her being Amōghavarsha's wife, as Amōghavarsha I (born about 808 A. D.) was a boy of about twelve only at the time of the grant. Besides her name has been mentioned without any indication of her status as the empress.²

Amōghavarsha made this grant while residing at Śrī-Nivapuraka which can be identified with modern Nisarput near Kukshi in Madhya Bharat. Probably Nivapuraka was his capital³ which was later transferred to Mākhād.

TEXT⁴

First Plate

- 1 Om⁵ [1*] Sa vō-vyād-Va(d-Vō)dhasā dhāma yam(yan)-nābhi-kamalāṁ kṛitā(kṛitam)
[1*] Haras=cha yasya kātāt-ōndu-kalayā kam=alamkṛitam(tam) || [1*] Bhūpō-⁶
- 2 bhavad-vṛi(bṛ)had-masthala-rājamānaḥ(na)-ārī-kanstubbh-āyata-karair-upagūḍha-kauṭhah
[1*] saty-ānvitō vipula-cha-
- 3 kra-vinirjīit-ārī-chakkrā(kkrō)=py-akṛishṇa-charitō bhuvī **Kṛishṇarājah** || [2*] Paksha-
chchhēda-bhuy-ārīit-ākṣhila-mahābhū-
- 4 bhṛit-kula-dbhṛā(bhrā)jīitā[d*] durla(rlan)ghyād-aparair-akō(nō)ka-vimala-dbhṛā(bhrā)jishṇu-
ratn-ānvitā[t*] | yas=Chālukya-kulād-anūna-
- 5 vivu(bu)dhaḥ(dha)-vṛit-ārayō nvā(vā)ridhōḥ⁷ Lakshmi[m*] Mandaravat-sa-Hada(m-a)-
chirād-ākṛishṇavām(vā)n-Vallabhaḥ || [3*] Tasy-ābhūt-tana-
- 6 yah pratāpa-visarāḥ(rā)it-ākṛanta-dig-maṇḍalāḥ⁸ chaṇḍā[ti*]śō[ti*] sadṛiśō-py-achhaṇḍa-
karatā-prasta(hlā)ditā-kohmātalaḥ [1*]

¹ Altekar, *The Rāshtrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 74.

² [The epithet *Rāshtrakūṭa* applied to Śrīmad-Asagavvā's name and her mention without any further indication of her status suggest that she was a queen of Amōghavarsha I. His tender age can hardly be offered as an argument against this possibility; cf. the cases of Rāma in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Āraṇya, 47) and Vichitravīrya in the *Mahābhārata* (Ādi, 95).—Ed.]

³ [The mention of Nivapuraka as a *grāma* seems to suggest that it was not the king's capital but merely a village where he was camping when the grant was issued.—Ed.]

⁴ From the original plates. [Metres: verses 1, 22, 26-27, 29, 31 *Anuṣṭup*; verses 23-25 *Arjū*; verse 32 *Pakṣiṣṭup*; verses 3-5, 7-8, 10-12 *Sārdūlūmbrīṭī*; verses 2, 6, 9, 31 *Vasantulika*; verses 28, 30 *Upejū*.—Ed.]

⁵ Expressed by symbol.

⁶ The *akṣhara pō* is engraved indifferently.

⁷ *śāndhi* has not been observed here.

JAVAKHEDA PLATES OF AMOGHAVARSHA I, SAKA 742—PLATE I



22

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(from Photographs)

- 7 Dhīrō¹ dhairya-dhanō vipaksha-vanitā-[²vaktā(ktr-ā)mvu(mbu)jāh(ja)-śrī-harō [³ hāri-kritya yaśō yadīyam-anisā(sam) dig-nā-
- 8 yikābhivṛi(t-dhri)ta[m*] || [⁴*] Jyēṣṭh-āh[⁵*]aughana-jātajā(y-ā)py-amalayā lakshmyā samētō-pi sam[⁶(san) yō-bhū[n*]=nirmala-maṇḍa-
- 9 la-sthiti-yutō dōshāna(ka)rō na kvachit [(⁷)] Karṇa-ādha-sthita-dāna-saṁtatī-bhṛitō yaśy-ānya-dān-ādhiḥkaṁ ||⁸
- 10 dāna[⁹dh*] vikahya su-lla(la)jjitā iva diśā-prāntē sthitā dig-gajā[h*] || [¹⁰*] Anyair-na jātu vijituh(tam) guru-śakti-
- 11 sārṁ-ākṛā[n*]ta-bhūtalām-ananya-samāna-māna[m*] | yēn-ēha va(ba)ddham-avalōkya chirāya Gaṇḍam dū-
- 12 raṁ sva-nigraha-bhiy-ēva Kalū prayātaḥ || [¹¹*] Rē(Ē)katr-ātma-va(ba)lōna vārīti(ni)dhim-āpy-anyaṭra ruddhā(ddhvā)
- 13 ghanatī tih(ni)śhkrishṭ-āśi(ri)-bhaṭ-ōddhatōna viharad-grāh-ātībhūmēna cha [¹²*] mātāṅgān-mada-vāri-nirjjhara-mucha[h]
- 14 prāpy-ānatāt-Pallavā[¹³t*]¹⁴ tachi¹⁵ mada-lōṣam-apy-anudinam yaḥ śhṛi(śhri)śhṭavām(vān) na kvachit [(¹⁴*)] Hōlā-svkrīta-Gauḍa-
- 15 rājya-kamalā-mataḥ(ttaṁ) pravēśy-āchirāt(rād) durmmārga[m*] maru-madhyamā(m-a)-prativa(ba)lai[r*]-yō Vatsarāja[m*] va(ba)lam(laiḥ) [(¹⁵*)] Gauḍiya[m*]
- 16 śarad-indu-pāda-dhavalam chekha(chha)tra-dvaya[m*] kēvalam [¹⁶ tasmātvā(n-n-ā)hṛita tad-yaśō-pi kakubhām prā[n*]tē sthitām(tam) ta[t*]-kṣaṇāt [(¹⁷*)] 8*
- 17 Lavdha(bdha)-pratishṭham-achirāya Kalūḥ andūram-u[t*]sārya-śuddha-charitair-ddha-raṇṭalasya | krinvā(tvā) punaḥ Kṛita-
- 18 yugah(ga)-śriyā(ya)m-apy-aśēham chitram katham Nirupamaḥ Kalivallabhō-bhū[t*] || [¹⁸*)] Prō(Prā)bhū[d*]=dhairya-vatas-tatō Nirupamā-
- 19 dri(d-i)ndur-yathā vāridhāḥ śuddh-ātma paramēśvar-ōnnata-śrī(śi)raḥ-samsakta-pādaḥ sutah [(¹⁹*)] padm-ānanda-karaḥ
- 20 pratāpa-sahitō nity-ōdayaḥ s-ōnnataḥ²¹ pūrvv-ādrōr-iva bhānumāna(n-a)bhimatō Gōvindarājaḥ sata(tām) [(²⁰*)] 10*
- 21 Yasmi[n*] sarvva-guṇ-āśrayē kṣhitipatan śrī-Rāshṭrakūṭ-ānvayō jātō Yādava-varṣa-van-Madhuripāv-āśā-ala[m*]-

Second Plate, First Side

- 22 ghyāḥ(ghyaḥ) paraiḥ [(²²)] dṛiṣṭ-āś-ā[²³va*]²⁴dhayaḥ kṛitā[h*] sā(su)-śa(sa)driśā dānēna yēn-ōddhatā muktā-kāva(ra)-vibhūṣitā sphuṭam-iti pratyarthi-
- 23 tō(nō)=py-arthināḥ(nām) || [²⁵*)] Yasy-ākāram-āsā(mā)tu(nu)śha[m*] tṛi(tri)bhuvana-vyāpatti-raksh-ōchitam ||²⁶ Kṛishṇasy-ēva nīrikṣhya yachchhatī pit-āśy-aikā-

¹ The Vāpi Diṇḍori and Rādhapur plates have Dhīrō which stands for Dhīrua.

² The *daśa* is superfluous.

³ The *daśa* are superfluous.

⁴ Read *lakṣ-akṣra*.

⁵ There is an unnecessary punctuation mark here.

⁶ There is space for one *akṣara* between *āś* and *dā*, and the engraver started carving an *akṣara*, but possibly left the space to be filled in later.

- 24 dhipatya[m*] bhuvah [()] śasā[m*] tāta tavā(v=ai) tad=apratā(ti) hatā dattā tvayā
kauphikā kītvān(n-tr=ā)jśā(jā=ai) va mayā dhrit=āti pitarah yuktam vacnam(chō)
- 25 yō=bhyadhātā(dhāt) [()] 12* Yasmin(emin) svarga-vibhūṣaṇāya janakē yātē sa(ya)-
śah-śahatām-śahbhūya samudyatā[n*] vasumatī-samhāra-
- 26 m=ādichchēhha(tsa)yā [(*)] vichchhāyām(yān) sahasā vyadhata(tta) tri(nri)parta(ū)n=
ēkō-pi yō dvādaśah[(śa) khyātān=ap=adhikah pratāpa-visarāh sa(m*)va-
- 27 riakō=[r*]kān-ivah(va) [()] 13* Yān=ātya(m*)ta-dayāhūm=ātha nigadāh(ḍa)-klāśāpāpāy=
Ayatā(tāt) eva(m*) dśān gamitō-pi darpa-visarā-
- 28 d=yaḥ yā(prā)tikūlyā ethitah [()] yāvan=na bhṛikuṣi lalāṣa-phalakē yasy=ōnnatē lakshyatē
vikahēpūṇa vijitya tāvad=a-
- 29 chirādva(d=ba)ddhah esa(sa) Gaṅgah punah [()] 14* Saṁdhāy=āhu ālmukhām(khān) eva-
samayādvā(d=bā)nān(n=ā)śa(sa)ra(na)sy=ōparih(rī) prāptah varddhita-vakri(bandhu)-
- 30 [(*)]va-di(vi)bhavaṁ padmā-śbhidi(vijidhy=ānvitam(tam) [(*)] san-nakshatram=adikahya
yam śarad=itum parijanyavad-Gūrjjarō [(*)] naṣṭah kv=āpi bhayā(t*)ta-
- 31 thā na hha(sa)marā(rāh) [eva*]pnō-pi paśyād-yathā [()] 15* Tat-pād=ānati-pā(mā)trak-
aika-śaraṇām=ālokya lakshmi[m*] nijām dūrā[n*]-Māhava-nā-
- 32 yakō naya-papā(rō) yam prāpamat=prāñjalih [(*)] kō vidvā[n*] va(ba)linā saba(h=ā)lpa-
va(ba)lakah aparddhām vidhattē pa-
- 33 [rām*] nītē=tad=dhi bha(pha)ṇam yad=ātma-parayōh(yō)r=ādhikeya-sadivēdanah(nam) [()] 16*
Vindhy=ādri(drōh) kajakō nividhā-kajaka(kah)
- 34 [śru*]tvā cheraih(rair)-yam nijāh [()] svam dśā[m*] samupāgataṁ dhruvam=iva jhātva
da(bhi)yā prēritah [()] Mārāsa-
- 35 rera-mahipatī(r*)śrutam agād=aprapta-pūrv=āparāh ya(rair-ya)sy=ēchēhām=anukūla-
yam(yan) kulā-dhataih(nāh) shpā(pā)dan prāṇāmē(mai)r=a-
- 36 pi [()] 17* Ga* oṭvā Śrībhavanō ghanāghana-ghanah(na)vyāpt=āmbaram(rām) prā-
visham [(*)] tasmād=āgatavād(vān) samam nija=va(ba)lāir=ā-Tum(Tum)-
- 37 gahadrā-tatā[m*] [()] tatra=stah eva-kara=ethitām=api punah(nar)-nīhēśham=ākriṣṭavān
[(*)] vikahēpāir=api chitram=ānata-
- 38 ripūh yat=Pallavānam* śriyam(yam) [()] 18* Lēkhāhāra=an(mu)kh=ōdit=ārdha-vachasā
yatō(tr=ai)tya Vōṅg=āvarō nityam kīrtakarava-
- 39 d=vyadhāpa(d=a)viratam ka[r*]ṇma eva-ka(śa)mm=ēchēhāyā vā(bā)hy=āh-vritir=asya yōna
rachitā vyōm=āgra-lagna(gnā) ruohā rātrau man-
- 40 ktika-mālikām=iva vritā mūrdhna(vidha)=stha-sārā-gaṇā(nāh) [()] 19* Samtrāsāt=

* The danda see is superfluous.

* There is space for this akṣara.

* The letter is superfluous.

* Read ripuragah Pallavānam.

* Rādhanpur plates read pura-chakra-śajānam=agāh.

JAVAKHEDA PLATES OF AMOGHAVARSHA I, SAKA 742—PLATE II

ii.b



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(from Photographs)

- 41 va(ha)ddh-āṅgali-sōbhita āraṇam mūrdhna yad-āṅgi(hri)-dvaram(yam) [1*] yad-
yada(d-lā)ttā-parārdha-bhūṣaṇa-gaṇā(nair)=n-ālakṛita(ch*) tat-ta-
42 [thā*] mā bhaishir-iti satya-pāl[ta*]-yasaḥ-sthityā yathā tad-girāt(rā) || [20*] Tasy-āta-
(ua)t-ākula-narēndra-kirita-kōṭi-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 43 saṁghr̥ṣṭa-pāda-nakha-darpaṇa-dṛiṣṭa-dōha[h] [1*] durvāra-vairi-vara-vāraṇa-dāraṇa-
putrō-bhavad-Guha iv-āpratiha-
44 pa(vārya)-akṛtiḥ || [21*] Yō mahārāja-Śarvv-ākhyah 1 khyāti(tim)-yātō mahitālō [1*]
bālō-pi diu-mukh-ākṛṣṭa-bhūri-dhām-āmā-
45 mām-iva || [22*] Tṛi(Tri)bhuvanavallabha ity=api yōtō(n=ō)tyā(ktyā) nija-guṇair=ā-
sāmānyaiḥ[1*] nītō nīti-vidō-pi yasya
46 gurah prakramō jātaḥ || [23*] Varshaty-Amōghavarashhō dhīraḥ dhārābhīr-asaraś[1n*]
payasaḥ [1] lōkaḥ kapiṇ(śa)-vihī-
47 tō(nō) n=ābhūd-upamā cha bhūpālaiḥ || [24*] Tṛi(n=ō)dam=anila-vidyūcham(ch-chaṁ)
chalasa(m=a)valōkya jīvitam=a-sāram(ram |) kahitī-dāna-
48 parama-puṇya[1n*] pravartitō vra(bra)hma-dāyā(yō)-ya[m*] || [25*] Sa cha paramabhaṭṭā-
raka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēvara-
49 śrīmat-Prabhūtavarshadēva-pādānuḍhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-para-mē-
vara-śrī-Tṛi(Tri)bhu-
50 vanavallabha-śrīmad-Amōghavarshadēva-Śrīvallabha-narēndradēvaḥ kuśa|| [1]
sarvvātō(n=ō)va yathā-sathvadhyasa(badhyamā)-
51 napūrvakām(nakām) rāshirapati-vishayapati-grāmakūṭ-āyuktaka-niyuktak-sihikārika-mahā-
tar-ādī[1n*] sayāta(māṣa)-
52 ty=astu va[h*] saṁvīritam yathā śrī-Nivapuraka-grāma-vāsita(tō)na mayā mātā-pitrō-
śha(tma)na-
53 ś=ch=sihik-āna(mu)[sh]mika-puṇya-yasō-bhividdhayō 1 Kā[1n*]ohī-nagara-vinirgata-Kan-
[1n]ya-sagōtra-Taiti(tti)ri-
54 ya-savra(bra)ha(hma)chārī(ri)-Jōgaḍḍi-bhaṭṭa-Rēvaḍḍi-bhaṭṭa-sūnavōḥ* || Ekāśay-ānta-
rggata-Vōtyipadra-
55 ka-nāmā grāmaḥ || yasya ch-āghātanāni pūrevatō Laghu-Mōvipadrakam(kah) || dakṣi-
ṇataḥ Um[b]arō-
56 pīkō grāmaḥ || aparataḥ=cha tad=āva* grāma-simā | uttarattah(tah) Vindhy-ādriḥ [1*] āvam-
ayam chatur-āghātatō(n=ō)-
57 palakṣitō pā(grā)maḥ s=ōdranagah sa(s=ō)parikarah sa-daṇḍa-daś-āparūdhaḥ sa-bhu(lobh)-
t-ōpāttah(tta)-pratyāya [s=ō*]-
58 tpadyamāna-vishṭikah sa-dhānya-hirany-ādēyō-chōṣṭa-bhaṭṭa-prāvēśya[h*] sarva-rājakyānām-
(nā)m=ahasta-pa(pra)-

* The *daṇḍa* are superfluous.

* Read *bhaṭṭa*...*śarvv*. This unnecessary double *daṇḍa* is preceded by a *vimsa*-like mark.

* [The reading of the *śikara* seems to be *śi*.—Ed.]

* Read *śūnva*.

- 59 kahēpaṇṭya(ya ā)-mā(cha)ndr-ārka-kr̥ṣṇava-kahit-sarit-parvata-sama-kālīna-putra-pautr-āṇva-
ya-kram-ōpabhōgyā[^h]
60 pūrva-pradatta-dēva-va(bra)hmadāya-ratitō-bhyaṁtara-sidhyā(dāhyā) bhūmi-cchhōdram-
(dra)-vyā(uyā)ṇa Śaka-nripa-kāl-ātita-
61 sarivatsara-ātēshu saptaṣu dvichatvāri(m*)dā(sa)d-adhikēshu 742 Ashāḍha-
suddh-āṣṭamyaṁ dakuhiṇya-
62 na-sarikrāntau maha(hā)-pactvaṇi Gaṅgā-Jāhnavī-iva¹ pavitratīṭa-satraya(yā) śimul-
Asagavvā-bhaṭṭārīka-

Third Plate

- 63 yā vijñaptā(m*) anātvā nṛpina[^{dy}-n*]dāk-ātīkarggēṣa(ha) va(ba)li-chaṇu-vāṇvadav-agnī-
hōtr-ātīkū-pācha-mahā-yaṇa-kṛi(kṛiy)-ō-
64 taurpāḍīthā(m*) pratipādītā yataḥ [a*]jy-ōchitayā va(bra)hmadāya-siddhyā bhūmija-
tō bhōga(ja)yataḥ kṛishatō(karishataḥ) karishā-
65 yataḥ pratidīkātō yā na kēn-āpi paripattha(ōtha)nā kāryyā [i*] tath-āgōmī-bhadrā-nripati-
bhū[^h](bhūir-aṁsa(sna)d-vamēva-
66 vatyaiṇya[^{ir}-vā śānāya(m*)] bhūmi-dāna-phalam-avētyā vālyut-bhābhya(ay-a)śūty-aivara-
yānī tṛip-āgta-lagna-jula-vi-
67 nū-pam(cham)phalam [vritam-ākalayya eva-dāya-mi(nī)rvit(āz)shō-yaṁ-samad-dāyō-
mumantavyaḥ] pratipālayi-
68 tavya-cha [i*] yā-oh-ājāna-timira-paṭal-ārīta-matir-āchobhinda(yā)ā-āchobhinda-
mānakam vāṇmōdita-ā-
69 pañchabhū[^h](bhūir-mahāpātaka-oh-ōpapatākē(kūp)-cha mahayaktā[^h*)] ayā-ny-uktam
cha bhagavata-Vēda[^hvyājēna-
70 Vyāḥna [Shashī-chaṇu-mahānā] avargē tath[^h](kati)bhūmadā[^h*)] āchobhinda[^h*)] ch-ānu-
mōtā cha tēn[^h](tāny-ōva narakē-
71 vāṣṭa [26*] Vindhy-ā-vishv-ātōyān[^h*)] āshka-bōjara-vāṇaḥ [i*] kṛishṇa(chp-dhaya
bī-jayantō bhūmi-dā-
72 nakh-larantī yō [27*] Agnē-aparyam prathamam avargantō bhūir-vvāishṇavi sūrya-sūta-
cha gāvaḥ [i*]
73 śka-traya[^h*)] tēna bhavōdri(d-dhī) datam(itam) yā kīochanam pāṭh cha mahā cha
dadyā[^h*)] [28*] Va(Ba)huhir-vvāṇdhā-
74 bhūktā rajātā² Sagar-ādibhū[^h*)] yasya yasya yātō bhūmī-dāya tasya tadā phalam[^h*)]
[29*] Yān-cha dā-
75 itām purā māndira[^h*)] dānām dharmāya yajaskarōṇi [i*] nirmālya-vānta-pratimān
tāt(nī) kō-
76 tā(nā)ma sūdhuh pūnar-ādadhāt[^h*)] [30*] Sca-dattam(itān) para-dattam(itān) vā
yatān[^h*)] rakshya(kāna) nārādhipaḥ(ja) [i*] mahā-
77 m-mahi[^h*)] bhūmīn[^h*)] vishvā[^h*)] dānā[^h*)] ch-āchā[^h*)] yō-nupālana[^h*)] [31*] Iti kamala-
dā-ān[^h*)] vīnd[^h*)] tōlam[^h*)] vīyama-
78 mahintya manushya [vritam-cha [i*] vīnd[^h*)] mānōbhir-ātāna-lasit[^h*)] (nā)ir-ena bī purusha-
śips[^h*)] pāṭh-āritā-
79 yō vīd[^h*)] [32*] Likhitam³ dāna-mayā bhūktu-Budh[^h*)] (dōṣa) itī Śakkaragaya-sūnā
paramōvār-ā-
80 [haya bī]

¹ [Read Gaṅgā-Jāhnavī-ivaṁ-iva.—Ed.]² Read vājāṇik.³ There is again in the latter case here.

SEAL



SEAL ENLARGED

was born king Utpalarāja who had king Aranyarāja as his son. After the latter, came the victorious king Krishnarāja who was the very image of his father (Aranyarāja).

Krishnarāja's son Dharaṇṭavarsha succeeded to the throne after him. The latter was succeeded by his two sons Dhūrbhata and Mahipāla¹ who perhaps divided the kingdom and ruled in their respective territories (verse 3). Thereafter Dhanthūka, the son of Mahipāla, ruled over his own territory after driving away all his enemies (verse 4). Dhanthūka had three sons, viz. Pūrnapāla, Dantivarman and Krishnadēva, who ruled one after the other (verse 5).² Dantivarman's son was Yōgarāja, the conqueror of the earth, and Krishnadēva's son was Kākaladēva (verse 6). The son of Yōgarāja was Rāmadēva who was a terror in the battle-field while that of Kākaladēva was king Vikramasinha (verse 7). The son of Rāmadēva was king Yaśodhavalā who crushed in battle Ballāla, the king of Mālava (verse 8).³ His son Dhāravarsha, the lord of Arbuda (Ābu), was an ornament of the Paramāra family and was the foremost among kings. He was well-versed in the Śāstras and clever in the use of weapons. He was a man of dominating personality and the influence of his virtuous life on his subjects, whom he had won over by love, was considerable (verse 9). He put to rout the brave soldiers of Mālava with a volley of his arrows on the bank of river Parṇā; but, in the meantime, Vikramasinha's son Rāgasinha captured the territory of his father (verse 10).⁴ Then Dhāravarsha, having pleased his master by means of his wisdom, devotion and valour, got back his own kingdom through his (i.e. his master's) favour (verse 11).⁵ He had a wife named Rājyātri (12)⁶ of the Chāhāna (Chauhān) family, who was the daughter of the illustrious Kēlhapadēva.⁷

¹ Ojha wrongly considers Dhūrbhata to be a second name of Mahipāla (op. cit., pp. 193, 203).

² Pūrnapāla and Dantivarman ruled for a short time one after the other. It appears that the former had no son. But, although Dantivarman had a son, the throne was occupied by his younger brother Krishnadēva. Thus Yōgarāja and Rāmadēva, respectively the son and grandson of Dantivarman, were deprived of their right of succession, and the kingdom passed on to Kākaladēva, the son of Krishnadēva.

³ From Kākaladēva, his son Vikramasinha inherited the throne. But Vikramasinha was taken captive, in a battle, by the Sūlenki king Kumārapāla of Surashtra (Gujarāt) who installed Yaśodhavalā, the son of Rāmadēva and nephew of Vikramasinha, on the throne of Ābu.

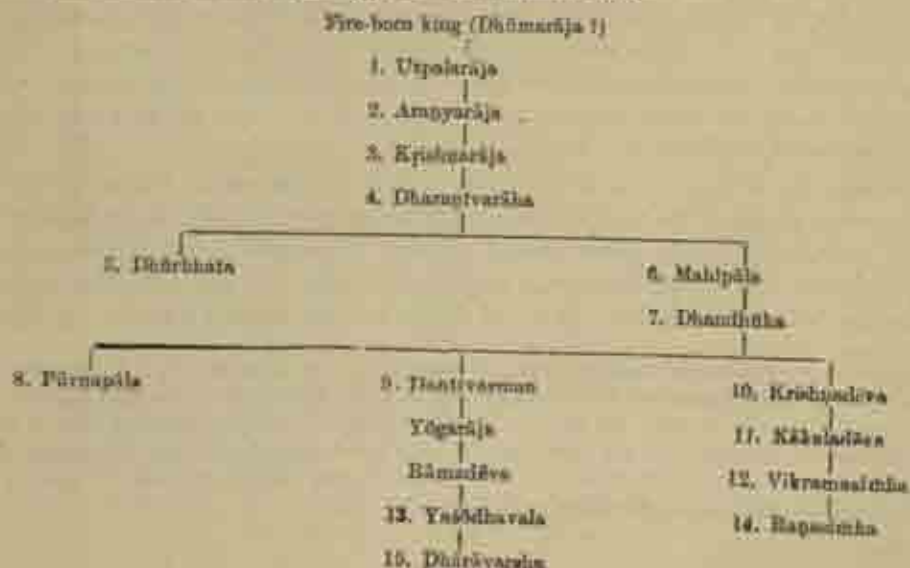
⁴ It appears that, when Dhāravarsha was engaged in a battle with the Mālavas, Rāgasinha captured the territory of his father Vikramasinha, which had been given to Yaśodhavalā, the father of Dhāravarsha, by Kumārapāla.

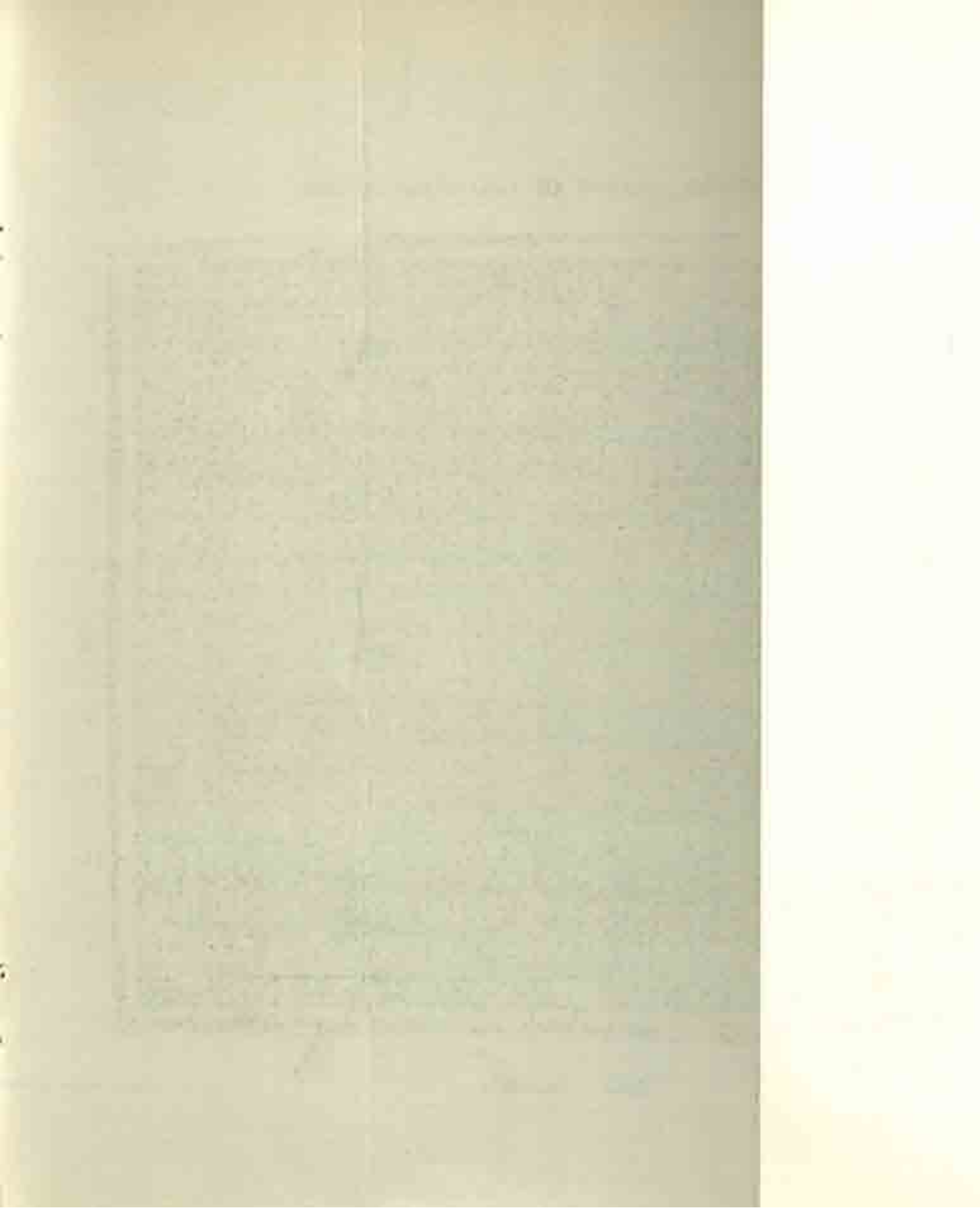
⁵ Dhāravarsha's master was the king of Gujarāt.

⁶ [The name of the queen is uncertain. See below, p. 138, note 1. The present charter seems to have been issued by Dhāravarsha.—Ed.]

⁷ After this, the record is lost in the missing plate or plates. For a brief history of the Paramāras, see Ojha, op. cit., pp. 190 ff. Ojha (op. cit., p. 198) states that Dhāravarsha married Sringradēvi and Gighūdevī, the daughters of the Chauhān king Kēlhapā of Nāgola.

The inscription affords the following genealogy of the Paramāras of Ābu :—





FRAGMENTARY GRANT OF PARAMARAS OF ABU

2 श्रीमान् च गौरीगिरिनामिदं ध
 2 श्रीमान् च गौरीगिरिनामिदं ध
 4 श्रीमान् च गौरीगिरिनामिदं ध
 4 श्रीमान् च गौरीगिरिनामिदं ध
 6 श्रीमान् च गौरीगिरिनामिदं ध
 6 श्रीमान् च गौरीगिरिनामिदं ध
 8 श्रीमान् च गौरीगिरिनामिदं ध
 8 श्रीमान् च गौरीगिरिनामिदं ध
 10 श्रीमान् च गौरीगिरिनामिदं ध
 10 श्रीमान् च गौरीगिरिनामिदं ध
 12 श्रीमान् च गौरीगिरिनामिदं ध
 12 श्रीमान् च गौरीगिरिनामिदं ध
 14 श्रीमान् च गौरीगिरिनामिदं ध
 14 श्रीमान् च गौरीगिरिनामिदं ध
 16 श्रीमान् च गौरीगिरिनामिदं ध
 16 श्रीमान् च गौरीगिरिनामिदं ध
 18 श्रीमान् च गौरीगिरिनामिदं ध
 18 श्रीमान् च गौरीगिरिनामिदं ध

TEXT¹

[Metres : verses 1, 3-8 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verses 2, 9 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 10 *Indravajrā*.]

- 1 ॐ ॥ देवः पायात् स वः श्रीमान् शृंगारी गिरिजाप्रियः । य-
- 2 स्प गंगा जटाजूटे मालतीमालिकायते ॥ १ [॥*] श्रीमच्छ्रेष्ठ(ष्ठ)वसिष्ठ(ष्ठ)कु-
- 3 ङ्कृतभुक्(गु)ग्मार्तु(वृ)दे घोभवत्(द) भपालः परमार इत्यभिधया गादे(घे)य-
- 4 दर्पापहः । तद्विश्वोत्पलराजभूतिसुतो योग्यराजो नृपस्तन्मूर्तेरव-
- 5 तीर्णवान् क्षितिपतिः श्रीकृष्णराजो जयौ ॥ २ [॥*] श्रीधरणीवराहोभूत्प्रभू-
- 6 भूमेस्तदंगजः । श्रीधर्मदमहीपालो तत्सुनी(ती) दधतुर्मही(हीम्) ॥ ३ [॥*]
श्रीध(ध)धुका(को)
- 7 धराधीशो महीपालतनूद्भवः(वः) । निःसारं वैरिवर्गं यश्चक्रे राज्यं
[स्वमं]डले ॥ ४ [॥*]
- 8 तत्सुतः पूर्णपालोभूदतिवर्मा द्वितीयकः । तृतीयः कृष्णदेवोभूद्राज्यं चक्रुः क-
- 9 मेण ते ॥ ५ [॥*] ५ [॥*] दन्तिवर्माम्बजः श्रीमान् योगराजो जगज्जयौ । राजा
काकलदे(वो*) येत्(यः)
- 10 कृष्णदेवतनूद्भवः ॥ ६ [॥*] ६ [॥*] योगराजंगणभूतो रामदेवो रणोत्कटः । जातः
काकलदे-
- 11 त्रिंशद्विक्रमसिंहः धर्माधिपः ॥ ७ [॥*] ७ [॥*] रामदेवतनोर्जातः श्रीयशोवर्धनो नृपः ।
येन मा-
- 12 नवभूपालो व(व)ल्लालो दक्षितो रणे ॥ ८ [॥*] ८ [॥*] तत्सुतः परमारवंशतिजकः
क्षोणीभू-
- 13 जामघनीः शास्त्रास्त्रादिकलाकलापकुशलो लब्धा(ब्धा)नुरागो जने । श्रीमान्तु(वृ)दभूमि-
- 14 मंडलपतिः प्रौढप्रतापान्ति(न्वि)तो धारावर्षतरेश्वरोभवदसौ पुष्पप्रभावोत्कटः
॥ ९ [॥*] ९ [॥*]
- 15 पणोतटे मालविकप्रवीरान् परान्तु(ङ्मु)खान् यः कृतवान् शरीधेः(धैः) । क्षोणी
पित(तु)-

- 16 विक्रमभिं(सि)हभू(सु)नूले(लं)ले(भे)न्तरा श्रीरणसिंहदेवः ।[1*] १० [11*] प्रसाद्य स
 प्व(प्र)भोः पारा(दा)न्
- 17 बु(बु)द्धिभक्तिपराक्रमैः । तत्प्रसादा[लु]नः प्राप धारावर्षो] निजां मही(हीम्)
 ॥ ११ [11*]
- 18 तस्य भार्या चाहमानकुलवंशजा श्रीकेल्हणदेव[दु]हिता राज्यश्री(?)¹
- 19

¹ [The last four letters of the line look like *rajāśrīmat*. The intended reading may have been *rajāśrīmat*.—Ed.]

² This line is a later addition having little to do with the inscription in lines 1-18.

No. 17—MANDHATA PLATES OF PARAMARA JAYASIMHA-JAYAVARMAN,
V. S. 1331

(1 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

In November 1939, Mr. R. B. Deshpande of Dhār, formerly Assistant Engineer of the old Dhār State in Central India and in charge of the archaeological monuments at Māñḍ, learnt from a Brāhmin named Subrahmanya Shastri about the existence of a new copper-plate inscription in the possession of Rao Sahab Sobhag Singhji, the then Rao of Māñḍhātā. The inscription is said to have been discovered in 1927 at Māñḍhātā on the southern Bank of the Narmadā, when some people were clearing the ground near the Kāl-Vivēkātā temple for the Kārtikī Mōḍ. Mr. Deshpande visited Māñḍhātā in the company of Shastri and succeeded in examining the inscription through the kindness and courtesy of the Rao Sahab. The plates, which were thoroughly covered with verdigris at the time of their discovery, were cleaned and Mr. Deshpande took a few sets of impressions of the writing. The inscription was then studied by Pandit Babu Shastri of Dhār and his transcript with a Hindi translation was published in the monthly journal called *Uśā*, published by the Bhōj Prākāśan, Dhār, in its issues for January-February 1953, p. 46; March 1953, p. 14; November 1953, p. 44; December 1953, p. 11; February 1954, p. 28; March 1954, p. 9; August 1954, pp. 27-28; and October-November 1954, pp. 41-42. Mr. Deshpande also published an introductory note in English on the importance of the inscription in the same journal in its issues for November 1953, p. 43, and December 1953, pp. 29-31.

About the beginning of 1955 I received information about the existence of the inscription and tried to secure it on loan for examination from the Rao Sahab of Māñḍhātā. But I was informed that the record was then being examined by Dr. H. V. Trivedi, Curator of the Indore Museum. Failing to secure the original plates, I then tried to secure a set of its impressions from Mr. R. B. Deshpande. This attempt was luckily successful and about the middle of the year I received one set of inked impressions of the record from Mr. Deshpande and copies of the issues of the *Uśā*, containing the articles of Pandit Babu Shastri and Mr. Deshpande, from Mr. Y. W. Wakanekar of Dhār, formerly Lecturer in Geography in the Government College, Dhār. The impressions were photographed in my office and returned to Mr. Deshpande. In this connection I received very considerable help from Mr. N. S. Parasdas of Dhār, formerly Principal of the Government College, Mandasaur.

Since, however, the impressions received from Mr. Deshpande were not quite satisfactory, I requested Dr. Trivedi to send me either the original plates on loan or a set of good impressions of the inscription. I also requested him to publish the record in the *Epigraphia Indica*. Unfortunately nothing was received from Dr. Trivedi till the beginning of the year 1957 and I took up the photographs of Mr. Deshpande's impressions for study in April 1957. On examination it was found that the inscription throws welcome light on the history of the Paramāras of Māḍva, although Pandit Babu Shastri's transcript is not free from inaccuracies and his translation is full of errors while Mr. Deshpande's views on the importance and interpretation of the record are all misconceived. The inscription is edited here from the photographs referred to above.

The set consists of four plates, each measuring about 17 inches in length, 13 inches in height and between $\frac{1}{8}$ and $\frac{3}{16}$ inch in thickness. Their weight has not been recorded. The edges of the plates were raised to the thickness of about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch for the protection of the writing. The

four plates are held together by two copper rings passing through holes made in them. While the first plate has writing only on the inner side, the other three plates bear inscription on both obverse and reverse. In the left side of the empty space beneath the writing on the reverse of the last plate, the figure of **Garuda**, the royal emblem of the Paramāras, is engraved as in so many other Paramāra charters.¹ There are altogether 140 lines of writing in the inscription and they are distributed on the inscribed faces of the plates in the following order: I—21 lines: IIA—22 lines: IIB—23 lines: IIIA—23 lines: IIIB—23 lines: IVA—23 lines: IVB—5 lines.

The characters of the inscription are Nāgarī. Its language is Sanskrit. The record is written in a mixture of prose and verse. Its palaeography and orthography do not call for any special remark. The letter *ḥ* is indicated by the sign for *o*. There is a general tendency to represent class nasals by *anuvāra*. Final *m* is often wrongly changed to *anuvāra* at the end of the second and fourth feet of verses, although it is generally used correctly at the end of sentences in the prose part of the document. The date of the charter is quoted in words in lines 91-92 as Friday, Maitra(Amrādhā)-nakṣatra, Bhādrapada-sukl 7 in the year (Vikrama Samvat) 1331 called **Pramāthin** (according to the Northern Cycle of Jupiter). The details of the date correspond regularly to those of the 10th of August in the year 1274 A. D.

The object of the document is to record a grant of land made by **Siddhanta Anayasimhadāva** while he was staying at Maṇḍapa-durga, with the permission of the Paramāra king Jayavarman alias **Jayasimha**, described as the lord of **Dhārā**, after having worshipped the husband of Pārvatī, i.e. the god Śiva. Anayasimha's order in this respect was addressed to the officials as well as the villagers including Brāhmanas and Pattakīlas (i.e. Patois) who were associated with the following localities: (1) Kumbhaḍānda-grāma in Vardhanapura-pratiṣṭhāgarāṇaka, (2) Vālaṇḍa-grāma in the same *Pratiṣṭhāgarāṇaka* (i.e. Pargana), (3) Vaghāḍī-grāma in Saptāśtī-pratiṣṭhāgarāṇaka, and (4) Nāṭiyā-grāma in Nāgadaka-pratiṣṭhāgarāṇaka. It is stated that Anayasimha, together with his four sons named Kamalasimha, Dhārasimha, Jaitrasimha and Padmasimha, granted the said four villages in favour of a number of Brāhmanas residing in the Brāhmapurī (i.e. Brāhmana settlement) at Māndhātī and belonging to various *gōtras* and *śikhās*, whose families hailed from several localities. It is interesting to note that the four villages were divided into 14 parts, each called a *paṭa* and that, while 14 of these *paṭas* were granted to the 14 Brāhmana donees, 2 *paṭas* were made over by Anayasimha to his own self. It may be that Anayasimha purchased the four villages from the Paramāra king for the purpose of creating a rent-free holding to be granted in favour of Brāhmanas, although he was allowed to retain a small part of the land for himself. There are other instances of this kind in inscriptions.²

The donees mentioned in the list are the following: (1) Dī Dīkṣita) Padmanābhaśarmaṇ, son of Avasthita Viśvādharasarmaṇ and grandson of Cha(Chaturvēdin) Kamalādharaśarmaṇ of the Gautama *gōtra*, the Āṅgīrasa, Anvathyā and Gautama *pravara* and the Rīgvēda *śikhā* and hailing from Takārī; (2) Cha(Chaturvēdin) Mādharasarmaṇ, brother of No. 1; (3) Pam(Paṇḍita) Śrīkaṭhaśarmaṇ, son of Pañchapi(pāthin) Mītra Uddharasarmaṇ and grandson of Mītra Dharmadharaśarmaṇ of the Bhāmalvāja *gōtra*, the Āṅgīrasa, Bārhaspatya and Bhāradvāja *pravara* and the Rīgvēda *śikhā* and hailing from Takārī; (4) Dev(Divēdin) Gōvardhanasarmaṇ, son of Pam(Paṇḍita) Vidyānathasarmaṇ and grandson of Cha(Chaturvēdin) Bhūpatīśarmaṇ of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, the Kāśyapa, Āvatsara and Naidhruva *pravara* and the Rīgvēda *śikhā* and

¹ Cf. above, Vol. IX, Plate facing p. 111.

² See *IHQ*, Vol. XXIII, p. 236. The Band plates of Prithvīśāhī appear to offer another instance (cf. above, Vol. XXIX, p. 211 and note 1), but the expression *deva-pati* (i.e. the person creating a rent-free holding with the approval of the royal authority) has been misunderstood by the editor of the inscriptions.

hailing from Lakhsapura : (5) Di(Dikshita) Vamsasarma, son of Di^o Dēvasarma and grandson of Di^o Śrivasasarma of the Chandratreya *gōtra*, the Ātreya, Gāvishtira and Pārvātitha *pravara*s and the Mādhyandina *sākhā* and hailing from Tōlāpura : (6) Avasth(Avasathin) Anantāsarma, son of Sādhārāsarma and grandson of Balabhadrasarma of the Vāśiṣṭha *gōtra*, the Vāśiṣṭha, Śakṛya and Pārśārya *pravara*s and the Mādhyandina *sākhā* and hailing from Takāri : (7) Dvi(Dvivēdin) Harisārasarma, son of Dvi^o Sāhasarma and grandson of Śukla Pradyumnasarma of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, the Āgiraśa, Bārhaspatya and Bhāradvāja *pravara*s and the Mādhyandina *sākhā* and hailing from Takāri : (8) Dvi(Dvivēdin) Mahādēvasarma, son of Upā(Upādhyāya) Vaijāsarma and grandson of Upā^o Dēvasarma of the Kātyāya *gōtra*, the Kātyāya, Āvātāra and Nandhrya *pravara*s and the Mādhyandina *sākhā* and hailing from Tēti : (9) Dvi(Dvivēdin) Haridēvasarma, son of Ava(Avasathin) Āladēvasarma and grandson of Pā(Pāthin) Kāṭhāsarma of the Kātyāyana *gōtra*, the Viśvāmītra, Kātya and Kāṭhā(Āṭhā) *pravara*s and the Mādhyandina *sākhā* and hailing from Takāri : (10) Dvi(Dvivēdin) Anantāsarma, son of Ava(Avasathin) Vāṅkādēvasarma and grandson of Dvi^o Gaṇadhārasarma of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, the Āgiraśa, Bārhaspatya and Bhāradvāja *pravara*s and the Mādhyandina *sākhā* and hailing from Takāri : (11) Pā(Pāthin) Yōgēśvarasarma, son of Pā^o Atrikarma and grandson of Pā^o Kṛishnasarma of the Ātreya *gōtra*, the Ātreya, Gāvishtira and Pārvātitha *pravara*s and the Mādhyandina *sākhā* and hailing from Takāri : (12) Tri(Trivēdin) Nārāyaṇasarma, son of Tri^o Dāmodarasarma and grandson of Tri^o Samuddharasarma of the Vāśiṣṭha *gōtra*, the Vāśiṣṭha, Abharadvāsa and Indrapramada *pravara*s and the Kaṭhuma *sākhā* and hailing from Takāri : (13) Tri(Trivēdin) Puruṣāsarma, son of Cha(Chaturvēdin) Lakṣmīdhārasarma and grandson of Cha^o Vāṇkādēvasarma of the Śivara *gōtra*, the Bhārgava, Chyavana, Āpnavad, Aurva and Jāmadāgnya *pravara*s and the Kaṭhuma *sākhā* and hailing from Takāri : (14) Tri(Trivēdin) Vāṇasarma, son of Tri^o Mahēśvarasarma and grandson of Tri^o Viśvēśvarasarma of the Śāṇḍilya *gōtra*, the Śāṇḍilya, Āsita and Daivata *pravara*s and the Kaṭhuma *sākhā* and hailing from Takāri : and (15) Śāḍhanika Anayasimhasarma of the Chāhamāna family and Kaṭhatriya community, son of Sā^o Salakhasasimhasarma and grandson of Sā^o Pallagadēvasarma of the Yatsa *gōtra* and the Bhārgava, Chyavana, Āpnavad, Aurva and Jāmadāgnya *pravara*s.

An interesting feature of the list of the donees quoted above is that, in several of the cases, the family names were not still stereotyped in the families since the donee and his father and grandfather have not the same distinctive designation. In one case, Avasthin Vidyādharasarma is stated to have been the son of Chaturvēdin Kamalādhārasarma and the father of Dikṣita Padmanābhāsarma and Chaturvēdin Mādhevasarma. The mention of the *gōtra* of the Kaṭhatriya family of the Chāhamāna is also worth noting. But more interesting seems to be the fact that, while the list enumerates only 14 Brāhmaṇas getting one *paṭa* or share each, along with the Chāhamāna Kaṭhatriya Anayasimha receiving two *paṭas*, line 127 specifically gives the number of donees as '15 Brāhmaṇas'. It is therefore not impossible that the 16 shares in which the 4 gift-villages were divided had been originally planned to be allotted to 16 Brāhmaṇas but that the plan was later modified to the advantage of Anayasimha. Whether this was done with the king's consent or by Anayasimha on his own initiative without his master's knowledge cannot be determined, although the mention of the 15 donees including himself as '16 Brāhmaṇas' looks rather suspicious. Line 122 also refers to the donees of the grant as 'these Brāhmaṇas'.

The fact that Anayasimha is stated to have granted the charter, albeit with the king's permission, points to his power and prestige in the court of the Paramāra king. He is stated to have been staying at Mandapa-durga and is called a *Sāḍhanika*. His immediate ancestors also appear to have enjoyed the same designation. The expression *Sāḍhanika* is the same as Prakrit *Sāḥaṇi*

meaning 'the commander of an army'.¹ An inscription (V. S. 1237)² of a Paramāra chief named Jādava, from Nāga in the old Jodhpur State, uses the same word as *Sāhaga* (cf. the family name *Sāhā*) which has been supposed to indicate 'the master of the royal stables'. In *Mērutadga's* *Pratibandhachintāmaṇi* the expression *Mahāsāhagika* is used in the sense of a chieftain or military governor.³

We have seen that the list of donors discussed above mentions 83rd Salakhaprasiddhavarman and 83rd Pallagadēvavarman respectively as the father and grandfather of Chāhamāna Anayāsiddha. Verses 57-66 (lines 73-86) of the introductory part of the inscription offer further information about this Chāhamāna family owing allegiance to the Paramāras. Verses 75-76 speak of *Rāṣṭra* (i.e. *Rāṣṭra* from Sanskrit *Rāja-putra*) Rāṣṭra and his son Pallagadēva (respectively the great-grandfather and grandfather of Anayāsiddha) and of the power of their arms. The master of Pallagadēva is vaguely referred to without disclosing his name, although he must have been the contemporary Paramāra king. Verse 59 mentions Pallagadēva's son Salakhaprasiddha who is stated to have assisted Arjunadēva in his battles. This Arjunadēva is no doubt the Paramāra king Arjunavarman whose known dates are V. S. 1267 (1211 A. D.), 1270 (1213 A. D.) and 1272 (1215 A. D.).⁴ It is not impossible that the said Chāhamāna chief is identical with *Rāṣṭra* Salakhaga mentioned as the *Mahāsāhagika* (i.e. *Mahāsāhagika-grahika*) in Arjunavarman's Bhupal plates (Set 21).⁵ A very interesting instance of military assistance rendered by Salakhaprasiddha to the Paramāra king is offered by verse 80. It is stated that the Chāhamāna leader of Paramāra forces defeated the army of *Sindhapadēva*, no doubt the Yādava king of that name who ruled i.e. 1236-47 A. D., and captured seven plumes (*chāmara*) which appear to have been fitted with the turban from the general *Sāgaya-rāṣaka*, apparently a leader of *Sindhapadēva's* forces, after having pulled the general down from his horse which was in the middle of a contingent. This feat of valour pleased both *Sinhā* and *Arjuna* (i.e. Paramāra Arjunavarman) who shook their heads in appreciation.

The Bahal inscription⁶ of Yādava *Sinhaga* and the Paithan plates⁷ of his great-grandson Rāmachandra (c. 1271-1310 A. D.) refer to *Sinhaga's* victory over *Arjuna* who is none other than the Paramāra king Arjunavarman of Malwa. The *Hammīramadamarāṇa* relates how Chāhamāna *Sindhurāja*, brother of Arjunavarman's feudatory *Sinhā* of *Lāṣadēva*, was killed by Yādava *Sinhaga*.⁸ This *Sinhā* of *Lāṣa* seems to be mentioned as appreciating the valour of Chāhamāna Salakhaga in verse 60 of our inscription, referred to above. The stanza, therefore, probably refers to the Yādava invasion of *Lāṣa* which formed a part of the dominions of Arjunavarman. *Sāgaya-rāṣaka*, who was a leader of the Yādava army and was defeated by the Chāhamāna general of the Paramāra king, may be the same as the cavalry officer *Sāga* mentioned in a Yādava inscription⁹ of Śaka 1119 (1197 A. D.).

¹ H. T. Seth, *Pāṇinīyānaśāstra*, x.v.

² Bhanderkar's List, No. 205.

³ Cf. Ganguly, *History of the Paramāras of Malwa*, p. 212. *Mahāsāhagika* seems to be the same as *Pajjapad* *Asiddhigat* of some records (cf. A.R. Ep., 1923-24, p. 6). For *Sāhaga* or *Sāhā* in other inscriptions, see also loc. cit.; Kundanar, *Inscriptions of Northern Rajasthan and Kashmir*, p. 129, No. 16, etc.

⁴ Bhanderkar's List, Nos. 457, 490 and 496.

⁵ J.A.S., Vol. VII, pp. 25 ff. Salakhaga mentioned in the Bhupal plates is generally identified with the homonymous father of the Jain poet *Asiddhaka* author of the *Triśaṅkhamukhi* and various other works and a protégé of Arjunavarman and his successors (cf. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, p. 86; Ganguly, op. cit., p. 202).

⁶ Above, Vol. III, pp. 115 ff. Cf. Hemadri's *Pratishākhya* (*Rash. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part B, p. 272, verse 43).

⁷ *Ibid.* *Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 316, text line 71.

⁸ Ganguly, op. cit., pp. 208, 212-13. Cf. *Hammīramadamarāṇa*, Aśka I.

⁹ See Kundanar, op. cit., p. 146, No. 17.

The following six stanzas (verses 61-66) describe the activities of Anayasimha, the son of Salakhana and the donor of the grant. He is stated to have built a temple for the god Śiva and excavated a tank at Dēvapālapura. This locality seems to have been named after the Paramāra king Dēvapāla who succeeded Arjunavarman. Another temple was built by him at Śikāpura for the goddess Ambikā. This locality may have been the headquarters of the Pargana called Śikāpura-pratijāgarauka which is mentioned in the Piplianagar plates of Arjunavarman. Anayasimha also built a temple for the god Jambukēśvara Śiva in the vicinity of the Ōṣkāra (i.e. Ōṣkēśvara) temple and excavated a tank near the former. In the fort of Maṇḍapa, he excavated a tank and granted in favour of Brāhmaṇas, with the king's permission, a *pari* or township having a surrounding wall, a gate, a big shrine and a pond and containing 16 temples endowed with golden jars [forming their pinnacles]. This *pari* is apparently the Brahmāpari at Maṇḍapa-durga, mentioned as the habitation of the Brāhmaṇa donors of the grant under discussion and already referred to above. Similar pious works were also done by Anayasimha at Māndhātṛ-durga.

The earlier part of the inscription before the introduction of the feudatory family of the Chāhamānas, to which the donor Anayasimha belonged, may be divided into two sections, the first containing invocation to various deities and the second the genealogy of the Imperial Paramāras of Malwa. The first section begins with the *Prayer* and a passage in prose in adoration to Dharma described as *puruṣārtha-chāyāman*. The same invocation is found in several other grants of the Paramāra kings.¹ The above is followed by eleven stanzas (verses 1-11) in adoration of the following deities: 'the lord of sacrifices', i.e. the Moon-god (verse 1) who is similarly invoked at the beginning of some other Paramāra charters; Rāma, i.e. Parāśurāma (verse 2); Rāma, i.e. Rāma Dāśarathi (verse 3); Paradrūh, i.e. Śiva (verse 4); Śarva, having eight forms, i.e. Śiva (verse 5); Ōṣkāra (verse 6), identical with Paśupati or Śiva, and having his temple on the bank of the Rōvā or Narmadā (verse 7); the description of the shrine near the junction of the Rōvā and the Kāvēri being continued in the following stanza (verse 8); Kaṭabhaṇi or Viṣṇu in his Boar incarnation (verse 9); and Pīṭāmaha, i.e. Brahman (verse 11).

The said section is followed by the mythical account of the origin of the Paramāra dynasty. Verse 12 relates how the god Brahman created out of his own mind the Seven Sages, one of whom was Vasishtha. The next stanza (verse 13) refers to the quarrel between Vasishtha and Kaṇṇika, i.e. Viśvāmitra, wellknown from the epics and Purāṇas, while verse 14 states how Vasishtha created out of his sacrificial fire-pit a hero named Paramāra for punishing his foes (i.e. Viśvāmitra's forces) who were the enemies of Dharma. Verse 15 says that this Paramāra was the progenitor of a royal family [bearing his name]. This mythical account of the origin of the Paramāras is first noticed in records of the eleventh century² when it seems to have been fabricated. The myth has been interpreted to mean that the Paramāras were Hinduised foreigners of the Hūṇa-Gurjara stock.³ The theory is of course not disproved by the evidence of the Harola plates,⁴ according to which Bappatirāja (Vāṅpatirāja-1) was descended from the family of the Bhāṭṭakṛtṛa king Akāṣavarsha Kṛishṇa III (839-66 A.D.), since this apparently refers to Bappatirāja's relations with the Bhāṭṭakṛtṛa house on his mother's side as otherwise, if the Paramāras were direct des-

¹ JASB, Vol. V, 1836, pp. 577-82.

² Cf. above, Vol. IX, pp. 108 (text line 1), 120 (text line 1).

³ Ibid., pp. 108 (text lines 1-2, verse 1), 120 (text lines 1-2, verse 1).

⁴ Cf. above, Vol. XIV, pp. 298 ff.; *Narmadastambhacharita*, XI, 64 ff.

⁵ *Tol. Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, ed. Crooke, Vol. I, pp. 112 ff.; Cunningham, *ASB*, Vol. II, pp. 254 ff., etc.

⁶ Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 239-40; cf. Ray, *op. cit.*, pp. 841-42.

endants of the Rāshtrakūṭa emperors, the Paramāra rulers would have continued to mention the fact even in their later records.

The above account of the mythical origin of the Paramāra family is followed by a long list of Paramāra kings ending with the ruler, during whose reign the charter under study was issued. There are altogether 24 names in this section, the first 9 of which are unhistorical. These imaginary names are: Kamapāladhara, king of Dhārā (verse 16); his son Dhūmarāja whose name was justified by the smoke arising from the cities of his enemies that were burnt by him (verses 17-18); his son Divasamhapaḥa (verse 19); his son Kanakasimha (verse 20); his son Śrīharsha (verse 20a); Jagaddēva king of Mālava (verses 21-22); Sthirakāya (verse 23); Vākari, lord of Dhārā (verse 24); and his son Vīrasimha (verse 25). These names forming a group are introduced in the genealogy of the Imperial Paramāras for the first time in the present record. Of the nine names, Dhūmarāja seems to have been adopted from the genealogy of the Paramāras of Arjunda¹ while Vīrasimha, although he is called the son of an imaginary Vākari, may be a modification of the name of Vairisimha who was the father of Vākpati I mentioned in our inscription in the following stanza (verse 26). A king named Jagaddēva no doubt flourished in the family, but at a much later date than the period indicated by our inscription.² There was no Śrīharsha in the family, who was the son and successor of a king named Kanakasimha.³ It will be seen that imagination and confusion have both played a part in the genealogy of the Imperial Paramāras quoted above from the inscription under study.

Verses 26-56 give the names of 15 Paramāra rulers of the Imperial house, although some of the kings have been omitted. Vākpatirāja is mentioned in verse 26 as famous for his *vārtas* in the Prakrit language; but the well known literary merits of his great-grandson Muḥja (Vākpati II) who is separately mentioned in verses 28-29 of our record, appear to be reflected in this statement. Verse 27 mentions Sīyā (i.e. Sīyaka alias Śrī-Harsha, c. 948-74 A.D.) who was the grandson of Vākpati, and omits Vākpati's son Vairisimha alias Vajraja. The next two stanzas (verses 28-29) describe Muḥja (who was the son and successor of Sīyaka and ruled in c. 974-95 A.D.) without specifically mentioning his relations with Sīyā, while verses 30-31 mention Sindhurāja (who was the brother and successor of Muḥja and ruled in c. 995-1010 A.D.) similarly without stating his relations with Muḥja. The following four stanzas (verses 32-35) describe the achievements of Bhōja (c. 1010-55 A.D.), son of Sindhurāja, in vague terms. Verse 36 passes over Bhōja's son and successor Jayasimha (c. 1055-60 A.D.) and mentions Udayāditya (c. 1060-90 A.D.) who appears to have been a distant cousin of Bhōja. Udayāditya is stated to have recovered the kingdom from the Gūjara king. This reference to the Gūjara occupation of Malwa no doubt alludes to the Paramāra king's struggle with the Chaulukyas of Gujaraṭ. According to the *Ras Mālā*, supported by the *Prabandhaśāntīnāṃpī*, Kalachuri Karka (c. 1041-72 A.D.) of Dāhala and Chaulukya Bhūma (c. 1023-64 A.D.) of Gujaraṭ jointly attacked king Bhōja of Ujjayīni, defeated and killed him and destroyed the city of Dhārā.⁴ The references may also be to Udayāditya's struggle with Chaulukya Karka I (c. 1004-91 A.D.), son of Bhūma I. While a Chitorgarh inscription⁵ of

¹ See above, pp. 133 ff.

² Jagaddēva alias Lakshmadēva was a son of Udayāditya (known dates between V.S. 1116=1060 A.D. and V.S. 1143=1087 A.D.) and his known date is V.S. 1151 (1097 A.D.) when, according to a hardie tradition, he offered his head to the goddess Kālī (cf. Bhattacharya's *Ind.* p. 397).

³ The Paramāra king Sīyaka alias Śrī-Harsha (known dates between V.S. 1008=949 A.D. and V.S. 1025=972 A.D.) succeeded his father Vairisimha alias Vajraja (loc. cit.) and he is apparently mentioned as Sīyā in verse 27 of our inscription.

⁴ See Ray, op. cit., pp. 777-78.

⁵ Above, Vol. XX, p. 309, Nos. 15-22.

Kumārāpāla's time merely credits Karka I with a victory over the Mālavas at the Sūlakūpa pass, the *Prakāśajarīya*, *Sukṛitasamśṛitā* and *Saṁskṛitā* refer to his conquest of the Mālava country.¹ An inscription² in the Nagpur Museum refers to Udayāditya's conquest of the earth (i.e. the Paramāra kingdom) which had been occupied, jointly with the Karkāṭas, by Karka who is identified by some scholars with Chaulukya Karka I but by others with the Kalachuri king of Dhillala bearing the same name.³

Verses 36-37 speak of Naravarman (c. 1101-1135 A.D.), son of Udayāditya, but pass over his elder brother Lakshmidēva or Jagaddēva (c. 1090-1101 A.D.) in silence. The next stanza (verse 39) mentions Yaśovarman (c. 1135-45 A.D.) without specifying the fact that he was the son and successor of Naravarman. Verses 40-41 speak of Ajayavarman, son of Yaśovarman,⁴ while the next two stanzas describe Ajayavarman's son Vindhavarman (verse 42) and grandson Subhavarman (verse 43) without stating the fact that Subhavarman was the son and successor of Vindhavarman. Arjunadēva (i.e. Arjunavarman, known dates between V.S. 1267 and 1270, i.e. 1211-15 A.D.), son of Subhavarman, is mentioned in verses 44-45, in the first of which he is described as devoted to Krishna.

There is a valuable reference to a historical event in verses 46-48 in the description of the next king **Dēvapāla** (known dates between V.S. 1275 and 1299, i.e. 1218-52 A.D.) who is mentioned without specifying his relationship with Arjunavarman. Dēvapāla belonged to a branch of the Paramāra family, being the grandson of Mahākumāra Lakshmiavarman (known date V.S. 1200, i.e. 1144 A.D.) who was a brother of king Ajayavarman of the main line. In the branch line, ruling independently over the region about Bhopal, Indore, Hoshangabad, Khandsa and Nimar, Lakshmiavarman was succeeded as Mahākumāra by his son Harischandra (known dates V.S. 1235-36, i.e. 1179-81 A.D.) whose successor was his son Mahākumāra Udayavarman (known date V.S. 1256, i.e. 1200 A.D.). Dēvapāla was the younger brother and successor of Udayavarman. With Dēvapāla's accession to the throne of Arjunavarman of the main branch of the Paramāra family, the two parts of the Paramāra kingdom became reunited.

Verse 48 states that Dēvapāla killed an *adhipa* (i.e. a king or chief) of the **Mīśchchhā** (i.e. a battle fought near the city of **Bhaillavāmin**). This no doubt refers to the invasion of the city of Bhaillavāmin (modern Bhilsā) by İltutmish (1212-36 A.D.), the Turkish Sultan of Delhi. According to Muslim historians, in 632 A.H. or 1233-34 A.D., İltutmish reduced Gwalior to subjection and turned his arms against Malwa; he captured the fort of Bhilsā where the temple of Bhaillavāmin was demolished and marched into Ujjayini where he destroyed the great temple of the god Mahākālā.⁵ The claim of Dēvapāla in the stanza of our inscription, referred to above, seems to suggest that the Paramāra king succeeded in recovering the city of Bhilsā shortly after its conquest by İltutmish. The Mīśchchhādhipa mentioned in the verse was probably the Muslim governor in whose charge the city was placed by the Sultan. That the Paramāras reconquered Bhilsā is also suggested by the fact that, after half a century, the Khalji Sultans of Delhi had to reconquer the city from the Hindus.⁶

¹ Cf. Ganguly, op. cit., pp. 130-31.

² *Ahimsa*, Vol. II, pp. 185, 192 (verse 32); cf. *Indu*, Vol. I, pp. 233, 234 (verses 21-22).

³ See Ganguly, op. cit., p. 130.

⁴ Some scholars believe that Yaśovarman's elder son named Jayavarman was overthrown by his younger son named Ajayavarman, while others believe that Jayavarman and Ajayavarman were two different names of one and the same king. See Ray, op. cit., pp. 888 ff.; Ganguly, op. cit., pp. 181 ff.

⁵ See Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, Vol. II, 328; *Firdā-i-Firāhi*, Briggs' trans., Vol. I, p. 211; *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Rawley's trans., Vol. I, p. 622.

⁶ *Firdā-i-Firāhi*, op. cit., pp. 303-04.

Dēvapāla's son and successor was Jaitugi (known dates V.S. 1293-1300, i.e. 1236-44 A.D.) mentioned in verse 49. Verses 50-58 describe the Paramāra king during whose rule the charter under discussion was issued. He was the younger brother of Jaitugi, but the relationship between the two is not indicated in our record. It is interesting to note that he is called **Jayavarman** in verses 50 and 56 (as well as in line 87 and verse 72 below) but **Jayasimha** in verses 51-53. This king was so far known under the name Jayavarman (it is doubtful whether the name is Jayasimha in one of the cases) from the following inscriptions of his time: (1) Rahatgarh stone inscription¹ of V.S. 1312 (1256 A.D.); (2) Modi stone inscription² of V.S. 1314 (1258 A.D.), and (3) Māndhātā plates³ of V.S. 1317 (1261 A.D.). The Pathari inscription⁴ of V.S. 1326 (1269 A.D.) belongs to the reign of a Paramāra king named Jayasimha and there is a controversy amongst scholars whether Jayavarman mentioned in the Rahatgarh, Modi and Māndhātā records is identical with Jayasimha of the Pathari inscription.⁵ That a Paramāra king named Jayasimha ruled from Mandapa some time before V.S. 1345 (1289 A.D.) is also suggested by the Balvan inscription⁶ of Chāhamāna Hamra of Rāpāstānīhapura as his father Jaitrasimha who died in V.S. 1339 (1283 A.D.) is stated to have defeated the said king. The present inscription, dated V. S. 1331 (1274 A.D.) and mentioning the Paramāra king by both the names Jayavarman and Jayasimha, shows clearly that scholars like Ganguly who regard Jayasimha of the Pathari inscription as different from Jayavarman of the Rahatgarh, Modi and Māndhātā (V.S. 1317) inscriptions are wrong. Ray's suggestion⁷ that Jaitugi may have also been known by the name Jayasimha is equally wrong since the two brothers, Jaitugi and Jayavarman, could not both of them have enjoyed the common name Jayasimha. The rule of Paramāra Jayasimha-Jayavarman may be assigned to the period 1255-75 A.D.

Verse 52 of our inscription seems to suggest that Jayasimha-Jayavarman was regarded as both a *dashata* (daughter's son) and a *pautra* (son's son) with reference to his succession to the Paramāra throne. This statement seems to throw some light on the controversy whether Dēvapāla of a branch line of the family succeeded Arjunavarman of the main line by overthrowing the latter by violence or because Arjunavarman died without leaving any male heir.⁸ If the stanza in question means to say that Jayasimha-Jayavarman claimed to be a *dashata* of Arjunavarman, Dēvapāla may be regarded as having succeeded Arjunavarman as the latter's son-in-law and heir.

Verse 54 speaks of Jayasimha-Jayavarman's success against the king of **Dakṣhiṇāṭya** lying to the south of the Vindhya. This may refer to his struggle with the Yādava king Rāmanandradeva who, according to his Thana plates⁹ of Śaka 1191 (1272 A.D.), defeated the Mālavas. The Udari stone inscription¹⁰ of the same king, dated Śaka 1198 (1279 A.D.), speaks of his victory over king Arjuna of Mālava, who was apparently the immediate successor of Jayasimha-Jayavarman and may be regarded as Arjunavarman II. The same Paramāra king is also mentioned in the Balvan

¹ Cunningham, *ASR*, Vol. X, p. 31.

² *ASR*, 1905, p. 12; *ibid.*, 1913, p. 56.

³ *Above*, Vol. IX, pp. 117-23.

⁴ Bhanderkar's List, No. 275.

⁵ See *ibid.*, p. 397, and Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 265, for one view, and Ganguly, *op. cit.*, p. 227, for another.

⁶ Bhanderkar's List, No. 623.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 228.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 902.

⁹ *Above*, Vol. XIII, pp. 202-03.

¹⁰ *Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. Mps.* 1929, p. 142.

inscription¹ (V.S. 1345-1288 A.D.) of Chāhamāna Hammira (c. 1283-1301 A.D.) of Rajasthan-bhapura. Hammira is stated to have defeated Arjuna in battle and wrested the glory of Mālava by force.²

According to lines 128 ff., the four villages, having well-defined boundaries, were granted as a permanent endowment together with trees, houses, house-sites, granaries and threshing floors, *tala-bhidyā* (pits) and cow-sheds. The donees' rights included certain taxes payable by the tenants in kind and described as handfuls of vegetables, small measures of oil and russfuls of liquids or grains. They were granted the right over objects grown in the space above the earth and treasures and deposits under the ground as well as over temples, gardens, tanks, step-wells, wells, etc. They were further allowed to enjoy taxes in cash, periodical offerings and the customary share of grains, and also the tax on temporary tenants as well as other incomes including fines. But the donees were not allowed to have any right over any part of the land already in the possession of gods and Brāhmanas. The *Pattakīlas* and villagers were ordered to pay to the donees the usual share of the produce, periodical offerings and taxes in cash as well as to obey their orders. Some of the ordinary imprecatory and benedictory stanzas are quoted in lines 134-38. According to verse 72 in line 139, the writer of the charter was Śrīkaytha who was a courtier of king Jayavarman. The document was engraved by *Rāpakāra* (artisan) Kānhāka who may be the same as Kānhāda, the engraver of the Mādhātā plates of V.S. 1317 (1261 A.D.), issued by the same king.

The following geographical names are mentioned in the inscription: (1) Rēvā, i.e. the river Narmadā; (2) Kāvērī, a branch of the Narmadā; (3) Mādhātī or Mādhātī-durga, i.e. modern Mādhātā; (4) Dhārā, i.e. modern Dhār; (5) Bhāṣṭasvāmīpura, i.e. modern Bhūṣā; (6) the Vindhya mountain range; (7) Dākṣiṇātya, apparently meaning the dominions of the Yādavas of Dēvāgiri; (8) Dēvapālāpura, probably modern Dīpalpur, 27 miles to the north-west of Mhow; (9) Śākāpura probably the headquarters of a *Pratijāgarāṇaka* or Pargana of the same name identified by some with the present Shajapur Pargana;³ (10) Maṇḍapa-durga, i.e. modern Māṇḍā; (11) Vardhanāpura-pratijāgarāṇaka; (12) Kumbhādāuda-grāma; (13) Vāṇādā-grāma; (14) Saptāśrī-pratijāgarāṇaka, literally 'a Pargana consisting of 87 villages'; (15) Vaghādī-grāma; (16) Nāgadāha-pratijāgarāṇaka, a Pargana probably having its headquarters at Nagdah near Ujjain; (17) Nāṭiyā-

¹ Bhandarkar's List, No. 623.

² The successor of Arjunavarman II on the Paramara throne seems to have been Bhōja II. According to the *Hamiravamsāvalī* of Nayachandra, Chāhamāna Hammira of Rajasthan-bhapura also defeated king Bhōja of Dhār, occupied at Ujjayini and worshipped Mahākālā (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 44-63). The Muslim writers speak of one Kōkī (sometimes called Harasmi), the Rājā of Mālva, who was defeated by 'Alauddin Khilji in 1303, A.D. (*Tarikh-i-Firishāh*, Briggs' trans., Vol. I, pp. 361-62; Bay, op. cit., pp. 307-08). In an inscription of V.S. 1406 (Bhandarkar's List, No. 784) the same ruler is called Gōgādeva, king of Mālva, who was defeated by Guhila Lakṣmīsimha, a contemporary of the Khilji Sultan. Kōkī thus appears to have been either identical with or a contemporary of Bhōja II. Wāṇḍī, who wrote his *Tughlūq-i-Akbar* in 1306 A.D., says: "It may be about thirty years previous to my writing the foundation of this book that the king of Mālva died and dissension arose between his son and minister. After long hostilities and much slaughter, each of them acquired possession of part of that country" (Elliot and Dowson, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 51). It is not impossible that the king of Mālva and his son referred to here are Arjunavarman II and Bhōja II. In such a case, Kōkī may be the minister who became the king of a part of Mālva at the time of Bhōja II during whose reign Wāṇḍī seems to have written his book. Muslim authors sometimes call Kōkī a *Pradhāna* of king Mahlak Dev of Mālva (Elliot and Dowson op. cit., p. 76). This Mahlak Dev may have been the successor of Bhōja II. He was probably succeeded by Jayasimha whose Ujjayini inscription (Bhandarkar's List, No. 681) is dated in V.S. 1386 (1330 A.D.). But Jayasimha must have been ruling over a part of the country, its other parts then being in the hands of the Muslim conquerors.

³ Ganguly, op. cit., p. 501.

grāma (modern Nāvpiyā near the Birwania railway station in the Ujjain District.); (18) Takārī : (19) Lakhanapura; (20) Tālāpura; (21) Tōḡi; (22) Mālava, i.e. the dominions of the Paramāras roughly comprising modern Malwa; and (23) Bhārata, i.e. India.

TEXT¹

[Metres: Verses 1, 39 *Upajāti*; verses 2, 5, 9-10, 22, 29, 31, 38, 45, 47-48, 53, 54-55, 60 *Sārlūla-rikṛīḍita*; verses 3, 18-19, 44, 63 *Giti*; verses 4, 13, 16-17, 20A, 23-25, 27, 32, 34-35, 37, 40, 42, 46, 49-51, 53, 56-57, 61-62, 68-69, 72 *Anuṣṭubh*; verses 7, 33, 41, 46, 72 *Śruggdhara*; verses 6, 8, 26, 58, 64 *Arpa*; verses 11, 36 *Harigī*; verse 12 *Sikhariṇī*; verses 14, 28, 65, 67 *Vasantatilaka*; verses 15, 20-21, 43 *Mālinī*; verse 30 *Upadravajrā*; verse 59 *Upajāti*; verse 70 *Sālinī*; verse 71 *Pushpātāgrā*.]

First Plate

- 1 || Ō namaḥ purnah-ṛiṭha-ekūḍā-maṇyaḥ Dharmāyā(ya |) Pratigraha[ḥ*] yō virachayya la-
kṣmīn-udirga-varuṇō jagad-ujjīhṣaḥ ||[*] āna[m*]da-
- 2 yaty-ūtaḍ-uru-prasādaḥ sa yajvanām-astu patiḥ priyāya² || 1 Kṛtvā lēkhanikāḥ kuṭhāra-
udaya-dvārata(rō) piyudh-āvarō³ yaḥ kalatra-kṣa-
- 3 ta-jāta-jāta-samakṣiḥ(chiḥ) mōlamvam⁴-ambhōnidhim | patram digvalayam avam-akṣara-
chayam nirvarittayan-āsanam viprābhyam prithivīm-adā-
- 4 dandayindm Bāmāya tamai namaḥ || 2 [A]śrūnt-āram(ara)-payōbhīr-laughana-vai-
(bām)dh-ābhicāna-jā(rī) jaladhīḥ | kṛṣṭāḥ āniyatum-iva yō
- 5 rakṣāḥavy-avadhīn-namāmi tam Rāman(mam) || 3 Śarībhūya⁵ Harīḥ kukṣi-nikṣipta-
bhuvana-ṭrayaḥ | yad-angulī-dalā taṭṭha namas-tamai
- 6 Puradrabḥ || 4 Bhūmīm bhūtimayim-apaḥ Surasarid-rūpā-triṭṭy-ākṣaya-jvāl-ābhāt | jala-
nātī bhujastha-bhujaga-śvā-ātmacāḥ mō-
- 7 rutam(tam) | kham rasadhīrāhu kapāla-dānmi nayana-dvāita-chakṣuḥ-pūṣṭapam chandran-
avah vajamānam-ity-avatu vaḥ Sarvā-śāta vi(b)bhṛanta(t-ta)nuḥ(nūḥ) || 5 Dēvānām
- 8 vāḍnām trayaya y(ō) jāta-vāḍnām jagatām(tām) | lēhō nām-āḥima iti namāmi dēva-
tam-Ōmkāraḥ(ram) || 6 Śambhōr-a[ḥ]bhābhīr-aya
- 9 anapana-vidhī-vaś(ā)ḍ-apy-āharī mūrdhan(nī) dvē sandhānāḥ(nā) sa[ḥ]vāḍāy[ā]
dhruvam-iti vidhātē Svadhūni-spardhaya-śva | Rēvā śv-ānuṣṭubh-gāḍ-i-
- 10 va chatana-tal-āḥavi(b)ṇī yaya bhātī prāsād(ō)-bhṛantāḥa-ār(r*)-jām(ja)yati Pann(ā)-
patēḥ śv-yan-Ōmkāra-nāmnā || 7 Yat-prāsād-āgra-
- 11 [ka]ḥṣa-tāḍita-pūrā Sunipagā mukharā | Rēv-ānuṣṭubh-ga-rōṣha(śhā)ḍ-iva Gaṇḍāḍharan-
upālābhāt || 8 Nō gāmyō Yama-kīṁkār-mā du-
- 12 ritair-āśāḍānyō na vā dhrīśyō mōha-mahōrmmibhir-ma Kalinā ch-āśha prāvāḥṭam
khamam | matvā kuṭṭhānām-iv-iti paritah

¹ For this plate, see above, Vol. XXIX, p. 86.

² From a set of impressions.

³ The adoration to the Moon-god also occurs in other Paramāra inscriptions including the Māmhitā (1) as of V.S. 1317, issued by the same king. See above, Vol. IX, p. 120.

⁴ Read 'ādhāt'.

⁵ Read 'mādhāt'.

⁶ Vishṇu became the arrow with which Śiva killed the demon Tripura. See *Sansk. Purāṇa*, 35, 16; *Śiṣṭa Purāṇa*, *Jāna-samhitā*, 24, 11.

CMO

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- 31 rōhanā s-śchitā— — — ya-vantpakē vimayāt chōtām na Chuntāmāgih | svalpā Kāipa-
tarar-za Kāma-surabhil kāma-prapūrtiyai purō
- 32 yamin-sa-stūlam arthi-sārtha-manasām-icchādhikam yachchhati || 22 Stūra-dhī Stūra-
k[ā*]yō-tha prājya-śāyā prapannavan(vān) | stūra-kāyō
- 33 aya [tu*] yuddhaliddhāshv-iti s-arthaka-samjhayā || 23 Tatō Vōsar-ty-āddhā(d-ā)dhā-
ddhātir-uddhātāh | yōna yuddhā hatair- vīnāh samvō(bā)dhā
- 34 dyaurya(r-ana) v-āmarai[h*] || 24 Virasāhas-tatō vira-rāka(kō) rask-āyāh |
pitr yō śāyam-āsāya jūgāya jagatim-imāh(mām) || 25
- 35 Vākapitājō rājyō tasmim-āśa-mahatā mahatī | yaaya Prākṛita-sūktibhīr-amjyāta prā-
krūtō lōkah || 26 Chaturam
- 36 chatur-ambhōdhī-parōdhēr-adhigam bhavah ||*|| Stya-nāmdāam-ātr-ātha sāmra(mā)ira-
ātr-akūriyat || 27 Ujvājjivā-la-tōja- yuō(dō)-vō(bā)dh-
- 37 thā vanā tasmim-mahān-ajani Madja iti kshiti² kshiti-lah | apurōdhā-rasō(ā)l-iva
mithah samitau kripāgah pāpā-cha dānam-s-
- 38 tanōl-ādhikam yādya || 28 Gāyatr-ādhār-amaśāla-samudā-bharā vīrō(bhō)ta-
kash-āambhōh pūrop-ānchāt-pūja-dō(bhō)chan-ānchalatāyā n-ā-
- 39 lōkyā kāmān purah | mahātā-stava(bā)k-āvatadā(ān)-vilasat-rōkshen(bā)-kōlāhala-
sphāyan-nādam-nūtraram sara-radhūh kīrtiāh yādya
- 40 divi || 29 Tatāh sphūrat-saṅgata-ras(ga*)-rāgham-abharogur-āṅgah kila Sindhurōja(m)-
jam |) sad-āditān-ādarām-āmaśāla prabhutva-lakshnōh pratata-pratā-
- 41 pati(pam) || 30 Yash-ādvayatam-āladhāsam-amritāh prakhyāta-ratn-ōtkarāh sat-paksha-
kshiti(bhī)ch-ebhāmagyam-nūitāh prāyah || 31 (ā)l-āpadam(dām) | an-maryāla-
- 42 m-āgāham-āyata-padāt vyāpta-kāma-mahālah satya(h) jalpatī Sindhurōjam-akhilāh
prōdya(d*)-dvij-ālmātān(tam) || 31 Sindhurōjād-a-
- 43 bhūt-tasmāt-kānān pātram-adyatāh ||*|| bhāyan kumudāh Bhō(ā)jō rājā prasāda-
bhō(h*) || 32 Arthi-pratyarthi-sārthā(rtha)-sthita-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 44 kam-nīkar-ōpātā-(sah)nyasta-ma[ita]-prājya-prōdāma-dantōvala-va(bā)hala-gahad-dāna-
tōy-ādbhavishgah | ya(d*)-dvārī dvātha-mukhya-āshapa-dhīta-
- 45 dharmapāla-nivāsa-cāki-sphūjjad-vātyā-pratāmāh | prachutam-āpi pafuāh sūhikātām-
ōtī parikah³ || 33 Samva(bā)rāri-karāh pūrva-janman-t-
- 46 ha nij-āshunā | Rādhān-vivādha-yah prāyah prathayann-Achya-ātmatām(tām) || 34 Yāh
kurvan-māgopān-rājāh parān-rājān-cha māgopān(gān) | sara-
- 47 eva-tyāga-yōgāna-parivartakatām dadhau || 35 Udayam-Udayādityah prāya pratāya-nōhī-
tātō) eip-āpā sama-stōmān-astāt naya-
- 48 n-vīlasat-karāh ||*|| udaharata yō ātr-āladhāshv-iti sad-ārijita-Gōjjara-kshiti(pā-
jaladhau magnām-ā(d*) Vā(Va)kāha iv-āvanm(nām) || 36 Naravarmā ta-

¹Three syllables are omitted here due to carelessness of the scribe or engraver.

²These two letters are redundant.

³There is an anusvara above ksh. The intended reading is 'kshāśāka.....prachum.

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Scale : Two-fifths

मितवृषावधः। तयोः सट
 हसागजा नसायावे।
 देवता। पादावपुर्ध्वि नो मा इह खलु नृणां विदमनसः पात्रा इमा सिद्धे।
 आहं तादृशो। सर्वे पुराणायां देवपुत्राः। सुराधिः कृतापा। नेतिशा इतनयानि नृपापेना। टक्षित इतनया
 सात्रीकुटयवसागदन्तः। निपातयशासमासः। देविकता निमित्तं। इनायायायान्। कृतापादयानि हि
 नृपः। किं नकोटिशो कपतिभिः। इत्याकटयान्। ॥ ४४॥ अनाया। तद्वदेमलमन्त्रिः। सादसया कुसराय निप
 याविशतयराणि सनतकावचनः। अनाकटिशः। आगमादिदण्डपरायणयानुबन्धस्य दानावसिः। इताणीमादन्
 मुक्तलक्ष्मिरमतिर्याद्यापितु आशानि। ॥ ५॥ पञ्चपृष्ठीमवसा। अहयवसो निपपानावापगार्भे। सुधावर्भापि
 उदयि सुया। ॥ ५६॥ आदमानकुलियादया नृपः। कमनीयवचनः। टाहं। टया। टयुक्तयान्। ॥ ५७॥ इति नो मा आदोप
 पद्वगादवसृणावसवक्कटेटमहत्तीसं स्या। साभिः। नकुटयिमा। नानि टया। एतसावनापण्डितानामपि
 इदं मा। उतयावयनः। ॥ ५८॥ अहं नेटवणा। इत्यमाहानमृत्तयदकवा। ॥ ५९॥ इति त्वाभिः। न पदव
 ईरमादोसनावमनोयकमाशासागयशाणकस्य। सिद्धवः। पातो। टाहं। टया। अतस्य। एतसावनापण्डितानामपि
 यद्यमगापयादीसु। नानापरुषतयावसुतमा। शिष्टाकुलः। नृका। ॥ ६०॥ नशाटनय। सिद्धवः। कला। ना। न
 वा। नृभय। एकः। कृत्यवृत्तादिमस्थगापनया। इति। ॥ ६१॥ अदवपुत्तस्य। यत्तयासाटकारिने। शिवः। जाम
 इदं लयाजासिद्धिः। धुटासिपुरः। ॥ ६२॥ शोकपुणवनिदः। मिशरस्य। अटनमः। त्रिकानि। गानाया। कपटितया
 तमगा। रिखद्विजस्य। सवसना। ॥ ६३॥ अकारपासाटस्य। मृष्टानि। मया। विविम। नाना। ॥ ६४॥ निभं। टालतस
 मबुपसिता। ॥ ६४॥ यत्का। रिमस्य। सिद्धवः। मभुः। कतादवः। अतिनमप्रतिविम। नाना। ॥ ६५॥ निभं। टालतस
 रिचिवा। रिणकः। आटस्य। मितमा। द्विपि। नृपापतः। ॥ ६६॥ पुत्तपापुता। नाना। ॥ ६७॥ अहं। नृपापतस
 मः। कपि। नृपापतस्य। रिचिवा। रिणकः। आटस्य। मितमा। द्विपि। नृपापतः। ॥ ६८॥ पुत्तपापुता। नाना। ॥ ६९॥ अहं। नृपापतस
 गो। अमा। डीलहा। मा। अदृष्टापावपमृत्तनसटवद्यवत्वा। ॥ ७०॥ अहं। नृपापतस्य। रिचिवा। रिणकः। आटस्य। मितमा। द्विपि। नृपापतस
 का। टि। नृपापतस्य। रिचिवा। रिणकः। आटस्य। मितमा। द्विपि। नृपापतस्य। रिचिवा। रिणकः। आटस्य। मितमा। द्विपि। नृपापतस
 हविद्विशीबृहता। अगुधनिजास्य। पाकः। कुलया। ॥ ७१॥ अहं। नृपापतस्य। रिचिवा। रिणकः। आटस्य। मितमा। द्विपि। नृपापतस
 ॥ ७२॥ अहं। नृपापतस्य। रिचिवा। रिणकः। आटस्य। मितमा। द्विपि। नृपापतस्य। रिचिवा। रिणकः। आटस्य। मितमा। द्विपि। नृपापतस

Third Plate, First Side

- 67 m-ēva pupdaha yaś [Jayasimha-¹tripaśa śhakrē sarvasvañ svayam-ēva saś] §51 Uddam-
jō dadatām paśuś pravadatām u-
- 68 jājāre jūnatā[ś] bhāvi śr-Jayasimha ity-avampō dharmm-aka-va(ba)śdha-vratāś |
danditō-śra kulś vipakṣi-
- 69 danditāś pautrō-śra pātraś śrivō(yō) maty-ātham khaś Śaśbhur-śulam-śaśad-
pāty-āttamāngō dadhan §52 Pañcāśya-mastaka-bhāxyud-śra-vi-
- 70 aś[²] jai-śivā³ | karpūra-pūrapair-yēna Puzitōś sambhūś kṛitā || 53 Vimādy-ādrōś-valayant-
vilanghya paritō dīk-kūla-sarvanikakṣō(śbō) sai-
- 71 ayō śr-Jayavarmanapaś kṣitipatōś-yaśy-ālam-śāhamdati | kāmābhīś khaś
Dākṣinātya-śripatāś kōpād-Agastyaś prātī kṣi-
- 72 pāś prakṣita-kūndiśka-patībhīś kṛitāś kaśāśha-śchelihaśāś || 54 Śa(Śa)hāt-āhīraś-
tūa-bōma-kūbhāś-śiraś dēy-ā⁴ Jayān-kārayan-ripō-
- 73 bhōyō vitaran-purōś kṣakaraś dhēnāś sa(śa)bhāś kōjāś | śrāmān-śha rūpayāś sara-
savam(yan)n-uchehaś-tadāg-ōttamāś kabōgi-mandala-
- 74 m-ujva(jj)vaśhaś śhīra-matir-yō-śy-āp[⁵] na śrāmāyāti §55 Itthāś pñthivōś-avaty-śamin-
Jaśś-Jayavarmanapaś bhōpātān ||⁶ vyāpātāraś(n-a)pa(jō) madrād(jj)u-paripa(jō)-
- 75 śhayaś⁷ svayant(yam) §56 Chāhamāna-kulś Rājō rūntāś kramatō-bhavat | chaśhā-
dōś-dīdamdayōś-yaśya jaya-śhī śhīmatām-agāt || 57
- 76 Palhaśadōvas-tasmād-a(bha)vad-bhōja-damja-mamjaś chandjaś | yaś evāmini jaya-
śriyam-ātmāni yaś ēva ch-śāhatta §58 Śalaha(kha)śam-
- 77 haś-tasmāt-tanayō naya-bhūr-ābhūt-śubhujāś | Arjunadōvay-āśhaś yasō(śbō)-rjjanō
śa khaś sata-kṛitā §59 Jitraś Simhaśadōva-da-
- 78 śiddhaś mahāmāyāni chāmō-āyakaś mādhyāt-Śāgya-rūpakaś svayam-śh-śūhaś pāta-
yitō kuyāt | tasmāt-pattamayāni sapta samarō
- 79 yaś-chāmārāy-agrahān-mōridhānan paridhūnayan-tasa-vasō(śbō)-Simh-Ārjjuna-kāmā-
bhujōś || 60 Tasmād-Anayasimhō-(bhō)-kalivār-iva-
- 80 rāridhāś | ya śkal Kalpa-vyikṣi-āli-madhyō gūṇamy-ānvitāś §61 Dēvapālāpurō yēna
pṛāśāt kṛitō Śivāś | śrāntāś [kūś]-
- 81 śa-jala-vyāśāt-śiddha-śmāhūś dadhan purāś §62 Śākāpurā(rō)-bhāndiśha-śāharan⁸
śara-śādanam-Anvi(bō)ś-ādhigantantam | yō-śh[⁹]karat-iva dāśtan
- 82 vimām(śrām)tin kṣō śvijasya śaśpra(bha)matāś §63¹⁰ Ōśākāś-prāśādāś samayā nira-
māpayattarān tūngāś(gam) | Janivō(bō)kōśvara-nāmnaś Śan(Śam)bhūś-yaś śādan-
- 83 m-ampam-āś¹¹ §64 Yat-kṛitō sarasī Mardāpa-durga-madhyō Kuśbbōdibhavaś prati-
nīśh(śaś) prativihya¹² mānāś | jre(jyō)hirmamayō lavaṇa-vā-

¹ For Rāvaṇa, offering his hands to Śiva, cf. *Śāśāstra*, N.S. Press, Āraṇya-kṛōḍa, Canto XXXII, verse 18.

² Cf. Passages like *śhīra-matir-yō-śy-āp[⁵] na śrāmāyāti* used in medieval documents (cf. *Litthapaddhati*, pp. 2, 3, 17, 24, 25.) with reference to a high administrative officer (often a viceroys) under the king. The word *paripaśhagati* in such cases means the same thing as *śaśpārahant* in other inscriptions (cf. *Śāśāstra*, pp. 284, text line 6; 285, text line 5; 324, text line 2; 328, text line 4; etc.), although this meaning of the word is not found in the lexicons. In the present case the administrative function in question seems to have been carried out by the king himself.

³ Read *śhīraś*.

⁴ The stanza becomes metrically satisfactory if we read *śhāśpur-āśhāś* at the beginning.

⁵ Read *śhīraś*.

⁶ Read *śhīraś*.

- 84 ridhī-vāri-pāna-duṣṣvāda-duḥkham-iva mārṣṭi piva(ba)na-apō-dītaḥ || 65 Prākārēṣa
pratōyā śhaḍ-ādihika-dasa(ha)bhīr-mamūdirāḥ eva-
- 85 raga-kumbhair-uttungair-bhūri-kakshair-guro-sma-sadanēn-āmya(ha)-kudōḥa yuktān-
(ktām) | yō durgē Mamḍapa-ākṣē(khyē) vyatarad-īha purīm Vṛā(Bṛā)hmaṇē-
- 86 bhūyō nrip-ājñām lavdhvā(bdhvā) Māndhātṛi-durgē-pr-aupama-rachasadi tadvad-ēva
vyasthanta || 66 sa ēsha pūrev-ōkta-rāj-āvali-virājamānōna bha-
- 87 kṛy-ādibhīḥ prasūlitēna ārīma-Jayavarmanṇa^a Dhār-ādhipēn-ānujñātāḥ Sa(Sā)dhaniḥ
-^anayasūtrahadēvō dharm-ādhat^b-samva(ba)ddha-yu(ba)-
- 88 ddbhir-vijayī Varddhanāpura-pratijāgarapakō Kumhhaḍuda-grāmō tathā tatr-aiva
Vālanda-grāmō tathā Saptāśīti-pratī-
- 89 jāgarapakō Vaghādī-grāmō tathā Nāgadaha-pratijāgarapakō Nāṭiyū-grāmō samasta-
rājapurnshān-Vṛā(n-Bṛā)-

Third Plate, Second Side

- 90 kmaṇ-ōttatām-pratinivāś-^apaṭṭakila-janapad-ādibhā-cha vō(hō)dhayaty-asu vaḥ samvi-
ditam yuthā | Mamḍapa-durg-āvaśhita-
- 91 c-samābhīr-ākātrimaṇḍ-ādihika-trayōdasa-anta-samkhy-ānvitō Pramāthi-nāma
samvatsarē Bhādrapadē māsi śukla-pakṣhē
- 92 saptamyām tithau Śukra-dinē Maitrē^a nakṣhatrē anītvā bhagavantaḥ Pārvatipatiḥ
samabhyarṇhya samāśray-āśratām dṛishṭvā tathā
- 93 hi ||* Vāi-ābhra-viharam-iddaḥ vasudh-ādhipatyam-āpāta-mātra-mollurō viśay-
ōpabhōgaḥ | prāṇa-^atin-āgra-jala-vindu-samā narānām
- 94 dharmmaḥ śukhā param-śhō paes-lōka-yānō || 67* || itī sarvasm-^a vimpiḥāy-ādṛishṭa-phalam-
anūgīkṛtya cha eva-putrāḥ Kamalāsiniha-Dhārasiniha-Jaitra-
- 95 sinha-Padmasiniha(bā) ity-ōtāḥ sahitaḥ||*|| nānā-gotrēbhīyō nānā-nāmaḥbhīyō Māndhātṛi-
Vṛa-(Bṛa)hmaṇa-^aputr-āntavyābhīyō Vṛā(Bṛā)hmaṇēbhīyāḥ ya-
- 96 thā Takāri-śhāna-vinirgatāya Gautama-sagotrāya Āngiraa-Auvathya-(Gan)tam-ōti-tri-
pravarāya^a Rīgveda-śākh-ādhyā-
- 97 yinō Cha^a-Kamalādharaśarmmaṇaḥ putrāya Avamthi-Vidyādharaśarmmaṇaḥ putrāya
Dī^a-Padmanābhaśarmmaṇaḥ Vṛā(Bṛā)hmaṇāya
- 98 padam-śkam || 1 Takāri-śhāna-vinirgatāya Gautama-sagotrāya Āngiraa-Auvathya-Gautam-
ōti-tri-pravarāya Rīgveda-
- 99 śākh-ādhyāyīnō Cha^a-Kamalādharaśarmmaṇaḥ putrāya Ava^a-Vidyādharaśarmmaṇaḥ
putrāya Cha^a-Mādhavaśarmmaṇaḥ Vṛā(Bṛā)hmaṇā-
- 100 ya padam-śkam || 1 Takāri-śhāna-vinirgatāya Bhāradvāja-sagotrāya Āngiraa-Vā(Bā)-
rūspatya-Bhāradvāj-ōti-tri-prava-

^a The intended reading may be *dharm-ādha*.

^b The popular name of the constellation is *Asvadhā*.

^c According to many authorities, the pressures of the Gautama given are Āngiraa, Aṭṭha and Gautama, while those of the Uṭṭha or Uṭṭha given are Āngiraa, Uṭṭha or Uṭṭha and Gautama.

^d This is a contraction of *Chakradhā*.

^e This is a contraction of *śākhā*.

^f This is a contraction of *Asvadhā*.

- 101 rāya Rīgvēda-sākhā-pravariddhamānāya Mīra-Dharmadharaśarmmaṇaḥ putrāya Pañcha-
pīthi¹ Mīra² Uddhamaśarmmaṇaḥ putrāya Pañ³
- 102 Śrikumthasarmmaṇaḥ Vra(Brā)hmaṇāya padam-śkam || 1 Lasha(kha)ṇapura-vinirgatāya Kā-
śyapa-sagotrāya Kāśyap-Āvatsāra-Naidhru-
- 103 c-eti-tri-pravatāya (ha⁴-Bhō(Bhā)patiśarmmaṇaḥ putrāya Pañ⁵-Vidyāpatiśarmmaṇaḥ
putrāya Rīgvēda-sākhā-pravariddhamānāya Dvi⁶
- 104 Gōvariddhamasarmmaṇaḥ Vra(Brā)hmaṇāya padam-śkam || 1 Tōlāpanha-sthāna-vinirgatāya
(hanu)ratrāya sagotrāya Ātrāya-Gāvi-
- 105 shhira-Pāryvāti⁷ eti-tri-pravarāya Dv⁸ Śivatsasarmmaṇaḥ putrāya Dv⁹ Dēvasarmmaṇaḥ
maṇaḥ putrāya Mādhyamādi-
- 106 kh-ādhyāyina¹⁰ Dv¹¹ Vāmmasarmmaṇaḥ Vra(Brā)hmaṇāya padam-śkam || 1 Takāri-sthāna-vini-
rgatāya Vasiṣṭha-sagotrā-
- 107 ya Vāsiṣṭha-Sāktya-Pārāśary-eti-tri-pravarāya Va(Ba)labhadraśarmmaṇaḥ p[au]trāya
Sūdharaśarmmaṇaḥ putrāya Mādhyamādi-
- 108 na-sākh-ādhyāyina¹² Avasthi¹³ Anadīśarmmaṇaḥ Vra(Brā)hmaṇāya padam-śkam || 1 Takāri-
sthāna-vinirgatāya [Bh]āra-
- 109 dvāja sagotrāya Āngirasa-Va(Bā)ṭhaṇḍatya-Bhāradvāja-eti-tri-pravarāya Sukla-Pradyumna-
śarmmaṇaḥ putrāya Dvi¹⁴ Śō-
- 110 śasarmmaṇaḥ putrāya Mādhyamādi-sākh-ādhyāyina¹⁵ Dvi¹⁶ Harisarmmaṇaḥ Vra(Brā)-
hmaṇāya padam-śkam || 1
- 111 Tōlāsthāna-vinirgatāya Kāśyapa-sagotrāya Kāśyap-Āvatsāra-Naidhruv-eti-tri-pravarāya
Upā¹⁷
- 112 Dēvasarmmaṇaḥ putrāya Upā¹⁸ Vaijūśarmmaṇaḥ putrāya Mādhyamādi-sākh-ādhyāyina¹⁹
Dvi²⁰ [Ma]-

Fourth Plate, First Side

- 113 [hā]dēvasarmmaṇaḥ Vra(Brā)hmaṇāya padam-śkam || 1 Takāri-sthāna-vinirgatāya Kāśyapa-
sagotrāya Viśvā-
- 114 [m]itra-Kātya-Kl²¹ eti-tri-pravarāya Pa²² Kūlhanasarmmaṇaḥ putrāya Ava²³ Āladēvaśa-
rmaṇaḥ putrāya
- 115 Mādhyamādi-sākh-ādhyāyina²⁴ Dvi²⁵ Har[ī]dēvasarmmaṇaḥ Vra(Brā)hmaṇāya padam śkam || 1
Takāri-sthāna-vinirgatāya [Bh]āradvāja-
- 116 sagotrāya Āngirasa-Va(Bā)ṭhaṇḍatya-Bhāradvāja-eti-tri-pravarāya Dvi²⁶ Gajādharasarmmaṇaḥ
putrāya Ava²⁷ Vūmekā²⁸ dēvasarmmaṇaḥ

¹ The intended word seems to be pāthi¹.

² Mīra² has not been observed here.

³ This is a contraction of Pañcha-pīpīthi or more probably Pañdita.

⁴ This is a contraction of (ha)ṇḍa.

⁵ Sanskrit Avasthi. Mādhi has not been observed here.

⁶ This may be a contraction of Uśmaṇa or more probably Uśmāyā.

⁷ The correct form of the name is Aṭṭha according to many authorities.

⁸ This may be a contraction of Pūṭha.

॥ अथ भगवत्पुत्रोवाच ॥

॥ अथ भगवत्पुत्रोवाच ॥

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॥ अथ भगवत्पुत्रोवाच ॥

॥ अथ भगवत्पुत्रोवाच ॥

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॥ अथ भगवत्पुत्रोवाच ॥

117. putrāya Mādhyamāḍī-sākh-ādhyāyini¹ Dvi²-Anantalarṇamagē Vṛā(Bṛā)hmasāya padam-
-ēkam || 1 Takārī-ethāna-vinirgatāya Ā-
118. trāya-sagōtrāya Ātrāya-Gā)viśṭhina-Pūrvātīś-ēti-tri-pravarāya Pā³-K(ri)śṇasārṇamagāh
putrāya Pā³-Ātrāsārṇamagāh putrā-
119. ya Mādhyamāḍī-sākh-ādhyāyini¹ Pā³-Y(ā)gōsvasārṇamagē Vṛā(Bṛā)hmasāya padam-
-ēkam || 1 Takārī-ethāna-vinirgatāya Vā-
120. śṭha-sagōtrāya Vāśṭh-Ābharadyasy-Indrapramā-ēti-tri-pravarāya Tri⁴-Samudharaga-
-sārṇamagāh putrāya Tri⁴-Dāmodarasārṇamagāh pa-
121. trāya Kauthuma-sākh-ādhyāyini¹ Tri⁵-Nārāyaṇasārṇamagē Vṛā(Bṛā)hmasāya padam-ēkam
|| 1 Takārī-ethāna-vinirgatāya Sāya-
122. rogī-sagōtrāya Bhārgava-Īhyavāna-Āpnavāna-Aurva⁶-Yā(Jā)madagny-ēti-paṭiḥa-prava-
rāya⁷ Chu⁸-Vāśudēvasārṇamagāh putrāya Chu⁸-Lakṣmī-
123. dha(r)a-sārṇamagāh putrāya Kauthuma-sākh-ādhyāyini¹ Tri⁵-Purushāsārṇamagē Vṛā(Bṛā)-
-hmasāya pa[da]m-ēkam || 1 Tōṅī-ethāna-vinirgatā-
124. ya Śāṇḍilya-sagōtrāya Śāṇḍily-Āṇ(s)ita-Daival-ēti-tri-pravarāya Tri⁵-Viśvōvasārṇamagāh
putrāya Tri⁵-Mahōsvatasārṇamagāh
125. [pu]trāya Kauthuma-sākh-ādhyāyini¹ Tri⁵-Vāśīsārṇamagē Vṛā(Bṛā)hmasāya padam-ēkam
|| 1 Vātss-sagōtrāya Bhārgava-Īhyavāna-Āpna-
126. vāna-Aurva⁶-Jāmadagny(ṅy-ō)ti-pa(m)ḥa-pravarāya Chālanāna-ko[ḥ] pravarāhmasāya
Sā³-Palhapadēvavarṇamagāh putrāya Sā³-Sala-
127. sha(kha)gasāha⁹varṇamagāh putrāya Śādhmika⁹-Anayasāhavarṇamagē Kṣatriyāya pada-
-dvayam || 2 iti śhōḥasa(śa)-Vṛā(Bṛā)hmasāhbya
128. Ko[m]bha(āndā)da-Vāśudā(da)-Vagbāḥ-Nāṭiyā iti grāma-chatusṭayāḥ samagrāḥ chatus-
-kati-kata-vieu(śu)ddham sa-vyikṣa-mūl-ākulam ta-
129. t-samva(ba)ddha-grīha-grīhasthāna-khalo-khalasthānāḥ khalo-tala-bhōdyā-gōvātīkā-śāka-
-muditi-tālapalikā-kumbhapōrak-ātākā-
130. k-ōtpatti-pātāla-mūḍi-nikṣhōpa-[d]vōyasa[n]-ādyaṇa-tadāga-vāpi-kūp-ōti-sahitam sa-bi-
-ranya-bhāga-bhōga[m*] = 5-
131. parikara[m*] dānī-ōḥ-śarjiv-ādāya sahitaṁ puṇya-yaḥ-bhividdhaya¹⁰-chandr-ārka-ārṇava-
-kṣiti-sama-kālam yāvat parayā bhaktyā dē-
132. va-Vṛā(Bṛā)hmasā-bhukti-varjjaṁ sūnanē-ōḍaka-pūrvam dattam tan-matvā tan-nivāsi-
-pattakila-janapadair-yathā-diyamāna-bhōga-bhō-
133. ga-kara-hirany-ādikam-ājñā-riddhaya¹¹-bhūtvā sarva-ētābhy[ḥ] Vṛā(Bṛā)hmasābhyā[h*]
sam[va]pantavyaḥ sāmānyam chaitad-dha(r)ṇma-pha¹²lam yudhvā¹³
134. smat-avāmi-vadha[sa]h[air]-bhāva[ḥ]-bhoktri[ḥ]-asmad-datta dharma[m] (mama)-dāyā-
-mumudatavyaḥ pālanīya-cha || oktāḥ cha || Va(Ba)huhir-vasudhā blu-

¹ This is a contraction of *Trishū*.² Read *Chyama* *Apna* or *paṇḍit* *Avana*.³ The *pravara* of the Śāvarī gōtra are Bhārgava, Vāśatavya and Śivēśa according to many authorities.⁴ This is a contraction of *Sādhmika*.⁵ The Sanskrit form of the name is *Sādhakagayana*.⁶ *Śādhā* has not been observed here.⁷ Read *hadhvā*.

- 135 kīā rājabhī[¹] Sagar-ādibhīh | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phalam(lam)
|| [68^a] Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yō hareta vasumdhartām(rām) |

Fourth Plate, Second Side

- 136 sa viśvāyām kīnir-bhūtvā pīṭibhīh mahā majjati | || 69^a | Sarvān-ēvan bhāvinō bhūmi-
pālān-bhūyō bhūyō yūchatō Rāmabhadraḥ |
- 137 sāmānyō-yam dharmā-satur-nipāṇām kāl[²] kālō pālanīyō bhavadbhīh || [70^a] Iti kamala-
dal-āmva(bu)-cūḍa-lālān śrīyam-a-
- 138 puchī[³]tya manushya-jīvitān cha | sakalam-ulam-udāhṛitam cha vo(bud)dhvā na hi puruṣ-
aḥ para-kīrtayō vilōpyā[⁴] || 71^a || itī ||
- 139 Śekhāyāna niyuktāna sabhāya[⁵](yān) **Jayavarmanapā** | cakrō kula-kṛm-āyātō(ṣa)-
traividyatvāna śāsanam(nam) || [72^a] utkīrṇam cha ro(rō)pa-
- 140 kēra-Kānhāle⁶na ||

¹ Originally kī was engraved.

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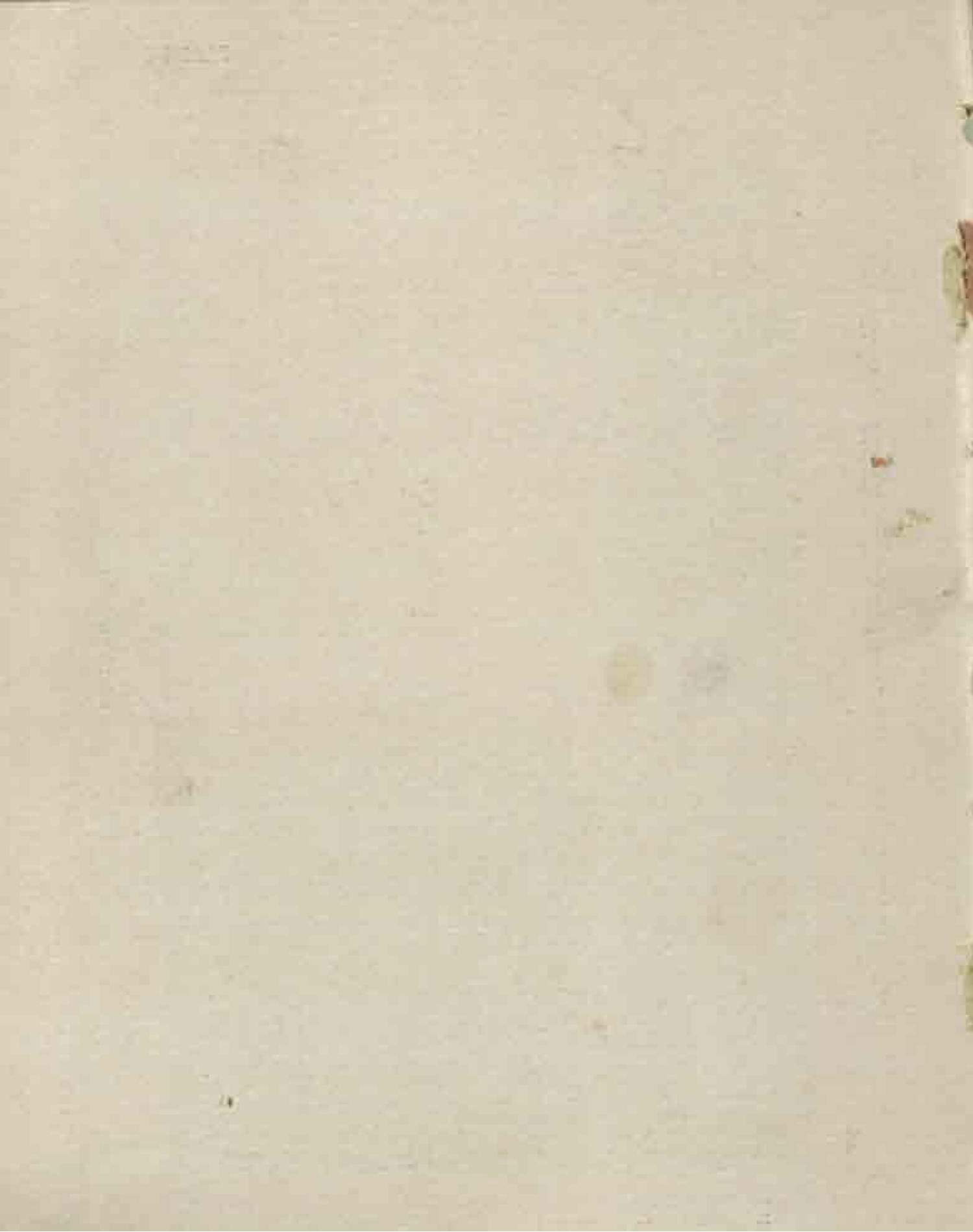
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DEPARTMENT OF ARCHÆOLOGY

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

VOL. XXXII

PART IV

OCTOBER 1957

EDITED BY

DR. B. CH. CHHABRA, M.A., M.O.I., Ph. D. (Lond.), F.A.S.

Government Epigraphist for India



सत्यमेव जयते

Published by the Manager of Publications, Delhi
Printed at the Government of India Press, Calcutta, India
1958

Price Rs. 10-00 or 16sh.

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" 32. " " —Plate II	" " 162 " 163
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" 35. <i>Two Inscriptions of Parantaka, Year 9</i>	" " 186 " 187

No. 18—JHARIKA GRANT OF RASHTRAKUTA GOVINDA III, SAKA 725

[2 Plates]

V. B. KOLTE, NAGPUR

These plates were discovered on the 13th of April 1954 by Shri Achyutrao Gulabrao Deshmukh in the dilapidated mud wall on the south-west side of a small fortress owned by him at **Sirso**,¹ a village two miles north of Murtimpur, the headquarters of a Taluk of that name in the Akola District, formerly in Madhya Pradesh but now in Bombay State. Shri B. G. Deshmukh, E. A. C., the younger brother of Shri A. G. Deshmukh and an erstwhile pupil of mine, kindly sent them to me through Shri J. B. Kadam alias Nanasaheb, M. L. A. I am indebted to these gentlemen for permitting me to edit the plates.

The plates are strung together on a ring (about 4" in thickness and 3" in diameter), the ends of which are soldered into the socket of a circular **seal** (1.8" in diameter), containing in relief, on a counter-sunk surface, the figure of Garuda, facing full front, squatting on a lotus and carrying a serpent in each hand. The ring was intact when the plates reached my hands. I got it out through the Curator, Nagpur Museum. The weight of the plates is 175 *talas* and that of the ring together with the seal 51 *talas*.

The plates are **three** in number, each measuring from 9.5" to 10" in length and 7" in breadth. Their ends are slightly raised for the protection of the writing. The first and third plates are inscribed on one side only and the second on both the sides. At the centre of the proper right and about .8" from the end, each plate has a circular hole about .8" in diameter for the ring to pass through. When I received the plates, they were all covered with verdigris. After cleaning them, it was found that they were corroded in many places. Several letters on each plate have been damaged, especially the letters in lines 51 and 52 on the second side of the second plate. This has rendered the decipherment of the names of the boundary villages very difficult, although the introductory part of the inscription could be read without much difficulty with the help of cognate records. There are 73 lines in all, 17 of them occurring on the first plate, 19 and 20 on the first and second sides of the second plate, and the remaining 17 on the third plate. The penultimate line on the first side of the second plate is short in length by 1.5" and the last line incised on the right side at the bottom, is only 1.7" in length and contains only seven letters. The last line on the second side of the second plate is also only 1.5" in length and contains only five letters incised at the bottom on the right side. The size of the letters therefore is not the same everywhere. They are generally $\frac{1}{4}$ " to $\frac{1}{2}$ " in height, but are slightly bigger in lines 72 and 73 and smaller in line 39. The engraving is careless and, in certain places, some syllables and words are omitted or repeated (cf. e.g., the confusion in line 34).

Medial \tilde{a} is generally denoted by adding a short downward stroke at the end of the top *mātrā*, e.g., *maṇḍalā* in line 2. In some places, it is a long full-fledged stroke, e.g., *viśālā* in line 12. Sometimes it is indicated by a horizontal stroke turned upwards, e.g., *parākrama* in line 17 while often it is a short vertical stroke on the top of the letter, e.g., *vasudhā* and *dattā* in line 67. Medial *v* is denoted by a short horizontal stroke at the foot of a letter, e.g., in *ojasvi* in line 3, and sometimes by a curve open to the left, e.g., *kāṇai-śāda* in line 1. Medial \tilde{u} is represented in many cases by a

¹ It is at this village that the Siavari and Lohārā grants of Govinda III were discovered (above, Vol. XXIII, p. 204).

curve open to the right, e.g. *pāṇā-pāṇā* in line 72, and sometimes by a horizontal stroke slanting to the right: e.g. *bhūm* in line 66. The forms of *ra* and *rā* may be noted in *rueḍiṣ* in line 8 and *rūpaṣ* in line 24. Medial *ṣ* or *ṣ* is shown either by a short vertical or a slanting downward stroke to the left of the top *mātrā* of a letter or by a slanting line out on its head. The letters are generally uniform: but *k*, *v*, *p*, etc., have different forms. The letter *u* has two forms, one North Indian and the other South Indian.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit which is not accurate in all cases. Sometimes *ṣ* is used for *s* and vice versa. In certain places, *anuvāra* is used for final *a* (cf. *mānakāṁ* for *mānakā* in line 46). Attention may also be drawn to the use of *ṣi* for *ṣi* (line 6) and *ṣi* for *ṣi* (line 12). There are instances of short vowels being used for long ones and vice versa. As an example of metathesis may be cited *yaja* for *gaja* in line 23.

Some discrepancy is noticed in the date as recorded in lines 55-58 of the inscription. The Saka year, given both in words and in figures, is 726 according to the former and 725 according to the latter. A lunar eclipse is stated to have occurred on the full moon of Kārttika during the year in question. According to Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, there was a lunar eclipse on the full-moon day of Kārttika in the expired Saka year 725. There was no eclipse on Kārttika *pusyāṁ* of the preceding and following few years. The Saka year intended here was therefore 725 (expired).² The corresponding Christian date is the 2nd November 803 A.D.

The plates were issued by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III from his victorious camp on the bank of the river Tuṅgabhadra near Alampara. The genealogy of the king recounted here is the same as in his other copper-plate grants, viz. Gōvinda I: his son Karkha I: his son Indra: his son Dantidurga: his uncle Krishna, son of Karkha I: his son Gōvinda II: his younger brother Dhruva: and his son Gōvinda III, the donor of the present charter. In line 45 he is referred to as *Śrī Vallabha-narāyaṇa*.

The introductory stanzas are mostly the same as in the Paithan plates³ of Saka 716, except that verses 29, 34 and 27 of the present plates do not occur in the latter and that verses 24, 26 and 27 of the Paithan plates do not occur in the present record. An interesting point to be noted is that verses 20 and 21 of the Paithan plates, which do not occur in any previous records of the Rāshtrakūṭas, are found in the present plates (verses 21-22). Verse 24 of the present inscription is not found in any other charter.

Although the present inscription contains no new facts about the genealogy of the Rāshtrakūṭas, it is useful for elucidating the time of the southern campaigns of Gōvinda III. According to our epigraph the king was camping on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadra near Alampara on the 2nd November 803 A.D. According to the Sanjan plates⁴ which describe the exploits of Gōvinda III, this king is stated to have launched an offensive against the Draviḍa kings after his campaigns in the north. While engaged in this southern expedition, he was encamped at Hēlāpara. In the other records of Gōvinda III, he is said to have spent the rainy season at Śrībhavana after his northern expedition and thence proceeded to the banks of the Tuṅgabhadra.

² In most of the charters issued by Gōvinda III the Saka year mentioned is expired and the system followed is the northern luni-solar one. Sometimes the Saka year is a current one, though it is said to be an expired one, as in the present plates. Besides this grant, there are two more records in which the date is mentioned as above. They are the Wani-Dhōḍeri plates (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 159) and the Bahadwād plates (*Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. II, p. 21). In the present charter, notwithstanding the expression *Saka-vriṣa-kāḍḍha*, the year 726 has to be taken as current, the year intended being 725 (expired).

³ Above, Vol. III, pp. 163 ff.

⁴ Ibid. Vol. XVIII, pp. 225 ff.

It is very probable¹ that Alampura of the present charter is identical with Hēlāpura of the Sanjan plates.² According to the British Museum plates,³ Gōvinda III was camping at Rāmēśvara-tirtha on the bank of the Tungabhadra on the 4th April of 804 A.D. after his victorious expedition against the Pallava ruler. From this we are led to surmise that his southern expedition was carried on between the date of the present charter and that of the British Museum plates, i.e., between the 2nd November of 803 A.D. and the 4th April of 804 A.D.

As pointed out by Prof. Mirashi,⁴ the charters of Gōvinda III fall into two groups, the first consisting of the Paithan and Ahjanavati plates, in both of which the draft of the introductory part follows for the most part the text of the earlier records of the Rashtrakūta family. Under the second group fall all other charters commencing with the Nēsarī plates of Śaka 727. In this series, a new draft was employed for the introduction describing the victories of the king over his northern and southern adversaries. The new draft is also found in the Mappu plates of his brother Stambha dated Śaka 724 which was therefore taken to be the starting point of the second series by Prof. Mirashi. The genuineness of the Mappu plates was questioned by Dr. Altekar who pointed out that as Gōvinda III was still engaged in his southern campaign in Śaka 725 according to the British Museum plates, the new draft could not have been composed prior to this date. To obviate this difficulty, Prof. Mirashi argued that the southern expedition mentioned in the British Museum plates must have been a second expedition of a later date. But an examination of the inscription shows that there is no ground for such an assumption.⁵

The present inscription proves the spurious nature of the Mappu plates. The first group of charters issued by Gōvinda III is represented by the Paithan and Ahjanavati plates and the present record is a new and important addition to it. While the Paithan and Ahjanavati plates were issued before the Mappu plates, the charter under study was issued one year later than that record. It can therefore be inferred that even in Śaka 725 the old draft was being used by the king. If the new draft was already composed and used in the Mappu charter, there was no point in continuing with the old one in a charter issued one year later. The combined evidence of the Jharikā and British Museum plates shows that, during Śaka 725 and 726, Gōvinda III was still engaged in his southern campaign which he carried on from his camp at Alampur on the bank of the Tungabhadra and that after this expedition, on his way back to the capital, he had the new draft prepared. It was used, as far as evidence goes, for the first time in the Nēsarī charter of Śaka 727. Prof. Mirashi's inference that Gōvinda III's expedition against the southern kings occurred in Śaka 722 and 723 needs revision.⁶

¹ Bhambhakar's suggestion (also see Vol. XVIII, p. 241) that Hēlāpura might be Yēlāpūr or Hēlūr in the Hassan District of Mysore does not seem to be correct, as the place is far away from the Tungabhadra.

² The identification of Hēlāpura with Alampur is correct. The place was known by various names such as Hatanpura mentioned in a Kālāṭya inscription (*Hyd. Arch. Ser. No. 12, Ins. No. 55, p. 167*). Hēmalāpura according to a passage in the *Śihahapūraṇa* (*Prabuddha Karmāṇu, No. 90, 1942, p. 29*), and Alupura reckoned among the eighteen Śākta Pithas (*JOS, Vol. XIX, p. 287; Kannada Śākta Pāṇṇatī Parīkṣā, Vol. XXXVII, No. 1-2, p. 131*)—V. B. D.]

³ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 387-98.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 314 ff.

⁵ Fleet's translation of this record as given by him earlier in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 427, is incorrect and misleading. This mistake was rectified later by him in the *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 387. I am indebted to Shri N. Lakshminarayana Rao for this reference.

⁶ [For the controversy on the nature of the Mappu plates between Dr. Altekar and Prof. Mirashi, neither of whom regards the inscription as spurious, see above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 295-87. For the former's views on the chronology of Gōvinda III's campaigns, see also *Adarga-Prasāngikā Vāṇanā, pp. 123 ff.*, and *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. IV, p. 8, where he has accepted the date of Gōvinda's southern campaign as suggested by Prof. Mirashi.—P.B.D.]

The donee of the present plates is *Bhaṭṭa Risyapa* of the *Kāśyapa-gotra*, who was a resident of *Dhārāvāṣa*, belonged to the family of *Traividyas* (i.e. learned in three Vedas) and was a student of the *Rigveda*. He was the son of *Bhaṭṭa Annasvāmin*. It is to be noted that with some variations of spelling in the name the figures in the same capacity in three more records of *Gōvinda III*, viz. the *Śivavai*,¹ *Daśapura*² and *Lohārā*³ grants. The grandfather of *Risyapa* is not mentioned in the present grant. According to the *Śivavai* charter he was *Viśva-cha-turvēda* who, it may be noted, belonged to the family of *Chāturvidyas* and not *Traividyas* as stated in other grants. He is called *uvā-ṣvārēṣin* in the *Lohārā* and *Daśapura* plates.

As stated in the last two lines of the record, the charter was written in the presence of the king by *Kukkāyya* who was the son of the general *Gaurja*, honoured by the five great titles, and by *Dēvayya*,⁴ officer in charge of the records. *Kukkāyya* who wrote the *Añjanavati* charter seems to be identical with this *Kukkāyya*. The same person seems to be responsible for the writing of the *Paṭṭhaṇ* plates, as the last sentence in the record (line 73) can be read as *likhitaṁ cha Paramāśvār-ādṛa(ja)ṇaṁ Śrī-Kukkāyay(e)-āṇi*, although Kiehnorn, its editor, did not decipher this portion. Thus it seems that *Kukkāyya* wrote the charters in which the old draft was used and that *Arṇāḍiṭya* wrote the others in which the new draft was utilized.

As for the places mentioned in the present grant, *Alampura* is the present *Alampūr*, near the *Alampūr Road* railway station on the *Central Railway*, 3 miles to the north of the *Taṅgabhadra* river. *Jharikā*, the donated village, may be modern *Zari* in the *Kelapur Taluk* of the *Yestmal District*. *Pōṣa*, the headquarters of the territorial unit in which *Jharikā* was situated, may be modern *Pōḥanā* on the bank of the *Wardhā* river in the *Hingunghat Taluk* of the *Wardha District*. Of the boundary villages, *Taluti* may be identified with the present *Tarōli*, 3 miles to the east, *Vāḥarāma* with *Umbari* about 4 miles to the south, and *Māragrāma* with *Māragāon* 5 miles to the north of *Zari*. *Talabhi* cannot be identified.

TEXT

[Metres : Verses 1, 23, 29-30, 32-33, 35 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verses 2-3, 5-6, 8-9, 15, 24-25 *Fusantatilaka* ; verses 4, 19, *Upajit* ; verse 7 *Uti* ; verses 10, 17, 20-22 *Sārdūlavikīṣita* ; verses 11-14, 26, 28 *Āryā* ; verses 16, 18 *Śaughatā* ; verses 27, 31, 34 *Indravajrā* ; verse 36 *Pushpitāgrā*.]

First Plate

- 1 Ōm* [1*] Sa vō-vyād-Vōdhasā dhāma yan-nābhū-kamalan kṛitam(tam) [1*] Harā-ōṁ
yasya kāmataṁ(t-ēṁ)du-kalayā kam-alamkṛitam(tam) [1*] Āṇaṣṭiva(t-dvi)-
śaḥṭi(śat-ti)mī-
- 2 ran-udyata-maṇḍal-āgrō dhvastin-nayanama(yam-a)bhinnu(khō) raga-śarvavarāhu | bhūpaḥ
śuchin-vīdhat-(v-āpta-dig-achā-kṛit)ṛ* | Gā(Gō)vindarāja
- 3 iti rājasa rāja-singhaḥ(hab) [1*] 2* Dhṛiṣṭvā chāmān-abhimukhūṣṭ* | śubhaḥ-āṇa-bhān-
uma(mā)mitaṁ sapadi yōna rapōshu nityam(tyam) [1*]
- 4 das(ā)śt(ā)llharēpa darhatā bhikṛit(tich) hālāḥ khadgarū kulam cha hrīdayam cha nijaṁ
cha satvām(tvam) [1*] 3* Khadgarū kar-āgrān-mukhataś-cha 63-

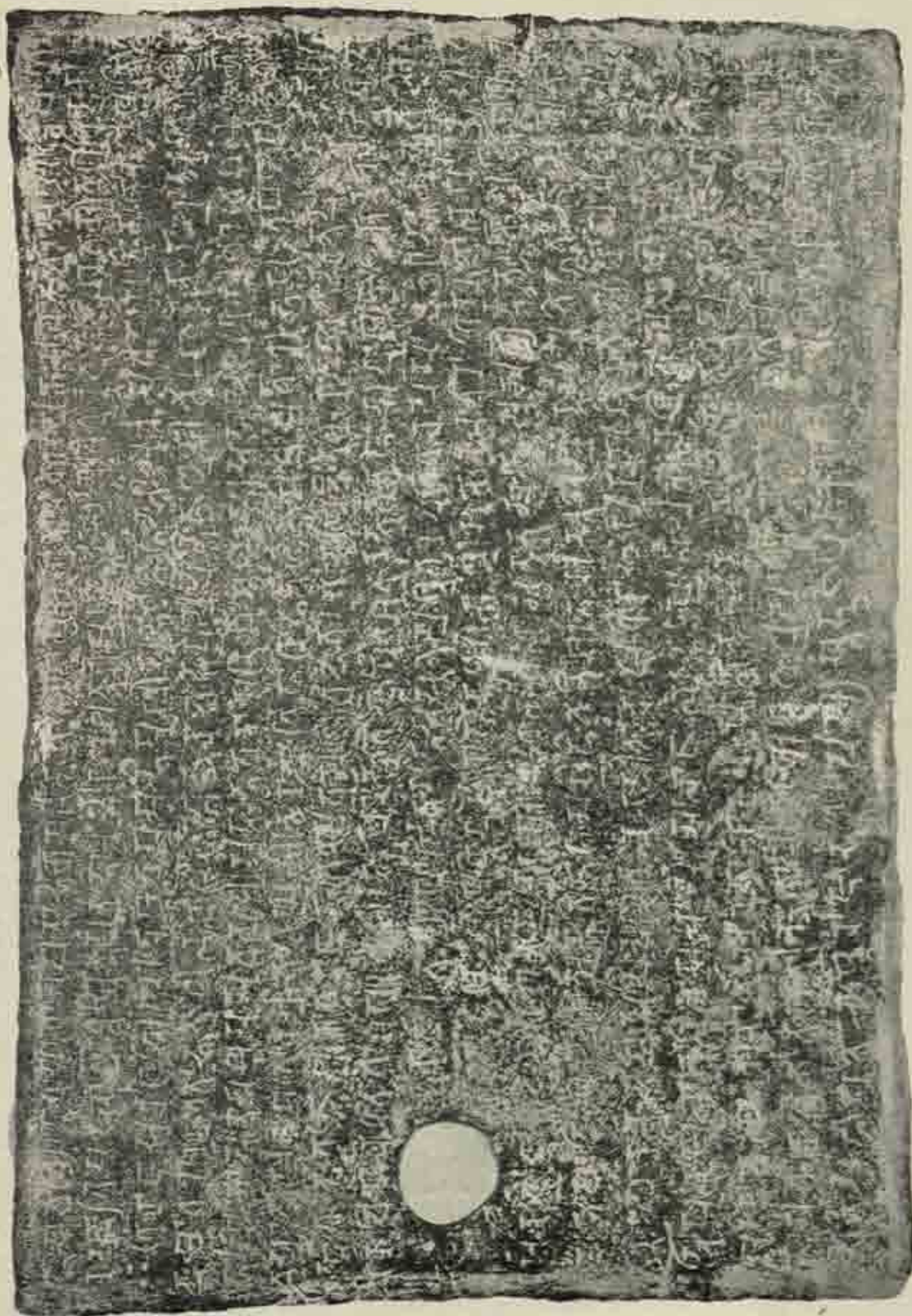
¹ Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 295.

² Sources of the *Maṇusmṛiti* History of the Deccan, Vol. III, pp. 27 ff.

³ Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 213.

⁴ This *Dēvayya* seems to be identical with *Dēvayya-rāga* figuring as the *Dēvaka* in the *Nēasī* charter.

* Expressed by symbol.



Scale : Nine-tenths

This image shows a page from an ancient manuscript, likely of Indian origin, written in a script that resembles Devanagari. The text is densely packed in horizontal lines. A prominent circular hole is located near the bottom center, which is a common feature in traditional manuscript binding. The high-contrast black and white processing highlights the texture of the paper and the individual strokes of the handwritten characters.

23. [a-jaga(ga)j-ghat-ātōpa-samkabhōla-dā[kaham(kāham)] | śastyañi tyaktā(ktv-ā)ri-vargō
bhaya-ekakita-vapuh kv-āpi dīpātv-ai[va sa]-
24. [dyō] darpp-ādhmāt-ā[ri*]-chakra-kahaya-bha[ka]ram-agarasā-yu[rya] dūr-dhāpā-rūpān-
(pam) || [16*] Pātā [ya]-chatur-amvū(mbu)rāsi-rasa(sa)n-ā-
25. lamkāra-bhājō bhavah tra[yā]bhūgā¹ kṛtāh(ta)-dvij-āmara-gura-prāy-ājya-pū[ā]-dara[h *]
[ā](dā)tā [mā]na-bhri(bhri)d-agra-
26. [vir-guṇa]vatām yō-sau śrīyō vallabhō bhōttam(ktam) svarga-phalādi(ni) bhūti-taṇmā
sthāmā jagām-amarām(ram) || [17*]
27. Yōna svēt-āpatra-prahata-²ripa-karā(ra)-vātā-tāpātā salilām jagm nāsira-dhāt-dhaval-
[ta*]-
28. [si]rasā vallabh-ākhyā[h*] sad-āyō[am] [i*] sa śrī-Gōvinā-rājā(jō) jita-jagad-ahita-tri-
(strai)pa-vaidhavya-bhūh [i*] tasy-ā-
29. ām(āt-ā)mur-ēka-kahāpa-rupa-dalit-ārātī-matī-bha-kumbha[h *] [18*] Śta(Ta)ry-ānūjāh
ār(h)atī-Dhruvarāja-nāmā mah-ānubhāvō-
30. vāhita-pantāpā[h *] prasādhāt-āśāna-narēndra-ekakra[h*] kramāya vā(bā)l-ārka-vapurva-
(rabbā)bhūva || [19*] Jātō yatra eha-
31. Bāshtrakṛpā-tilakē māt-bhūpa-ahūdāmay(ṇas) gurvī tuskīr-ath ākūlāya jagatāh sau-
svāmanī praty-aham(ham) |
32. śastyañi śastyañi-iti prasādhātī matī matī [kshma]m-ā-samudr-āntikām-āś[ā]dha(d-ā)ma-
parō guṇ-ānūjita-nidhan [satya-vrat-ādhishtāt*] || [20*]
33. Śrī-Kāñchi-pati-Gaṇga-Vēṅgīka-yutā [yō] Mālavā-ālaya[h*] prakṛyān-āma(m)yyatī ama-
tā[hu-khi][ti*]-
34. bhūtō [ya] prājyānām-āpī³ [i*] mūṇkyā(ky-ā)bhārāpī(gā)[nī*] hōma-natī⁴ yasya
prapadyorāpī⁵ syam yōna prachīnam yatūnya⁶
35. [bhārā]rām(ram) || [21*] Sāma(m-ā)dō(dyai)r-āpī Vallabhā(bhō) na hi yadā sa[ur*]pībhū
vidhātun-tadā⁷ [i*] chātundanta-raṇē vijītya ta-
36. rasā paschāt-tatō bhū-

Second Plate, Second Side

37. patim(tim) [i*] prā[chy-ōdīchya]-parāchya-yānya-ekalasat¹¹ pa(pā)li-dhvajair-bhūshitam
chī[ṇai]r-ya[h*] Paramēvaratyam-a[kh]lām bhūh mah-ābhō vābhūh || [22*]
38. Jit-āśha-mahā[pālā]h Purāndara-jigīṣa(dha)yā | sa śrī-Nirupamō rāja(jā) hīvā mattī-
(riyam) dvā(vam) gata[h*] || [23*] Duvāra-vairi-vanitā-ma-

¹ Read *bhāmanītrayāśchakṛpī*.

² Read *svat* as in the Pathic and other plates.

³ Read *āpīmanā* as in the Pathic and Anjnavall plates.

⁴ Read *śāstyañi*.

⁵ This phrase omitted through oversight has been supplied from other published charters.

⁶ Read *prachīn-jagatmā*.

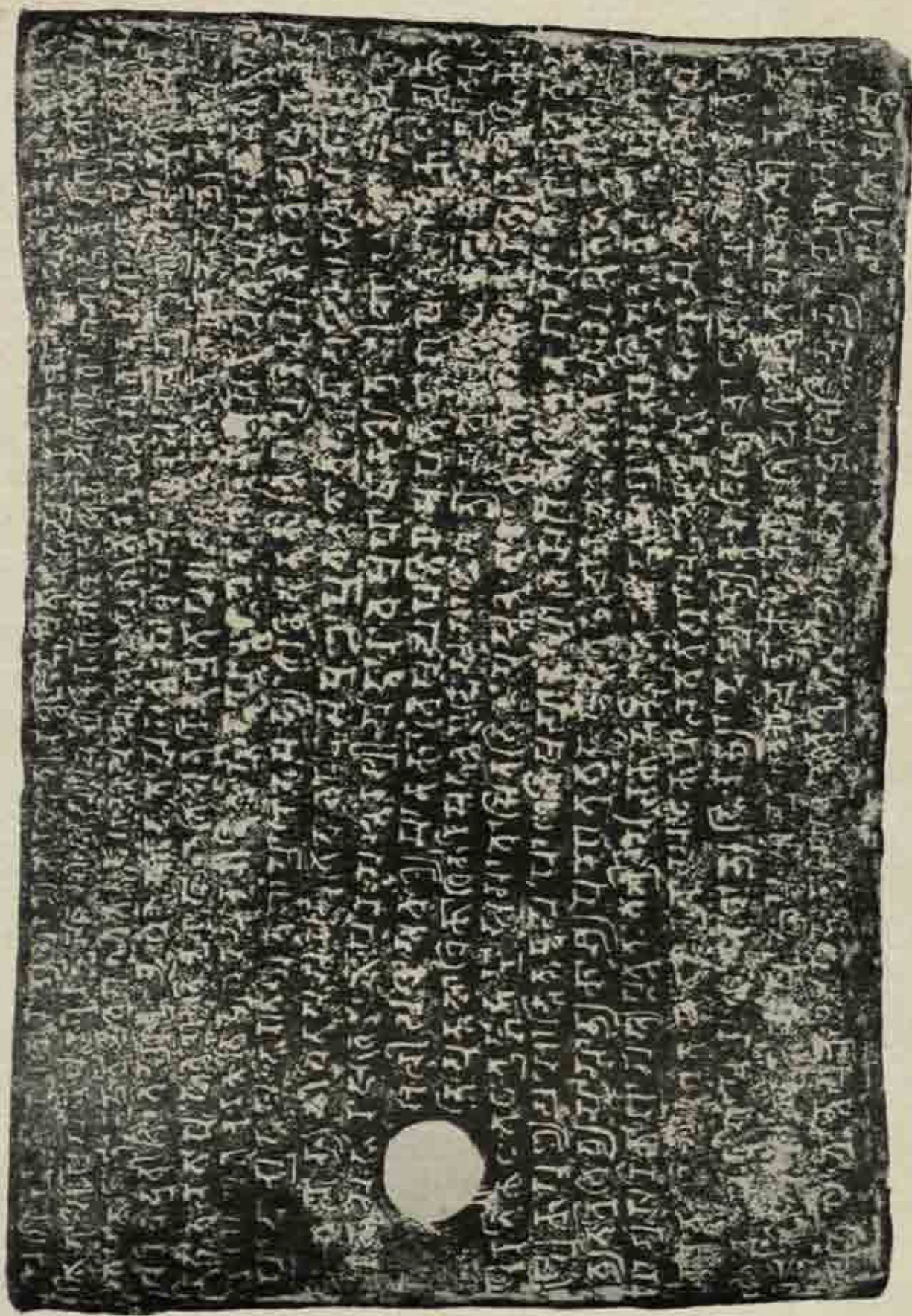
⁷ Read *nichayam*.

⁸ Read *śāstyañi*.

⁹ Read *prati tam vābhūpī* as *prachīnābhūpī*.

¹⁰ The *śāstyañi* is superfluous.

¹¹ Better read *“gāyā-vilāsa”* as in the Bharu Museum plates.



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- 39 kha-patikayāndini] [dēvā] divān gataṃvati tṛi(tri)-jagatm yasya [1*] ady-āpi kūrīti-amra-
[kṛtā]m iv-ānurāgā[da] . . . yasaśi
- 40 pari[ḍ]ḍ[ra]vati || [21*] Tasy-āpi-a]bhūd-juhvaṇa-bhūma-bhṛītau samarthah Pūth-
ōpanah Prithu-samāna-guṇ[ā] guṇajñah [1*] dūrāvāra-vairi-va-
- 41 mit-ātula-tāpa-bhūta (lōvincharā) iti sōnur-ins-pratāpa[h*] || [25*] Śasādharu-kara-
nikara-nibhūta yasya(sya) yasaśah¹ [Suranag-āgra-sānu-śhalā] [2*] pa-
- 42 rigiyatō-muktair Vidyādharu-sundarī-nivahāh || [26*] Hṛīab(ō-avaham yō-[rthā])-janāya
sarvva[m*] sarvvaś samānandita-va(ba)ndhu-vargah [1*]
- 43 prālāt-praharīh² harati [ana vīgāh(gāt)] pūṇāna(n-Ya)masy-āpi nibhāta-kūrīh
|| [27*] Yēn-ślam anila-vidyuch-śhadichalam-a-
- 44 valūkyā [vītam-asāradīram] [1*] kalitī-ilāma-parānta-punya[h*] pravartitō vra(bra)hma-
dāyō-yānti(yam) || [28*] sa cha paramabhattā-
- 45 raka-mahārājādhirāja-paramādeva-śrinad-Dhārāvarsha-pād āmūhyāta-irī³Gōvinadarāja-
dēva[h*] ku-
- 46 śālī yathā-sarva(ba)llhyamānakām(kām) viśayapati-rāsh(rapati)-bhāgupati-grāma-kū-
ḥyukta-
- 47 niyuktak-ādihikādihikāri⁴[ka*] mahattar-ādih(dia) samādīśaty-astu vah saśvādītān yathā
mayā Alarī-
- 48 pa(pu)ra-nikata-jata-Tuṅgabhadrā-samācārita-vijaya-śaradhāvē[ā]-ā[śāntēma mātā-
pitṛō-ātmanā-eh-āhik-ānu-
- 49 śmika-punya-vaśō-bhividdhāyē Pōṇa-vishay-ānta[h]pūti-Jharik-ābhilā[ā]na-grāmah
Dhārāsīva-vāta-
- 50 vya-tātraivīlyā⁵-sāmānya-Kāśyapa-gōtra-va(ba)hvrīja(cha)-svatva)vra(bra)hmachārī-bhatta-
⁶Annasvāmi-anta-bhāṭṭa-Risīya-
- 51 pūya⁷ Jharikā-grāmaśya pūrevatah Taluī-sāya[kad] dakṣiṇatah [Vi]du[rā]mra-grāmah
pāśchimatah Taluīhī-grāmah a-
- 52 ttaratāh [Māragrāma] śvam-śa[eh-cha]tur-āghāta-kapāla-va(ba)[dha](ddha)-grāmah
ōdrāṅgaḥ sa-grāma-bhāgah [a-ō]pari-
- 53 karah sa-das-āparādloḥ sa [dhā]nya hiraṇyā[ny-ā]dāyō-bhvaṇtara-ā[ilāhy-a]-chāta-bhāta-
prācāyā[h] sarvva-rā-
- 54 jakīyā[nā]m a-[hastā]-prakāśopayāh ā-chamr-ārkk-ā[ruga]va-kaliti-sarit-parvata-sama-
kālinah sa-
- 55 putra-pautr-ānvaya-kram-ōpabhuṇyamāna dēva-vra(bra)hma-dāya-rahitō bhūmi-ochchīdra-
nyāyēna | **Saka-nṛipa-kā-**
- 56 1-ātita-samva(samva)-

¹ Read anāśh.² These words which were omitted by the engraver have been restored here from the Pāthay and other records.³ Read paravakāś as in Jethawal and other plates.⁴ Read before this as in the Pāthay and Aṅkuravati plates parvata-mattāraka-sakāśāśādīrāja-paravakāśa-
prithivībhāṭṭa-Prabhūtaraka. These words have been left out by the engraver evidently through mistake.⁵ The letters śśāś are unnecessarily repeated.⁶ Read trivāṇḍya. (Or, śa-trivāṇḍya.—ED.)⁷ Kaśhī has not been observed here.⁸ This word referring to the donor is to be connected with pratipādīś in line 59.

Third Plate

- 57 tsara-śatōshu' saptasu sha[ḍ-viṣh]viṣh'asaty-adbhikēshu yatr-āṅkatō-pi samva-
(samva)tsarasa(sya) 725 ra(ha)li-valśvadēv-āgni-
- 58 hōtr-ātithi-pañcha-mahāya[n-āḍi]-kra(kri)y-ōtaa[r*]paṇ-ā[rtham*] Tungabhadra-na[ḍm]-
(dyām)śatvā dyōtakādisargōna* Kārta(rtti)ka-paurṇamāsyām(syām) grah-ō-
- 59 parāgē pratipāditaḥ [i*] Yatā-sy-śchitayā vra(bra)hma-dāya-śchityā bhūmijatō
bhōjayatā(ta)ś-cha kṛishatō(ta)ś-karshayataḥ pratilīś-
- 60 tō vā na kaischid-alp-āpi pratipantūna* kārā | tath-āgrā(gā)mibhir-apī bhadra-nīpa-
[ti*]bhīr-āśma(sma)d-ranśal(sya)r-anyair-vvā śāmānyam bhūmi-
- 61 dāna-pa(pha)lam-avōtya vidyul-bīlāny-anityāni aiśva[rya]-sukhāni īrīy-āgra-lagna-jala-
vindh-chaśchalaś-cha jīvitam-ākalayya
- 62 eva-dāya-nirviśchō-(yam-a*)ama[d*]-dāyō-numatavya[h*] pratipālayitavyaś-cha [i*]
yāś-cha-ājāna-timira-paṭal-ārita-matir-śchekhindyāś-śchekhūdyā-
- 63 mānam vāmanu'mōḍitaś-cha paśchabhi[r*]-mahāpātakaḥ *ōpapātakaś-cha pratishyukta-
[h*] syād-ity-uktam-cha bhagvatā Veda-
- 64 vyāśna Vyāśna | Shashṭir-va[r*]śha-saharāṇi vva[r*]gā mōḍati bhūmidah [i*]
śchekhōtāś-cha-ānamantāś-cha tāny-eva narakō vasāt || [29*]
- 65 Viṇḍhy-ātavīśva(śhr-a)-tōyān āśhka-kōṭara-vāśuś | kṛish-āhayaḥ hi jāyamāś bhūmi-
dāyāś haraṁti yō || [30*] Āgūr-apatyāni pratha-
- 66 matē suvarṇam bhūr-Vaśhpayī Sūrya-śatāś-cha gāvah [i*] lōka-trayaś tōna bhavēd-dhi
dattam [a*] yāś kāmehanaś gām-cha mahim-cha śadyāś || [31*]
- 67 Va(Ba)huhir-vyandhā dattā rājabhīḥ Sagar-āḍibhīḥ [i*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmiś-tasya
tasya tadā [pha*]-
- 68 kām(lam) || [32*] Gām-āḍkām suvarṇam-āśh bhūmēśa(r-a)py-ākam-āśhgnat(ham) |
haraṁ(ran)-marakam-āyāti yāvad-ābhūta-samplavam || [33*]
- 69 Yāś-cha dattāni purā narēndraiḥ-ślānāni dharmā(ru-ā)ritā-yāśa-karāṇi [i*] nirmukta-
māya-pratimāni tāni kō nūna śādhuḥ
- 70 punar-ādadhā || [34*] Sva-dattam(ttāś) para-dattam(ttāś) vā yatnād-raksha narādhipa
[i*] mahim mahimh[ī]tām *śchēṭha dāśś-chaśh[ī]yō-nupālānam || [35*]
- 71 Iti kamala-dal-āśhv(ba)-vidyul-bīlām īriyam-adbhigamya manushya-jīvitam-cha [i*]
ati-vimala-maṇibhir-ātma-kūmar-na hi pu-
- 72 rishaiḥ para-kīrtayō vilōpyāś || [36*] Likhitaś-cha-aitan-mahā-pancha-mahāśhvā(bda)-
pūjā-pūjita-śi-[Gān]dā-ra(ha)lādihkṛita-
- 73 śnōśh(nunā) śi-Kukkāyyōśa | Tathā mahāparamēvara-pratyakshya(kshatī) mā-
āśhapatāś-ādhipa-Dōvayyāś-āś ||

* There is some gap in between each two of these three letters.

* This letter is superfluous.

* Read *śady-śchāś-āśargōna*. (Or, *śāśm-āśch-āśāś*—Ed.)

* Better read *paripomāśhāś*.

* Read *vahāś*.

* The *śadyāś* is superfluous.

No. 19—KALYANA INSCRIPTION OF SULTAN MUHAMMAD, SAKA 1248

(I Plate)

P. B. DESAI, DHARWAR

Kalyāṇa is a small town in the Humnabad Taluk of the Bidar District, Mysore State. Its original name was also Kalyāṇa and this was modified as Kalyāṇi during the Muslim regime. The latter form of the name is still recognised in official quarters, although the common people prefer to call it by its earlier name. Kalyāṇa figures in hundreds of inscriptions of the rulers of the later Chālukya family, who made it their principal headquarters about 1033 A.D.¹ This seat of political power was occupied by the usurpers of the Kalachuri family for some time in the latter part of the 12th century. It was also the scene of the religious conflict between Kalachuri Bijjala II and his minister Basavēśvara, the founder of Viśiṣṭa school, when it witnessed the great upsurge of the latter's followers. These memorable events are remembered to the present day and a visitor to Kalyāṇa is shown various sites associated with the activities of the historical personages.² An attempt is made in certain quarters even to restore the place-name as Basava-Kalyāṇa after the great leader of the Viśiṣṭa movement.³

Kalyāṇa, until recently included in the Hyderabad State, was in the possession of a family of petty Nawabs or Jāgirdārs who constructed a fort at the place. In the courtyard of this fort have been kept a large number of antiquities such as inscriptions, sculptures and remains of architectural constructions, brought over from various sites inside the town and also from the neighbouring villages. In the course of my official tour in search of inscriptions, I visited Kalyāṇa in January 1907 and copied 16 inscriptions kept in the said place, and two more in the Nawab's Bungalow. Of these, seven belong to the reign of Vikramāditya VI, one to that of his son Sāmēśvara III and three to that of the latter's successor Jagadēkanalla II. One more in the former place is the epigraph under study here. I edit the inscription from the estampages taken during my visit. It was previously edited in *A. R. Arch. Dept.*, Hyderabad, 1936-37, pp. 43 ff.

The inscribed area of the stone slab bearing the epigraph is clearly demarcated by lines drawn on its four sides and it measures 45·7" long and 21·3" broad. At the top of this space are engraved figures of the crescent on the left and of the sun on the right. The stone has peeled off at the left corner of the bottom, resulting in the loss of a few letters. There are in all 32 lines of writing and in most cases they are in a fair state of preservation.

¹ R. K. Coll., No. 426 of 1933-34; *SIU*, Vol. I, Pl. I, Ins. No. 89. The Saka years in both these records are wrongly engraved. For an elaborate discussion on the various Chālukya capitals, see the *Corpus of Inscriptions in the Kanakota District of Hyderabad*, Hyderabad, 1938, pp. 3 ff.

² Some of the sites may be mentioned here: 1. the palace of Bijjala, 2. the mansion of Basavēśvara, 3. the cave of Akkanūganna, sister of Basavēśvara, 4. the pedestal of Allama Prabhu, 5. the cave of Viṣṇuśvara.

³ *Annual Report of Basavēśvara Devasthanam*, 1954-55, and other publications (Hindi) of the institution.

The characters are Nagari, being normal for the period to which the inscription belongs. The following peculiarities, however, deserve to be noted. The top *mātrā* which is generally a straight line is sometimes curved towards the left, the curve being turned into a loop in a few cases; see for instance *i* in *rōpiṭa* in line 7 and *l* at the beginning of the next line. The letters *i* and *e* are not distinguished in many cases; e.g. *tanayō* in line 17. The letter *l* presents two forms; e.g. *Śakti* in line 1 and *śud* in line 2. In regard to orthography, two rare instances of the doubling of the consonant after *r* are available and they are confined to one letter only which is *t* in *vartta-mūṣa* in line 7 and *varttatē* in line 13. *ṣh* is written for *kh*, e.g. *Shōjā* in line 7. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and the composition both prose and verse. There are four verses which are numbered. Of the large number of errors that have crept into the writing, a few may be attributed to the insufficient knowledge of the language on the part of the person who prepared the draft and the majority to the incompetence of the scribe who apparently failed to follow the draft fully. These blemishes are particularly glaring in verses 3-4 which have become difficult to decipher and interpret.

After the auspicious symbol the inscription mentions the date which is cited as **Saka 1248**, Kṛttika,¹ Kārtika in 15, Monday (lines 1-2). This regularly corresponds to the **10th November 1326 A.D.** The epigraph then states that *Mahārājādharāja Suratāyā Mahamada* was ruling at this time (lines 3-4). Next we are introduced to his subordinate *Mahāpradhāna Mallika Kāmādina* who was in charge of the whole administration and was governing *Mahārāshṭra-maṇḍala* (lines 4-6). The phrase found in this context, viz. *śamasa-muktā-viparīṭān paripanthayati* is interesting. The expression *paripanthayati* as it occurs here cannot be traced in the lexicons, although it seems to have been used in the sense of 'conducting' or 'executing'. This phrase appears to have passed into the administrative terminology of this period as seen from its occurrence elsewhere also.* Next comes a local official under the provincial governor. He was in charge of the area of the town of Kalyāṇa and called *Shōjā* (i.e. Khōjā or Khvājā) *Ahamada* (lines 7-8).

What follows (lines 8-10) is highly interesting though difficult to interpret fully on account of the faulty text. It seems that in connection with the revolution (*viparyaya*) caused by Bāhabādīn, Khōjā Ahamada, the officer of Kalyāṇa, along with Jandamala, went to Syāra Mallika. This gave room for confusion which was taken advantage of by the unruly elements who seem to have caused serious damage to the temple of Mallikēśvara and even broken the Śiva-līṅga. Soon after this, some devotees of the god from the Karnāṭa section of the population appear to have made a premature offer to embellish the temple. The text of the relevant passage after correction stands as *Kāṇṭā-lōkaś aṣṭana-buddhiś kṛtā*. But this move was not encouraged by the trustees of the temple.

After some time when the governor of the town returned, a representation was made to him in the matter of reinstating the deity and resumption of ceremonial worship as usual by Thakkura

¹ The name of the cyclic year is given as *Alakṣya* in verse 2 (line 19).

* Compare *Lakṣapaddhati* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XIX), pp. 33-34.

Malla,¹ son of Vaiṣaṁha or Vaiṣapāla, who was in charge of the management of the temple. The request was granted by the governor in consultation with his secretary.² The governor is stated to have given the verdict that as it (i.e. worship in the temple) was the religious duty of the petitioners, they should follow it (lines 11-14).

Then come four verses, all in the *Sāṁdāyavikrīḍita* metre. In verse 1 the Sultan is mentioned as Mahimada. Verses 1-2 together summarise the main facts stated before. The only additional information furnished by them is that the said Malla was a Kāyastha and that the installation of the deity took place according to the prescribed rites such as the chanting of the *mantras* at night during the Rōhiṇī *nakṣatra*. It is interesting to note that on the date cited previously the Kṛttikā *nakṣatra* lasted till 34, followed by Rōhiṇī thereafter. Verse 3 seems to allude to the Puranic episode of the destruction of the Three Cities by the god Śiva. Verse 4 praises the deity Madhukēśvara, i.e. Śiva, as the supreme god and invokes his blessings. In the prose passage that follows (lines 29-30) is introduced Vijāditya who wrote (i.e. drafted) the charter. He is described as one respected by Syāma Sindhā-rāja³ who appears to have been an officer of some importance, probably a prince of the royal family. It is not unlikely that he is identical with Syāma Mallika mentioned in line 8. This Vijāditya appears to have been a person of some learning, though his composition has been spoiled by the ignorant engraver. The last two lines (31-32) are damaged. Line 31 again refers to Thakura and Madhukēśvara.

The inscription is of unique historical importance. The ruling king introduced as *Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Surāditya* must no doubt be Sultan Muhammad Shah bin Tughluq. The epithet *Surāditya* is a Prakrit form of *Suratrāṇa* (cf. lines 14-15) which is a Sanskritised form of *Sulṭān*. Muhammad Shah's accession took place a few days after the death of his father Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq in February or March 1325 A.D.⁴ The area around Kalyāṇa might have been annexed by Muhammad Shah himself in the course of his campaigns against Warangal and Bidar during the life-time of his father when he was acting as the viceroy of the southern provinces under his original name Ulugh Khan.⁵ Our inscription dated 1326 A.D. falls in the second year of Muhammad Shah's reign. It thus furnishes the earliest epigraphic evidence so far known for the reign of the king.⁶

¹ This name is spelt as Malla in one place and Malla in two places. Similarly, the family name Thakura given alternately as Thakura and Thākura and perhaps wrongly as Tākura also.

² The name of this secretary appears to be Jambhāditya (lines 12-13). It is not unlikely that the same person is mentioned as Jambhamala in line 8 immediately after Shōṣa Ahameda. Compare the name of Malla's father mentioned with variations as Vaiṣapāla (line 12) and Vaiṣaṁha (line 17).

³ *Sindhā* may be a corrupt form of *Shahādā*, meaning a prince.

⁴ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. II, p. 135.

⁵ Aiyangar, *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*, 1921, pp. 133-34.

⁶ It is interesting to note that two inscriptions associated with the Sultan are found in the south. One of them, in Persian, from Rajahmundry is dated September 12, 1324 A.D. (Sewell and Aiyangar, *Historical Inscriptions*, etc., p. 182). But it is clear that Muhammad Shah was not the reigning king at that time. As the record mentions the name Muhammad Shah which was assumed by the Sultan after his accession, it is possible to think that the epigraph was set up later in his reign. The second one is dated in his ninth year (1334 A.D.) and comes from Panayūr in the former Pudukkottai State (Aiyangar, *op. cit.*, p. 169).

Another piece of historical information which was not known hitherto and which is offered for the first time by our epigraph is that Mahārāshtra-maṇḍala was placed at this time under the governance of Mallika Kāmadīna.¹ This Mahārāshtra-maṇḍala seems to have comprised the erstwhile dominion of the Dēvagiri kings, as the latter is sometimes referred to as Maharāja.² A subordinate officer of this Kāmadīna, Shōjā (i.e. Khōjā or Khvājā) Ahamada, was in charge of the small area around Kalyāṇa. Although included in Mahārāshtra for the exigency of administration, Kalyāṇa must have been a Kannaḍa area as seen from the numerous Kannaḍa inscriptions from earlier centuries found there. This fact, curiously enough, is indicated by an allusion to Kārṇāṭa (i.e. of Karpāṭa) occurring in the present inscription itself.

The charter under study incidentally offers confirmatory evidence in favour of a tumultuous event in the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq, which looms large in the history of South India. This was the rebellion, in the second year of his reign, of his cousin Bahā-ud-dīn Gurshāp, who held the fief of Sāgar, near Shorāpur,³ in the present Gulbarga District. The expression *Bāhā-ud-dīna-viparyaya* occurring in line 6 of our inscription undoubtedly alludes to this episode. The region of Kalyāṇa which is not far away from Sāgar seems to have been affected by the disturbances following this revolt. What took place is not clearly stated in our record; but it appears that the governor of Kalyāṇa had to leave his headquarters in this connection, probably for advice and aid from another officer of the Sultan, posted in the adjoining area. This officer seems to be one who is mentioned as Syāra Mallika⁴ in line 8 and Syara Sīhādā in line 29.

It is stated in verse 1 that the temple of Madhukōśvara which became a victim of vandalism during these disturbances was situated at Kalyāṇa itself. The magnanimous view taken by the Muslim governor of Kalyāṇa in respect of the reinstallation of the Hindu deity and the resumption of traditional worship therein, particularly at the time when the communal feelings ran so high, deserves high appreciation.

The following geographical names are mentioned in the epigraph: Mahārāshtra-maṇḍala, Kārṇāṭa and Kalyāṇa. The first of these has been discussed above. The reference to Kārṇāṭa separately either as a territory or as its people is interesting, as this province under its distinct name generally does not find a place as an independent unit in the official records of the period. Kalyāṇa is of course still known by its old name.

TEXT

1 Siddham* || Svasti śai-Śākā 1248 Kshaya-samvatsarē ||[†] Kārttik[ā]

2 śudī 15 Sōmē ||[†] ady-ōha samasta-rājāvalī-māl-ālarī-

* He has been identified with Qivāmuḍḍīn Qutluḡ Khān. See *A. & A. Arch. Dept., Hyderabad*, 1936-37, p. 43.

¹ Elliot, *History of India*, etc., Vol. III, p. 236. There is evidence to show that during the later days of the Yādavas of Dēvagiri, the Mahārāshtra country and Marāṭhī language came to prominence.

² *Cambridge History of India*, op. cit., p. 140.

³ The original personal name may be Shēr.

⁴ From *lakṣa* 'impensive'.

[†] Expressed by symbol.

[‡] The dots are unnecessary.

[The text in this block is extremely faded and illegible due to poor scan quality.]

- 3 kṛ¹ta-virājita Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Suratāṇa-Maha-
- 4 .nadab² rājyē tat-pāda-padma(dm-ō)pa|iv(i){ta}-sar(nā){rva}-bhāra-n(i)rū-
- 5 .jita-Mahāpradhāna-Mallika-Kāmadina(nā) Mahārāj(ah)tra-marā-
- 6 .jalā samasta-mudrā-vyāpā(rā³)n paripanthayati || B⁴ty-ōvarā-kā-
- 7 .lē varittamānē Kā(Ka)lyānapurē taṁ(tan)-nirōṇita-Shōjā Ahama-
- 8 da(h⁵) Jambāmala(h) ta(tha)⁶(thā) [Syā]ra-Mallikantac⁷ gatō(tan) | } [B]āhabadīnu-⁸
- 9 viparyayē Madhukōśvaradēva|-saṁ(tityā)⁹ Kāṇḍa(a)-lōkē arāja-
- 10 navudhī kṛtati¹⁰ |¹¹ jalānta-dēva(tō dha nīyata tra¹² kin na hi | ta-
- 11 tra tasmīn prasthānē punar-apy dēva-sihāpāna-pūjāna-vishayē
- 12 saṁ¹³ Thakkura-Vaiṇapāla-anta Thākura-Māla¹⁴ | Shōjā saṁ¹⁵ [Jambā]dā-
- 13 saḥ nta [Shōjā] prasādaḥ dattat¹⁶ | Yushmā(knā) kna-dharmā varittatō |
- 14 tat-karāṇīya(n) || tha¹⁷ || ¹⁸Prithvī(sā(-ā))bhīpatan Mahāmala-mratrā-
- 15 nē mahīn¹⁹ sā(kā)vatī prāsphūrjargu(d-gu)na-Kāmadīna²⁰ savivī(dhīn)

¹ This letter is peculiarly formed.

² Read 'nadabaga'.

³ The engraving of this letter is peculiar. It may be read as *rā* also.

⁴ The intended reading may be either *Mallikāntac* or *Mallikāntāc*.

⁵ There is a top *odhā* above this letter, which is to be ignored.

⁶ These two letters are doubtful. The reading intended may be *thāyā* as suggested by the context.

⁷ The reading of this passage is almost certain; but its meaning is rather obscure. See the interpretation suggested above, p. 166.

⁸ The intended reading may be *pa|āntar-dāvatā-āhāḥ kalyāṇētra*.

⁹ This *saṁ* seems to stand for *śambuddha*.

¹⁰ The sentence is left incomplete.

¹¹ The intended reading may be *Jambādārāna sin Shōjāna prasādaḥ dattat*.

¹² This letter which may be read as *chā* indicates the end of a topic; see above, Vol. XXX, p. 218, note 2.

¹³ The metre of this and the following three verses is *śāradāśait-śāṭī*.

¹⁴ This *gnestāra* is given before the letter.

¹⁵ Grammatically it should have been *Kāmadīn*; but this will violate the metre.

- 16 mudrāṁ dadhānē tadā | Kalyāṇē nagarē [va]rāṅga-vipadam [driṣṭva(ṣṭv-ā)]-
- 17 [aya] Sam(Śam)bhōr-ayam Kāyasth-ōttama-[V]ajrasinīha-taṇayau(yō) dhīmāṁ(mān)
- 18 [su]-Marlājita[h]* || 1 ||* Sā(Śā)[kē]-ṣṭ-ā[vyē](bhīy-a)yan-aika-nā[mni] viṣamā(mē)
- 19 samvatsarē ch-Ākṣhayē māsē Kārttika-samjñakē vidhu-yuta-śri-pau-
- 20 ṛamā[pō](yām) ti[th]au | Rōhiṇyā niśi vipra-mantra-vihitai[=tē].
- 21 [śāvanaiḥ]* [Tā]kurō² Mallā[h]* śri-Madhukē[śva]tasya vidadhē dha-
- 22 [aya⁴]-pratishṭhām punaḥ || 2 ||*³ Yamtrē trāṇayatē [aya] samabhavata kāmō
- 23 patam[gā]pada pakaiḥja bhīraṇō jagaddhatī harata kākūṭa-viṣa-
- 24 madē | tēnē purā pura-trayam-api [ghā]tam kathāsēśhatām sō-yam Mahā-
- 25 mahēśvarō⁴-dhikurutē [ohē]taḥ pratishṭhā-padam(dam) || 3 ||*⁵ Yamtrē trām valasā
- 26 tathā pratipadam la[kṣmyā] chiram [chi]hmitām ha[ta]ri[pu]ma[tau] śatatā
- 27 tumukhā dēvā labha[m*]tē padam | sō-yam sarva-surēśvarō⁶-pi mahatām
- 28 datvā(tivā) pratishṭā[rō*] nijā[m*] dēvaḥ śri-Madhukēśvarō vitamṣā[t-ta]-
- 29 [t-ta]ya vitt-ēśanām || 4 ||*⁷ Śrīma[tu] Syara Sihālā-rājapūjita-[dē]-
- 30 va[yachā] Vijāditya[s]ya li[chhi](khi)ta-śāsanam Madhukēśvara || chha⁸||
- 31 [Tha]kura [rē]dhatu Vi[śvarupa] Madhukē[śva]ra . . .
 . . . [sthāna] ||

* The reading intended might be *Mall-ōjitaḥ*. One of the dots of the *varṇa* sign after *ta* is given before the letter.

² There is something wrong in the engraving of these letters. The intended reading may be **kurō paravaiḥ*.

³ Read *Thakurō*.

⁴ This letter is intriguing. The intended letter may be *ra* also. [Or, it may be *ṛya*.—Ed.]

⁵ The engraving of this and the following line is faulty resulting in errors too numerous to be corrected.

⁶ This indicates the end of a topic; compare above, Vol. XX, p. 218, n. 2.

No. 20.—HOSUR INSCRIPTION OF VIRA-BALLALA, [SAKA] 1129

B. R. GOPAL AND SHRINIVAS RITTI, OOTACAMUND

This inscription, edited here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, is engraved on a pillar in the Trikūṭṣvara temple at **Hosūr** in the Gadag Taluk of the Dharwar District, Mysore State. It was copied in 1926-27 and noticed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year.¹ The record covers a space of about 1' 2.5" × 1' 2" and is in a fair state of preservation, though a few letters in the middle are worn out. It contains 19 lines of writing.

The record is in **Kannāḍa** and is written in prose throughout.

The **palaeography** of the record is regular for the period to which it belongs, i.e. early half of the 13th century A.D. However, the following points deserve notice. *Anuvāṁ* is used in place of *anuvāsika* as in *Chikka-Narasimhagayyanḡa*, line 7. The use of the prosthetic *y* in *Yēṁūre-vara*, (line 9), may be noted. The cursive forms of *e* and *m* are used, e.g. *gāṁṁṁṁ*, (line 8) and *mukhyo*² (line 9). The following may be noted in **orthography**: the doubling of letters preceded by *r* as in *saracūthikāri* and *Chikkamurti* (line 6, etc.); the use of *ś* for *sh* as in *śāśāḡa*, (line 4) and *varuśa*, (line 3), and the wrong use of *l* for *l*, e.g. *[Nara]simhagayyanḡa* and *Mulugunda* in line 7, *Tappa-dakallī* in line 14, etc. The long *mā* in *sasikamāḡa* in line 5 is a scribal error for *ma*.

The **purpose** of the record is to register a gift of land to the god Motakēśvaraḡḡa by Chikka-Narasimhagayya who is described as *Mahāpradhāna* and *Saracūthikāri* and as the second son of the sovereign. He is stated to be governing Mulugunda Twelve. The gift land was obtained by the donor from the Seven-Hundred of Hosavūr, headed by Mahābala-gāṁṁṁṁ. Mahābala-gāṁṁṁṁ along with others figures in another record³ of this place, dated in 1192 A.D.,⁴ as the recipient of the income derived from taxes as a compensation for the damage caused to the town of Hosavūr, when king Vira-Ballāla had camped there. It is likely that the gift was made in the course of the king's campaign against Yādava Bhīllama which took place between 1191 and 1192 A.D.

The record under review is dated in 1129, apparently of the Śaka era, Prabhava, **Āśāḡa śu. 11, Sunday, Karkkataka-samkramana**. The details of the date are irregular. The *samkramana* occurred on Wednesday, the 27th June in the year 1207 A.D., when the *tithi* was śu. 1, the month being Nija Āśāḡa. The given *tithi*, however, corresponds to July 7 of the same year when the week-day was Saturday and not Sunday as stated in the record. The details do not work out correctly in the *Adhika Āśāḡa* either.

The record is **important** inasmuch as it furnishes certain details pertaining to the Hoysala family which were hitherto not properly assessed. Chikka-Narasimhagayya is introduced as the second son (*deutya kumāra*) of Vira-Ballāla. It is well known that Vira-Ballāla was succeeded by his son Narasimha II in 1220 A.D.⁵ If Chikka-Narasimhagayya, apparently Narasimha II, was the second son of the king, who was his first son and what became of him? In his account of the Hoysalas, Fleet has referred to a record from Śravaṇa Beḡḡa which mentions *Sōmēśvara* as a

¹ Appendix F, No. 116. This has also been noticed in the *ARSI* for 1926-27, p. 162.

² *A. R. Ep.*, 1926-27, App. F, No. 113.

³ The details of the date, viz. Śaka 1114, *Pavāḡaśi*, *Kārtika*, *Paṇṇami*, Monday, correspond to 1192 A.D., October 22. The week-day, however, was Thursday.

⁴ *Ep. Car.* Vol. VII, Cl. 72; *ibid.*, Vol. V, Bl. 55.

kumāra or son of Ballāja.³ But he dismisses the fact, not supported as it was by any other known record, with the remark that there was probably some mistake about either the original or the transcript.² Commenting on the same epigraph, Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhaiah contended that Sōmāśvara mentioned in the record must have called himself the king's son by courtesy; for, Ballāja had no son of his own by that name. He has, however, shown that the record could be attributed, undated as it is, to 1206 A.D., judging from the internal evidence of the mention of Nayakirti's disciples in this record as in some other dated records allied with this epigraph.⁴ It may be noted that the cyclic year Akshaya corresponding to 1205-06 A.D. cited in this record as the year from which the tax exemptions alluded to in it were to take effect, falls well within the reign-period of Ballāja II (1175-1220 A.D.). It may not be unreasonable to presume that the inscription itself should have been actually engraved and set up sometime prior to Akshaya inasmuch as its object was to proclaim the grant of exemptions of specified taxes and the proclamation itself was to take effect from the year Akshaya. This we will discuss in the sequel.

The date of Narasimha II's birth, viz. Śaka 1105, Śubhakarī (1182 A.D.), is furnished by an epigraph from Aleandra.⁴

The earliest record⁵ mentioning him as administering in association with his father bears the date Śaka 1128, Krīdhana (=1205 A.D.).⁶ He should have been a young man about this period. To revert to the Śravana-Belgoḷa epigraph, in the light of the categorical expression *devīyaṃ kumāraṃ* applied to Narasimha in the record under review, it appears that the Sōmāśvara mentioned in the former inscription was the elder son of Vira Ballāja. The record has been attributed to 1205-06 A.D. for reasons already referred to. But the cyclic year Akshaya from which or rather from the commencement of which (by inference) the tax-exemptions proclaimed in the record were to be effective and which corresponded to 1206 A.D. could not have been the year in which the record was set up. Allowing a reasonable time for the proclamation to be effectively made known to the public concerned, we may suppose that the inscription might have been set up some time in the year Krīdhana preceding the year Akshaya. But we have seen above that Narasimha figures already in Krīdhana actively in association with his father in the administrative activities of the kingdom in an inscription⁷ from Gaṅṅigatte in Chitaldurg, which bears the date Śaka 1128, Krīdhana, Chaitra, paurṇamī, Monday, Śaṅkramaṇa-eyāṅgīḍā, the details corresponding to 1205 A.D., April 4, Monday, I.D., 47, on which day there occurred a lunar eclipse not mentioned in the record. Whether Sōmāśvara was still living on this date and was also associated with his father in the administrative activities of the kingdom, we do not know. If he was dead by this date, then his Śravana-Belgoḷa record must have been set up at the very commencement

³ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 502, note 2.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*

⁵ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. II (rev. ed.), Int. p. 62; Sh. 327, 333 and 335.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 32.

⁷ A record from Hachchala (*Ibid.*, Vol. IX, No. 67) has been ascribed to Narasimha II by Prof. William Coates in his book *Hoppanamka*. This damaged record refers to Kunda Narasimhaśvara as "ruling over the world". Apart from the date and the mention of a Vira-Gaṅga Vira-Ballāśvara, no other details are available. It is dated in the cyclic year Nāla, Jyēṣṭha in. 19, Sunday. The Śaka year is not given. Vira-Gaṅga Vira-Ballāśvara does not seem to have borne any of the epithets of the king and it is inexplicable as to why he is mentioned after his son and that too during his own lifetime, as the cyclic year Nāla falling in his reign-period, corresponds to 1196 A.D. The details of the date also do not work out correctly. On the other hand, the details regularly correspond to June 4, Sunday, in the year 1205 A.D., when Narasimha III was ruling. Therefore the record may be assigned to Narasimha III rather than to Narasimha II.

⁸ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Cd. 23.

⁹ *Loc. cit.*

of the year Krōdhana itself or sometime prior to it. Further evidence by future research alone can settle these points. Since Ballāla's father himself was Narasimha, his own son is called Chikka-Narasimha yya.

The geographical names that occur in the record are **Muḷugunda**, **Hosavūr** and **Tuppadahaḷli** besides the well-known **Vāraṇāsī**, i.e. Banaras which is usually mentioned in the imprecatory portion of such records. **Muḷugunda** can be identified with modern **Mulund** in the **Gadag Taluk** and **Hosavūr** apparently is the modern **Hosur**, the findspot of the record. **Tuppadahaḷli**, however, cannot be identified, since no village of that name is now found in the vicinity of **Hosur**.

TEXT¹

- 1 ॐ Svasti śrīmatu Yādava-Nārāyaṇa-pratā-
- 2 pa-chakravartī Hoyisaṇa **Vira-Ballāla**(la)-
- 3 dēva-varuṣa(sha)da 1129 neya **Prabhava** sam-
- 4 vatsarada **Āśā**(shā)da(dha)-su 11 **Ādivāra** vi(vya)tipāta **Ka-**
- 5 rkaṭaka samkramā(ma)padarṇḍu śrīman-mahāpra-
- 6 dhānadh sarvādhikāri chakravartīya dvitīyadh
- 7 kumāra(m*) **Chikka**-(Nara)simhagayyaṇḍu(lu) Muḷu(lu)gunda-
- 8 haṇne(nne)raḍan=āḷu(lu)ttadh **Hosavūra** Mahābala-gāvunḍa-
- 9 mukhyav=āgi Yāḷu-nūrvava-kayyalu sarvā(rvva)-bādha(dhā)-
- 10 parihārav=āḷi dhārāpūrvyakam māḍiṣ-komḍu
- 11 Śrī-Momakōṣva(ēva)ra-dēvara aṅga-bhōga-mahā-dīvige-nivēḍya-
- 12 kke biṭṭa bhūmi dēvara pūrvada keyiṇḍadh baḍagalu
- 13 Koduḍa(ra*)ṇa keyiṇḍadh mūḍalu brahmapu-
- 14 riya keyiṇḍadh teṇḍakalu **Tuppadahaḷli**(lli)-
- 15 ya haṭṭeyiṇḍadh paḍuvālu biṭṭa keyi bi-
- 16 riyaḷōlu mattaru 1 [(*) Yī-dhamma(ruma)vaṇ nāḍan=āḷu(r)-ara-
- 17 ṇḍuḷu pratipāḷisuvāru [(*) Pratipāḷisadavargge Vā-
- 18 rapāsiyālu āyira-kavāḷeyadh koduḍa pāta-
- 19 kav=aku(kko)]

TRANSLATION

Lines 1-10. Hail! In the year 1129² of the illustrious Yādava-Nārāyaṇa Pratāpachakravartī **Vira-Ballāla** dēva of the Hoyisaṇa family and the year **Prabhava**, on Sunday, the 11th day of the bright half of **Āśāḍha**, when there were vyatipāta (yōga) and **Karkaṭaka-samkramana**, **Mahāpradhāna** and **Sarvādhikārī Chikka-Narasimhayya**, the second son of the emperor, while administering (the division of) **Muḷugunda** Twelve, obtained with the pouring of water from the **Seven-Hundred** of **Hosavūr** headed by **Mahābala-gāvunḍa**, land, free from all imposts.

¹ From ink impressions.

² Apparently this stands for the Śaka year.

Lines 11-16. (And) he made a gift (of that land) for the *śiṣṇa-bhōga*, burning of a perpetual lamp and offerings to god *Moṛakēśvaradēva*. The gift land measures one *mattura* by *Hiriyakōṭu* (i.e. the big rod) and its situation is as follows : (it lies) to the north of the eastern field of the god ; to the east of the field of *Koyḍa(ta*)ḷa* ; to the south of the field of *Brahmajuri* and to the west of the road to *Tappadahaḷli*.

Lines 16-19: The kings ruling over the country should protect this righteous deed. Those who do not, will incur the sin of slaughtering a thousand cows in *Vāraṇasī*, i.e. *Vārāṇasī*.

No. 21.—AMUDALAPADU PLATES OF VIKRAMADITYA I, YEAR 5

(1 Plate)

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

The inscription was published in the Telugu journal *Bhārati* for May 1957, pp. 86 ff., by Pandit Gadiyaram Ramakrishna Sarma¹ who secured the plates for examination from Mr. Narayana Reddi, a pleader of Vanaparli in the Mahbubnagar District of the old Hyderabad State, now in Andhra, through Mr. Dumpali Rami Reddi. Mr. Narayana Reddi got the plates about 20 years ago from an inhabitant of the village of **Āmudālapāḍu** in the Alampur Taluk, formerly of the Raichur District of Hyderabad but now forming a part of the Mahbubnagar District of Andhra.

The inscription is inscribed on **four** plates each measuring about 7·1" in length and about 3" in height. They are strung on a ring, the ends of which are secured beneath a **seal** containing the well-known Varāha emblem of the Chālukya. The borders of the plates are not raised. Of the four plates, the first and the last are inscribed on the inner side only while the second and third plates have writing on both the sides. There are altogether 48 lines of writing in the inscription. They are distributed on the inscribed faces of the plates as follows: I—7 lines; IIA—7 lines; IIB—8 lines; IIIA—9 lines; IIIB—8 lines; IV—9 lines. The last line on IIIA consists only of two letters. The weight of the plates is 75 *tolas* and that of the ring with the seal 16·5 *tolas*.

The **characters** belong to the old Telugu-Kannada alphabet and closely resemble those of the published records of the issuer of the charter, viz. Chālukya **Vikramāditya I** (655-81 A.D.) of Hāḍḍami.² As regards palaeography, it is difficult in some cases to distinguish between the medial signs for *i* and *ī* and between the consonants *ch* and *c*, *n* and *ṇ*, etc. The **language** of the record is Sanskrit. In point of **orthography** and style, the inscription closely resembles most other charters of Vikramāditya I. The orthography of the record is characterised by the tendency to use class-nasals in preference to *anuvāra* and the rare use of the *upadhāniya* (cf. line 9). There are several instances of *visarga-sandhi* as in *mātrikā-supta* (line 3) and *gurū-śrīya*³ (line 19). The grant is **dated** in the **5th regnal year** of the king. As Vikramāditya I is known to have ascended the throne in 654-55 A.D.,⁴ the issue of the grant may be assigned to 659-60 A.D. Since the *tithi* on which the grant was made is stated to have been the *Vaiśākha-pūrṇimā*, the actual date seems to be the **30th April 660 A.D.**

¹ Recently Pandit Sarma has also published the Pallepāḍu (Alampur Taluk, Mahbubnagar District, Andhra) plates of Vinayāditya I in the *Journal of the Deccan History and Culture*, Hyderabad, Vol. III, No. 1, January 1956. This charter was issued on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha in Saka 604 expired (27th April, 682 A.D.) and the second regnal year of the king who is stated to have granted, when he was stationed at Bānningal-nagara (modern Pāṇgal in the Nagar Kurnool Taluk of the Mahbubnagar District), the village of Paṇiyal, situated on the southern bank of the Kṛishṇā at a distance of one *paragā* from Dharmapara, in favour of a Brāhmaṇa named Mādhanvavāṇin. The grant was made at the request of Śrāmikarāja.

² For three sets of his plates from Karnul, see *IBRAN*, Vol. XVI, pp. 233 ff., pp. 238 ff., pp. 240 ff.; for the Talamamhi, Gadval and Hyderabad plates, see respectively above, Vol. IX, pp. 98 ff.; *ibid.*, Vol. X, pp. 100 ff.; and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 72 ff. For the Honour plates, see *A. R. Mys. Arch. Dep.*, 1959, pp. 129 ff. Good facsimiles of most of the inscriptions have been published along with the articles on them.

³ Above, Vol. IX, p. 102; cf. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, pp. 363, 366. If Kishore's suggestion that the 13th July 660 A.D. fell in the sixth regnal year of Vikramāditya I is accepted, it may be supposed on the basis of the date of the present charter that the accession of the king took place roughly in the period between the 30th April and the 13th July 655 A.D.

The record begins with the well-known stanza *Jayaty-āviskṛtam*, etc., found at the beginning of numerous charters of the Chālukyas and their subordinates. As in the other grants of Vikramāditya I, the king's great-grandfather is introduced as belonging to the family of the Chālukyas (Chālukyas) who claimed to be Hārīti-putras of the Mānavya *gotra*, to have increased through the favour of the Seven Mothers, to have obtained prosperity through the protection of the god Kārttikēya and to have overpowered their enemies who submitted at the very sight of the Bear emblem which the family acquired through the grace of Lord Nārāyaṇa. The Chālukya king is represented, as in most of his records, as the great-grandson of Pūlkēśivallabha-mahārāja (i.e. Pulakēśin I) who celebrated the Aśvamedha sacrifice, as the grandson of Kirtivarman Prithivīvallabha-mahārāja (i.e. Kirtivarman I) who subdued the territories of his adversaries including the land of Vanavāsī (i.e. the capital of the Kadambas), and as the dear son of Satyāśaya Śrīprithivīvallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara (i.e. Pulakēśin II) who obtained the second name *Paramēśvara* as a result of his victory over Harshavardhana, the lord of the entire Uttarāpatha (meaning here the northern half of India lying to the north of the Vindhya). King Vikramāditya I, the issuer of the charter, is stated to have overthrown, with the help of his charger Chitrakaṇṭha and his sharp sword, the three kings who were responsible for the disappearance of his father's royal fortune and to have restored the properties belonging to gods and Brāhmanas in the kingdoms of the said three kings who had confiscated them. The above introductory part of the record is concluded with a stanza saying that king Anivārīta-Vikramāditya (i.e. Vikramāditya I) recovered the prosperity of his family as a result of his conquests over many adversaries in different directions. This verse is found in the earlier charters of the king, while the later Gadval (674 A.D.) plates add to it four more stanzas referring to his success against his three adversaries belonging to the Pallava royal family of Kāñchī.

None of the facts recorded in the introductory part of the inscription, discussed above, is new. It is well known that the Pallava king Narasiṃhavarman I (c. 630-68 A.D.) defeated and killed Pulakēśin II about 642 A.D. and occupied the southern part of the Chālukya empire including the capital city of Bādāmi while Vikramāditya I succeeded in recovering the lost part of the kingdom and in establishing himself on his father's throne about 655 A.D., although his struggle with the Pallavas continued till the early years of Paramēśvaravarman I (c. 669-90 A.D.), the grandson of Narasiṃhavarman I.¹ But two points deserve notice in this connection. In the first place, the statement that Pulakēśin II assumed the second name *Paramēśvara* after his victory over king Harshavardhana of Northern India does not appear to be strictly accurate. As we have elsewhere² suggested, the Chālukya king probably assumed that name after saving his homeland from enemies and restoring Chālukya sovereignty in the territories of the disaffected neighbours while an additional significance was later attached to it after his victory over *Paramēśvara* (i.e. the imperial ruler) Harshavardhana. Secondly, it is well known that the reference to the regal fortune of Pulakēśin II, which had been interrupted by three kings, and to the re-establishment of the grants to gods and Brāhmanas (which had been confiscated by the three kings) by Vikramāditya I was understood by Fleet as an allusion to the Chālukya king's success against his three Pallava rivals, viz. Narasiṃhavarman I (c. 630-68 A.D.), Mahēndravarmān II (c. 668-69 A.D.) and Paramēśvaravarman I (c. 669-90 A.D.).³ This view is, however, clearly wrong, because the claim is noticed in the records of Vikramāditya I, including the one under study, which bear dates much earlier than the end of the rule of Narasiṃhavarman I. It has also to be noticed, as already indicated above, that the stanzas referring to his success against the said three rulers of the Pallava family are found

¹ See *The Classical Age*, pp. 241 ff.

² *Ibid.*, p. 237.

³ *Bomb. Gaz.*, op. cit., p. 362.

for the first time in the Gadval plates of 674 A.D.¹ They appear therefore to have been added to his *prāsaśti* after the accession of the Pallava king Paramōścaravarman I some time about 669 A.D.² One of the three kings who shadowed the royal fortune of Pulakēśin II must have been Pallava Narasimhavarman I while the two others were apparently his allies, although their identity is not clear. The allusion to the three kingdoms of the hostile rulers, in which Vikramāditya I re-established his family's prestige, does not appear to suggest that three kingdoms were established in the southern part of the Chālukya empire, which had been conquered by the enemies of Pulakēśin II. The implication of the passage in question seems to be that Pulakēśin II conquered the three kingdoms in which he created certain endowments in favour of gods and Brāhmanas, that the rulers of those kingdoms later defeated and killed Pulakēśin II and confiscated the properties involved in the endowments and that Vikramāditya I sometime afterwards reconquered the three kingdoms and restored the endowments. This seems to be supported by the Aihole inscription,³ according to which Pulakēśin II defeated the Pallava king of Kāñchi and went to the land to the south of the Kāvērī, where he became the source of prosperity to the Chōlas, Kēralas and Pāṇḍyas. It appears that Pulakēśin II succeeded in winning over the allegiance of the southern neighbours of the Pallavas. Since it is very probable that it is two of these three smaller powers of the south that aided with Pallava Narasimhavarman I in his successful encounter against Pulakēśin II, the Chālukya king's policy of befriending the neighbours of the Pallavas, referred to above, appears to have been successful only for a short time. But which one of the four southern kings, viz. the Pallava, Chōla, Pāṇḍya and Kēraja, is omitted in the reference to the three kings (*trayaṃpati-trayaṃ*) and their kingdoms (*rājya-trayaṃ*) in the records of Vikramāditya I is difficult to determine, although it may be Kēraja. It is, however, interesting to note that the inscriptions of Vinayāditya (681-96 A.D.), son of Vikramāditya I, credits his father with success against all the four rulers.⁴ Vinayāditya speaks of his father as "*Pallavarūpa-parājaya-ānantara-grīhita-Kāñchīpura* (i.e. one who captured Kāñchīpura after having defeated the Pallava king) and "*dalita-Chōla-Pāṇḍya-Kēraja-dharagūḍhara-māna*" (i.e. one who curbed the pride of the Chōlas, Pāṇḍyas and Kēralas). Vinayāditya himself also claims to have arrested, under his father's orders, the power or forces of *trairājya-Pallava* or *trairājya-Kāñchi-pati*. These expressions have been variously interpreted; but the reference is apparently to the same achievements ascribed to the Chālukya king's father separately, i.e. to the success against the Pallava king of Kāñchi and against the three kingdoms of the Chōlas, Pāṇḍyas and Kēralas.⁵ The explanation of the omission of one of the four powers in the records of Vikramāditya I seems to be that he had no occasion to enter into that particular territory. The presence of the Chālukya king in the Chōla country is well known from his Gadval plates issued from Urugapura (i.e. the Chōla capital) situated in the Chōla *vishaya* on the southern bank of the Kāvērī.⁶ But the references in the passages under study appear to point to his exploits in the southern kingdoms before his occupation of the throne of Bādami about 656 A.D.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of the village of **Iparumkal**, situated in **Vaṃgūravādi-vishaya**, by **Mahārājādhirāja Paramabhāra Vikramāditya Satyaśraya Śrīpri-**

¹ The stanzas are also found in the undated Hyderabad plates. But they are absent from the Hunnur plates issued on the full-moon day of Vāṣāḥa in Śaka 692 or the king's 16th regnal year (i.e. April 19, 670 A.D.). The grant was made when the king was camping at Malliyūr-grāma to the west of Kāñchīpura at the request of Gaṅga Kalyāṇa's son Mīdhava and the latter's wife who was the daughter of Vikramāditya's elder brother Roṣarāja-varman.

² As already noted above, the stanzas in question are not found in the Hunnur plates, dated the 6th April 670 A.D.

³ Above, Vol. VI, p. 6, text lines 14-15.

⁴ Cf. e.g. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 89.

⁵ *Bomb. Gaz.*, op. cit., p. 362, note 6; *The Classical Age*, p. 344.

⁶ Above, Vol. X, p. 103, text line 25.

thivivallabha (i.e. Vikramāditya I), when he was stationed at the village of **Marrūra**, in favour of Sudarśanāchārya in payment of *guru-dakṣiṇā* on the occasion of the king's *śiva-magḍala-dikṣhā* on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha in the fifth year of his reign.

It is clear that the Chālukya king underwent *Śaiva-dikṣhā*, i.e. initiation into the Śaiva faith, at the hands of his guru or preceptor Sudarśanāchārya who received the village as his *dakṣiṇā* or perquisite for the performance of the initiation ceremony.¹ It is further stated that the *Āchārya* (i.e. the king's preceptor Sudarśanāchārya) distributed plots of land in the gift village among the following twenty-seven Brāhmanas: (1) Rudrasivāchārya of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*; (2) Gāyatrībha of the Kaundinya *gōtra*; (3) Śivasvāmin of the Hārta *gōtra*; (4) Gōllabhāṭṭa of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*; (5) Paramāya of the same Bhāradvāja *gōtra*; (6) Vāmanasvāmin of the Kauśika *gōtra*; (7) Kṛṣṇasvāmin of the same Kauśika *gōtra*; (8) Kōḷḷasvāmin of the Maitrēya *gōtra*; (9-10) Nārāyaṇa and Vāmana of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*; (11) Rēṇasārman of the Śāṅkṛityāyana *gōtra*; (12-15) Rudrasārman, Rēṇasārman, Ādityasārman and Tāḍasārman of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*; (16-19) Bhūmasārman, Durgasārman, Bhūyasārman and Hādīsārman of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*; (20) Nāgasārman of the Kaundinya *gōtra*; (21) Brahmasārman of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*; (22) Ādityasārman of the Śāṅkṛityāyana *gōtra*; (23) Ravisvāmin of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*; (24) Śrīvāgasimhasārman of the Kauśika *gōtra*; (25) Dāmasvāmin of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*; (26) Dāmōḍarasvāmin of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*; and (27) Mādusārman of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*. Of these Brāhmanas, Śrīvāgasimhasārman is stated to have received two shares or plots of land, probably implying thereby that the others received only one share each. It seems that one share of land was also allotted to Sudarśanāchārya's wife. There is little doubt that the said Śaivite Brāhmanas assisted Sudarśanāchārya in the celebration of the *dikṣhā* ceremony of Vikramāditya I. It may be noted that the king's guru Sudarśanāchārya has been mentioned without the name of his *gōtra*. This was possibly due either to an oversight of the scribe or of the engraver, or because he was an ascetic who had renounced the world. The first alternative is more probable since Sudarśana's wife seems to be mentioned in the record.

We know that the Early Chālukyas were devoted to the Seven Mothers, to the god Kārttikēya (the son of Śiva according to Hindu mythology) and to Lord Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu) and that their emblem was the boat representing the *Varāha arōhita* of the god Viṣṇu. Their title *Śri-prithivī-callabha* (literally, 'the husband of Śrī and Prithivī') seems to allude to their claim to having been incarnations of Viṣṇu, the husband of Śrīlōkī and Bhūlōkī. The early members of the family thus appear to have been Vaiṣṇavas, with leanings towards Śaivism and the cult of the Mother-goddess. It may be recalled in this connection that Mahāgalla (597-616 A. D.), younger brother and successor of Kirtivarman I, is described as a *Paramabhāgavata* (i.e. a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu, the Bhagavat) in one of his inscriptions,² but that he not only made grants in favour of the Vaiṣṇava cave-temple at Bādāmi but also supplemented an endowment of the god Mahakṣēvarasvāmī (Śiva) made by his father and elder brother.³ His successor Pulakēsin II, father of Vikramāditya I, is called a *Paramabhāgavata* in one of his records, viz. the Lohamer plates.⁴ Under these circumstances, the initiation of Vikramāditya I into the Śaiva faith is a very interesting fact. The Nausāri plates of the feudatory prince Śrīyāśvaya Śilāditya, dated 671 A. D., mention Vikramāditya I as a *Paramabhāgavata* (i.e. a devout worshipper of Mahakṣēvara or Śiva) and meditating

¹ In Indian epigraphy, there are other instances of the grant of land in payment of *guru-dakṣiṇā* on the occasion of a king's initiation. See B. Ch. Chakrav., *Antiquities of Chanda Ahom*, Part II, pp. 38, 64, 68, 70, 75 (especially p. 75 where the expression *pāṇi-mātra-grāhita* has been used for *dikṣhā*). See also *A.R.Ep.*, 1953-54, App. B. No. 19; etc.

² *Bomb. Gaz.*, op. cit., p. 347.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 348.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 40, text line 17.

on the feet of Śrī-Nāgavardhana who is believed to have been a god or a religious teacher.¹ It is not impossible that the king's *guru* Sudarśana was the head of a Śaiva religious order and that Nāgavardhana was one of his successors in that position. But the Talamanchi plates² of Vikramāditya I speaks of one, Śrī-Mēghāchārya of the Vāishṭya *gṛha*, as his *svakīya-guru*. This grant was issued on the 13th July 660 A. D. in the sixth regnal year of the king, i.e. shortly after the issue of the charter under study. This may suggest that Sudarśanāchārya was succeeded as head of the order or organisation in question, soon after the king's initiation, by Mēghāchārya who was probably himself succeeded by Nāgavardhana. It is interesting to note that Mēghāchārya and Nāgavardhana are not mentioned in the list of Brāhmanas who were benefited by the grant under discussion and do not therefore appear to have taken part in the initiation ceremony of the Chālukya king. Alternatively it may be suggested that Mēghāchārya was the king's *dikṣhā-guru* just as Sudarśana was his *dikṣhā-guru*, though in such a case his relationship with Nāgavardhana cannot be determined.

The devotees of the great god, called variously by such names as Śiva, Paśupati and Mahāśvara, were generally known in early times as Śaiva, Pāśupata or Mahāśvara, although the three expressions gradually came to indicate different sects of the god's votaries. In epigraphic and numismatic records, the royal devotees of the deity usually call themselves *Mahāśvara*. The *Mahābhūṣṭa*³ of Patañjali, who flourished in the second century B.C., mentions a sect of Śiva-worshippers as Śiva-bhāgavata (i.e. devotee of Śiva, the Bhagavat; identified with Kāpālika in Nāgā's *Uddyota*), who used to carry an iron lance in the hand. The same work also alludes to the construction of images of Śiva as well as of Skanda and Viṣṇu, for sale.⁴ In the first or second century A. D., a great Śaiva saint named Lakulin (literally, 'the bearer of the club') or Lakulīsa, flourished at Kāyāvarōhana (modern Karvan in the Dahhol Taluk of the old Baroda State now in Bombay) and he founded a new school of Śaivism.⁵ Owing to the great popularity and influence of this school Lakulin came to be regarded as an incarnation of the god Śiva and Lākula became another name of the Śaiva, Pāśupata or Mahāśvara faith. Lakulin is said to have had four pupils, viz. Kuśika, Garga, Mitra and Kaurnahya, while his ascetic followers are stated to have resorted to the *yōga* of Mahāśvara and besmeared their bodies with ashes.⁶ According to the Chinese traveller Hsien-tsang who visited India in the seventh century, the ascetics devoted to Mahāśvara went about naked, tied their hair in a top-knot and besmeared their bodies with ashes.⁷ Gradually the name Pāśupata came to be more or less specially applied to the said ascetics.

The present Kannada-speaking area was a great stronghold of Śaivism, especially of the school of Lakulin, in the early medieval period. A sculpture on the outer wall of the temple of Virūpākṣa (built by a queen of Chālukya Vikramāditya II, 733-45 A.D.) at Paṭṭadakal in the Bijapur District represents Śiva in the form of Lakulīsa.⁸ In Kārnāṭaka was born a great Śaiva ascetic, named *Munisōtha* Chuluka-bhaṭṭāra, who, according to an inscription of 943 A.D. from Mysore, was regarded as an incarnation of Lakulin.⁹ An ascetic is called an ornament of the *Lākula* school and another a follower of the same faith in an inscription of about 1078 A.D.,¹⁰ while a record of 1103

¹ *Bomb. Gaz.*, op. cit., p. 304.

² *Ahore*, Vol. IX, p. 200.

³ See under Pāṇini's *Asāṅgīyāg*, V, 2, 76.

⁴ See under op. cit., V, 3, 99.

⁵ *Ahore*, Vol. XXI, p. 7. The name is also spelt as *Nakulin* and *Nakulīsa*.

⁶ *Pāṇi Purāṇa*, Chapter 23, verse 221 & *Linga Purāṇa*, Chapter 24.

⁷ See Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, p. 47. Varāhamihira (*Brūhat-samhitā*, Chapter 100, verse 19) calls them 'Brāhmanas smeared with ashes (*so-śasana-śrāja*)'.

⁸ *Prog. Res.*, 1941-46, p. 38.

⁹ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XII, Sira, No. 23; trans., p. 92.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, Shikarpat, No. 107; trans., p. 89.

ceremony of initiation) of a Virasaiva or Liṅgāyata when he chooses his *guru* or preceptor.¹ In connection with the ceremony, it is necessary to place four metallic vessels full of water at the four cardinal points with a fifth in the middle. This last vessel belongs to the person to be consecrated as the *guru* who is supposed to represent an old *Āchārya* named Viśvārādhyā (Viśvavarārādhyā) while the others belong to four other *Āchāryas* pertaining to the schools respectively of Rēcanaśiddha (also called Rēcukāchārya), Maruśiddha, Ēkōrama and Pāṇḍitarādhyā² and connected with certain Maṭhas. The five vessels are consecrated to the five faces of Śiva, viz. Sadyōjāta, Vānādēva, Aghōra, Tatpuruṣa and Iāna, and the five *Āchāryas* are believed to have sprung from the five forms of Śiva.³ Bhandarkar notes that, of the five names of the teachers mentioned in this connection, at least three are stated in the *Basava Purāṇa* to have flourished before Basava and comes to the conclusion that the Virasaiva or Liṅgāyata creed, known to its followers as the Śaiva-darsana or Siddhānta-darsana, was affiliated to the moderate or sober school of Śaivism. He further suggests that this creed was reduced to a shape by learned Śaiva Brāhmanas called *Ārādhyas*, while subsequent reformers gave it a decidedly uncompromising and anti-Brahmanical character.⁴ The inscription under study appears to support these views inasmuch as the *Śiva-maṇḍala-dīkṣā* referred to in it seems to have some resemblance with the initiation of the Virasaivas described above, though some authorities prescribe only *Jñāna-dīkṣā* for kings.

We have seen how the Chālakya king Vikramāditya I of Bādāmi granted a village to Sudarśanāchārya in payment of *guru-dakṣiṇā* (i.e. fees to be paid to the preceptor on the occasion of one's initiation) at the time of his *Śiva-maṇḍala-dīkṣā* (i.e. initiation into Śiva's circle)⁵ and how the said *Āchārya* (i.e. his preceptor Sudarśanāchārya) allotted portions of the land in the gift village to as many as twentyseven other Brāhmanas as well as to his own wife. The names of the Brāhmanas who received shares of the land in the gift village and must have assisted Sudarśanāchārya in the performance of the king's *dīkṣā* ceremony have been quoted above.⁶ That at least one of them acted in the capacity of a subordinate *Āchārya*, as in the case of the four assistant *Āchāryas* in the initiation of a Virasaiva (Liṅgāyata), referred to above, seems to be suggested by the suffix *āchārya* added to the name of Rudraśivāchārya who heads the list of the twentyseven Brāhmanas. Another interesting fact is the name-ending *śiva* affixed to the names of three of the Brāhmanas, viz. Rudraśiva, Gāyatrīśiva and Paramaśiva. As Bhandarkar has pointed out, the

¹ Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 189 ff.

² The word *ārādhyas* is often also affixed to the names of Rēcana (Rēcuka), Maruśa and Ēkōrama. The *Ārādhyas*-Brāhmanas appear to have been also known as Śiva-Brāhmanas.

³ In a Kānnaṭa work entitled *Mahāśaivapūjāśāstrī* by Kāśinātha Śāstri, to which my attention was drawn by Dr. G. S. Gai, it is stated in connection with the *śaivānugraha* ceremony associated with *Śiva-dīkṣā* that two new vessels, either metallic or earthen, are placed, one in the north and the other in the south. They are filled with sacred water, etc., and four Māhātīvaras take their seats, two behind each vessel.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 191. Among the reformers who are regarded as the founders of the Virasaiva (Liṅgāyata) sect, the names of Basava and of his contemporary Ēkāntada Rāṇayya, both of whom were born in Brāhmana families, and of Basava's nephew Chenna Basava are the most celebrated.

⁵ As suggested above, *Śiva-maṇḍala-dīkṣā* seems to be the same as *Śaiva-dīkṣā*. According to Kāśinātha Śāstri's *Mahāśaivapūjāśāstrī*, when the *Āchārya* performs the *śaivānugraha-samsthāna* in connection with *Śiva-dīkṣā*, he has to make a *Maṇḍala* for the performance of the *dīkṣā* of the *liṅga* and another in connection with its *śaivānugraha-dīkṣā*. These ceremonies, however, do not appear to have caused the introduction of the word *maṇḍala* in the expression *Śiva-maṇḍala-dīkṣā*. But the arrangement of the five vessels in connection with the Virasaiva *dīkṣā*, i.e. four in the four corners and the fifth in the middle, may be regarded as forming a *maṇḍala* or circle, although it is difficult to determine whether the expression *Śiva-maṇḍala-dīkṣā* really owes its origin to such a practice.

⁶ In Kāśinātha Śāstri's *Mahāśaivapūjāśāstrī*, it is stated in connection with the *śaivānugraha-dīkṣā* ceremony of the *Śiva-dīkṣā* that a *śaṅku* is placed in a vessel filled with rice and also money sufficient to be offered to 24 Māhātīvaras. The money is given to 24 Māhātīvaras who are fed afterwards.

suffixes *śakti*, *jīya*, *śiva* and *ēdī* were generally affixed to the names of the more extremist sects of the Śaiva school.¹ Although therefore most of the Brāhmaṇas participating in the *śrīśekhā* of Vikramāditya I, including his preceptor Sudarṣana, thus appear to have belonged to the more moderate and rational school of Śaivism, a few of them were ascetics of the extremist orders. This fact again seems to suggest that there was no general antagonism between the sober and extremist sects of the followers of Śiva at least in the Kannada country during the seventh century A. D.

Of the **geographical** names mentioned in the inscription, Vanavāsi and Uttaraṣṭhā are well-known. As suggested by Sarma, the village of Marrūru, where the king was staying at the time of making the grant, may be one of the two localities called Chinna Marrūru and Pedda Marrūru on the bank of the Krishna in the present Kollapuram Taluk of the Mahabubnagar District. There is a ruined temple at Chinna Marrūru. It seems that the king visited the village for his initiation ceremony and that Sudarṣanāśhārya was a resident of the said locality. The name of the Varigunavāḍī *viśhaya* seems to be preserved in that of the modern village called Vāṇigūru in the Kalvaparti Taluk of the same District, about 40 miles from the villages called Marrūru. Pandit Sarma who published the inscription in the *Bhārati* is inclined to identify Tarnāṅkal with the present village of Vipamagnidla about 10 miles from the localities named Marrūru.

TEXT

[Metres : verses 1, 3-5 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 2 *Arjū*.]

First Plate

- 1 Jayaty-āśishkṛitām Viśhṣōr-vvārāham kṣ[ṣh]it-āc[ā]ṇa[ṇa]vat[va]m |) dakṣiṇ-ō-
māta-dād-
- 2 śhṭr-ūgra-viśrānta-bhuvanaḥ vapuḥ || 1* śrīmatāśi śkala-bhuvana-saṁstūṭyami-
- 3 na-Māna[vya]-sagōtṛāṇā[ṇa] Hārīputrāṇāḍi sapta-lōka-mātrībhiḥ-sapta-
- 4 Mātrībhiḥ-abhiṣa[r*]ddhātānām Kā[r]ptikōya-parīkṣhaṇa-prāpta-kalyā-
- 5 ṇa[ṇa]-[pa]rāmpatāṇām Bhagvan-Nārāyaṇa-prasāda-saṁśāḍita-
- 6 Varāha-lāṅghana-śkṣhaṇa-kṣhaṇa-vāṅkṛt-āśha-mahābhīṭām
- 7 **Chatikyānām** kulam-alaṅkarīśhṣōt-Aśvameḍha-āvaḍḍitā(bhī)tha-sūma-pa-

Second Plate, First Side

- 8 vitṛkṣita-gātraya śrī-Pōlikēśi-vallabha-mahārājaya
- 9 prajaputraḥ = parāk[k]ram-ākṛānta-Vanavāsy-ādi-pura-nripati-maṇḍala-
- 10 prajabaddha-viśvādha-kṛt[ṭ]b* śrī-Kl[r]ttivarmma-prithiv[ī]vallabha-ni-
- 11 hārājaya pautra = samara-saṁśakta-sakal-Ōttarāpath-ōva-
- 12 ra-śrī-Harshavarādhana-patūjay-ōpalabdh-Paramōśyar-āpara-
- 13 pāmādhōyaya **Satyāśraya**-Śrīprithiv[ī]vallabha-mahāśā-
- 14 dhīrāja-paramōśvatasya priya-tanah* prathit-āśha-sama-

* Op. cit., p. 171

* From impressions.

* Keaṇi *tanah*.

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[illegible]

Handwritten text in Devanagari script, likely a manuscript or document fragment.

[illegible]

Second Plate, Second Side

- 15 ra-muk[sh]shu Chitraka[ti]h-ākhyā-pravara-turāṅgaṇḍy-ākhā-siva-ripu-ni-
 16 pati-rudhira-jal-āśvādāna-tanāyāyāmāna-jvalat-amala-niśi-
 17 ta-nistritā-dhātay-āvalhrita-dhātāni-bhara-bhujaga-bhōga-sadpā-
 18 nija-bhoja-vijita-vijit[ti]bhut-ātma-kavach-āvanagā-ānāka-
 19 prahāra-sva-gurō-śriyam-avanipati-ttritay-āntaritam-ā-
 20 masātkṛitya kṛt-aik-ādhiśṭhāt-āśāha-rājya-bharaḥ tasmin rā-
 21 jya-trayō viṃśatāni dēvasva-brahmadēyāni dharmma-ya-
 22 ā-bhivṛiddhaye sva-mukhēna sthāpātavān [*] Rapa-śirasi

Third Plate, First Side

- 23 ripu-narēndrān-diśi diśi jitrā sva-vasāajū[ti] lakshma[ti] [*] prāpya cha paramā-
 āvartam=A-
 24 nivārta-Vikramādityaḥ [2^o] Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya-Śrīprithivīval[abha]-
 mahā-
 25 rājādhirāja-paramāśvaras-sarvān-ājñāpayati [*] viditam=asta vā(vō)=smābhil-
 26 pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-pañchama-samvatsarē Maṇḍāgrām-ādihvā-
 27 sakah(kaiḥ) Vamgūravādi-vishayē mātā-pitrō-ātmanas-cha puṇya-yaś-
 28 vāptayē Śiva-maṇḍala-dīkshī(kahā)iyāni Sodarān-ābhāryyāya¹ guru-da-
 29 kshī[ti]-ārthāt Vaisākha-pauruṇamāsyām-Iparuthkal-nāma-grāmah sarva-
 30 purihāram=udaka-pūrvvā dattat [*] ābhāryyē=āpi Brāhmaṇābhyō
 31 ila[ti]taḥ [*]

Third Plate, Second Side

- 32 [Rudra]śiv-ābhāryya² Kāśyapa-gōtra-Kaundinya-gōtra-Gāyatri(trī)śiva-Hā-
 33 -[ti]ta-gōtra-Sivāsvā[mi]-Bhāradvāja-gōtra-Gōllabhatti-tad-gōtra-Parama-
 34 śiva-Kaṇśka-gōtra-Vāmanaśvāmi-tad-gōtra-Kēśavasvānū-Mai-
 35 trēya-gōtra-Kōkilaśvāmi-Kāśyapa-gōtra-Nārāyaṇa-Vāmana-
 36 dvayāt-cha³ Śāṅkṛityāyana-gōtra-Rēvasarmma-Kāśyapa-
 37 -agōtra-Rudrasarmma-Rēvasarmma-Ād[iti]tyasarmma-Tātasarmma-
 38 Bhāradvāja⁴-gōtra-Bhāmasarmma-Du[ti]⁵lggasarmma-Bhōyisarmma-
 39 Bādhisarmma-Kaundinya-gōtra-Nāgasarmma-

¹ The *pōtye* of the Brāhmaṇa has not been quoted in the record probably through oversight of the scribe or the engraver.

² These letters are at the beginning of the line, the rest of which is left blank.

³ Better read *Kāśyapa-gōtra-Rudrasarmma*.

⁴ Read *Nārāyaṇa-Vāmana-Sāṅkṛityāyana-gōtra* as the expression forms part of a compound. The word *Jaya* may also refer to two shares each to be enjoyed by the Brāhmaṇas concerned.

⁵ *Kundhi* has not been observed here.

⁶ There is an unnecessary mark here.

Fourth Plate

- 40 Bhāta[dvā^{*}]ja-gōtra-Brahmaśarma-Bhyō(Sā)ṇḍīya-gōtra¹-[Ā]dityasa[^{*}]juma-
 41 ¹[Kāśya]ja-gōtrō(tra)-Ravisvā[mī]-Kauśika-gōtraśya Śravaṇasūha(sūha)śarmamāḥ bhā-
 ga-dvayāt² Bhalendana-sa-
 42 gō(tr)gō(tra)-Dāmasvāmī-Kāśyapa-sagōtrō(tra)-Dāmōdarasvā[mī]-Bhātad[^{*}]ja-gōtrō(tra)-Mā-
 dusa[rma]dō(emāṇa) ||
 43 Svan=dātum samahach=chhakyam dūḥkham=anyasya pālana[m] (^{*}) dānāt
 44 [vā] pālanaṁ v=ēti danāch=chhṛēyō=nupālanaṁ(nam || 3) Bahubhir=vvasu-
 45 [dhā] bhuktā nājabbis=Sagarādibhūh ||^{*} yasya yasya yadā bhū-
 46 [mī]s=tasya tasya tadā phalam(lam || 4) Sva-dattām para-da[ttāh] vā yō harō-
 47 tā vasunniharāh(rām) ahaṣṭhi(ṣṭi)-[va]rsha-sahasrāṇi vishṭhāyāh jāya-
 48 tā kri[mit=iti]⁴ kri-Sularīanaśya bhāś[ya](ryā) cha⁵ ||^{*}

¹ Sandhi has not been observed here.

² This line is engraved in smaller letters.

³ Read Kauśika-gōtra-dai-bhāga-bhāga-Śravaṇasūhaśarmamā.

⁴ Better read śrīmā || 3 ||

⁵ This passage seems to have been omitted from the list of donors in lines 32-42. Its proper place is at the end of line 42. The word intended here may possibly be bhāga also. In that case Śularīana's wife is not mentioned in the record.

No. 22—TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF PARANTAKA, YEAR 9

(I Plate)

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI AND T. N. SUBRAMANIAM, MADRAS

There are three Tamil inscriptions of Parāntakadēva, all dated in the 9th year of his reign, which 'pose one of the minor problems' in Chōla history.¹ Of these, the text of the one found at Tiruvālkōgādu in the Chittoor District of the Andhra State has already been published.² The other two inscriptions, one from **Kōyil-Tēvarāyan-pēttai** in the Tanjavur District (referred to in the sequel as **A**)³ and the other from **Tiruvadatturai** in the South Arcot District (marked **B** in the sequel),⁴ both in the Madras State, are now published from the inked impressions kindly placed at our disposal by the Government Epigraphist for India.

Inscription **A** is found engraved on the south wall of the central shrine of the Matsyapurisvara temple at Kōyil-Tēvarāyan-pēttai which is included in the present village of Paṇḍaravāḍai, a Railway station in the Papanasam Taluk, Tanjavur District. It is called Tiruchēhēyatūr or Tiruchēhēlūr in inscriptions and is said to be included in Rājakēsari-chaturvēdimangalam, a *brahmadēya* on the southern bank of the river Kāvēri.⁵ This *Chaturvēdimangalam* was evidently founded by the Chōla king Āditya I, after whom it was named and one of its hamlets was known as Paṇḍitavatsalāchēhēri after one of the surnames of his son Parāntaka I.⁶

The other record **B** is found on the south wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine in the Tirthapurisvara temple at Tiruvadatturai, a village about four miles from Ponnāgaḍam, on the north bank of the river Vellāru. This place is connected with the life of the Śaivite saint Tiruṇāṇḍamūrti. The story is that it was at this place that, when he, as a tender child, was no longer in a position to continue his journey either on foot or on the shoulders of his aged father, the god miraculously intervened to offer him a palanquin and an umbrella, both made of pearls.⁷ This tradition finds support in the inscriptions wherein the god of this place is called Tirumuttin *śivai* kuḍuttarūḷiya Nāyanār.⁸ In inscriptions as well as in the hymns of the *Tēvāram*, this village is known as Tiruvatturai-Nelvāyil to differentiate it from other places bearing the name of Atturai.

The two inscriptions are in the Tamil language and script with an admixture of Grantha letters here and there, and palaeographically they may be assigned to circa 1100 A.D.

The only orthographical peculiarity that deserves notice here is the use of double *chch* in *Tiruchēhēlūr* in line 10. In the conjunct letter *chchē*, the doubled consonant is written after the vowel sign of *ē*. The letters *a* and *ā* are used quite indifferently. The rules of *sandhi* have not been properly observed.

¹ K. A. N. Sastri, *The Chōlas*, Vol. I, p. 165, note.

² *A. R. Ep.*, 1896, No. 16: *SIU*, Vol. V, No. 579.

³ *A. R. Ep.*, 1923, No. 261.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1928-29, No. 225.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1923, No. 276.

⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 264.

⁷ *Periappurānam*, *Tirunāṇḍamūrti-solmipal purānam*, vv. 185-214.

⁸ *A. R. Ep.*, 1928-29, No. 215.

The object of inscription **A** is to record the gift, by purchase, of a piece of land to meet the expenses of offerings to the god Tiruchchēlūr-Mahādēva in Rājakēsari-chaturvēdimañḡalam, a village in Naḷūr-nāḍu, a sub-division of Nittavinōḍa-vaḷanāḍu, by Amiyan Kappappan alias Rājakēsari Pēṭayan of Kāḷikuḍi, a village in Kiḷiyūr-nāḍu, a sub-division of Pāṇḍikulāṣaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, in the 9th year of the reign of the king Parakēsari-varman alias Tribhuvannachakravartin Śrī-Parāntakadēva.

Inscription **B** is incomplete and stops after mentioning the date, i.e. the 9th year of the reign of the king who is styled here as Rājakēsari-varman alias Chakravartin Śrī-Parāntakadēva.

Both these inscriptions contain a new *prastāva* or *meṅkīrtti* which commences with the words *Pāmaṅgai valaru* in **A** and *Pōṭi māṅgai valaru* in **B**. Even though there are some slight variations in the wording between them in the first two metrical lines of the *meṅkīrtti*, yet we can safely take both of them as identical, as these variations do not make any difference and as such variations are found in the standard versions of similar *meṅkīrttis* of other Chōḷa kings also.¹ We have already mentioned that the king is styled Parakēsari-varman and Tribhuvannachakravartin in **A**, while he is named Rājakēsari-varman and Chakravartin in **B**. The third inscription of the king at Tiruvāḷaṅḡuḍu, the text of which has already been published,² does not contain any *meṅkīrtti*, but mentions him as Parakēsari-varman and Tribhuvannachakravartin as in **A**. Considering that the two complete records call him Parakēsari-varman and Tribhuvannachakravartin, we may not be wrong in assigning these titles to him, ignoring the title of Rājakēsari-varman of the incomplete record **B**.³

The importance of these records lies in the problem of the identity of the king in whose time they were issued.

We have so far known only of two kings, grandfather and grandson, having the name Parāntaka. The former, more famous, with the title *Madirakōḍa*, was a Parakēsari-varman and the latter, otherwise known as Sundarachōḷa, was a Rājakēsari-varman. Neither of them had the title Tribhuvannachakravartin which came into vogue only during the time of Kulōttuṅga I. Parāntakadēva of the present records is quite different from the two Parāntakas mentioned above and lived at a much later period.⁴

The names of the territorial divisions mentioned in the record **A**, viz. Nittavinōḍa-vaḷanāḍu and Pāṇḍikulāṣaṇi-vaḷanāḍu came into existence during the reign of Rājārāja I after whose titles *Nittavinōḍa* and *Pāṇḍikulāṣaṇi* these divisions were named. Again the temple at Tiruvāḷaṅḡuḍu wherein the record **B** is found engraved does not contain any inscription earlier than the time

¹ K. A. N. Sastri, *The Chōḷas*, Vol. II, pp. 2, 61, 86.

² *ILL*, Vol. V, No. 479.

³ It was possibly due to some such mistakes having crept in, that the record was left incomplete.

⁴ The *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1924 tries to identify the king of inscription **A** with Parāntaka I Madirakōḍa and says: "The importance of this inscription lies in the fact that it is the first stone record so far known of a Chōḷa king before the time of Rājārāja I containing an introduction or eulogy. This introduction is purely eulogistic without recounting any of the king's exploits. Generally in inscriptions commencing with historical introductions, the king is said to be seated on the throne with his consort whose title is also given. But in the present record which is dated in the 9th year, this fact is omitted. Perhaps we are to suppose that the king was not married till then" (p. 100). In the above review, the palaeography of the record does not appear to have been taken into consideration. Further, the mention of the king's consort occupying the throne along with the king is found to be made only in the inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga I and his successors. In the *meṅkīrttis* of the Chōḷa monarchs prior to the time of Kulōttuṅga I, with the exception of the *meṅkīrtti* beginning with the words *Viṇṇaṇṇaṇṇapāṇṇa* of Viṇṇaṇṇaṇṇa, which *meṅkīrtti* was also later adopted by Kulōttuṅga I as his own, the queen's title is generally not mentioned.

of Virarājendra-chōla. The Tiruvālaingōla inscription¹ already referred to, in mentioning Kulōttunga-chōla-vaṇaṇḍu in Śōlamangalam, makes it clear that the Parāntakadēva of this inscription must have ruled later than Kulōttunga I after whom the *vaṇaṇḍu* was named. Thus the king Parāntakadēva in whose time these records were issued cannot be placed earlier than the time of the Chōla king Kulōttunga I, and the palaeography of these records supports this conclusion.

We have not so far known of any Chōla king with the name Parāntaka about this time. On the other hand, we have references to a prince of the royal blood of that name ruling one of the provinces of the Chōla empire. Several inscriptions in the Telugu script found in the Bhīmēśvara temple at Drākshārāma in the Kamachandrapuram Taluk of the Godavari District in Andhra Pradesh mention a certain Parāntakadēva as ruling over the Eastern Chālukya country of Vāṅgi in the early years of the 12th century A. D. One of them² dated in Śaka 1034, corresponding to 1112-13 A. D., mentions the gift of fifty *śapa eḍḍu* for burning a lamp in front of the god Bhīmēśvara by Parāntaka Brahmādhurāya for the benefit of his mother. There the donor is described as the military commander of Parāntaka, the head ornament of the Chālukya-vaṃśa (*Chōḷukya-vaṃśa-tilakareya Parāntakasya śeṣa-ādhipā dvija-patī*). The official title of the commander indicates that he rose to prominence during the days of Parāntaka whose name the general obviously adopted. Another inscription³ at the same place dated in Śaka 1038 (given by the chronogram *mja-Rāma-vijaya-chandra*) registers the grant of the village Sillā to meet the expenses of offerings to the goddess Pārvatī set up in the temple by king Parāntakadēva. In some other inscriptions found there,⁴ the king is introduced with the characteristic Eastern Chālukyan title *Sarvalōkāraya śeṣa-Vishṇuvardhana-mahārājula*, and is referred to as a *Chakravartin* ruling over the Chālukya kingdom (*Chōḷukya-kṣatṛi*).⁵ In addition, he has also the characteristically Tamil title *Kōṇṛinnamkōṇḍān*.⁶ Another inscription⁷ dated in the 45th year of Kulōttunga I at Bhīmavaram in the same Taluk registers the gift of a lamp and twenty she-buffaloes by Mādhyava alias Rājavallabha Pallavaraiyan, a minister of Parāntaka, to the temple of Nārāyaṇa founded by Vaiḍya Maṇḍiṭya. Parāntaka⁸ under whom he was serving as a minister is described therein as *Śrīra-maṇḍa Parāntakā-śrīpa Chālukya-vaṃśa-śrīyān prāptān cakṣat*, i. e. "while king Parāntaka who resembled the head of Śrī (i. e. Vishṇu) was protecting the fortune, namely the Chālukya kingdom acquired [by him]". This officer is perhaps identical with the Rājavallabha Pallavaraiyan who figures as the *mandiragadān* in the Smaller Leyden plates of Kulōttunga I issued in the 20th year of his reign.⁹ There is also an inscription¹⁰ of Parāntaka engraved on a pillar in the ruined Kanakadurgā-mandapa at the foot of the Imbrakūḥa hill at Vijayavāḍa, dated in the 5th year of his reign coupled with Śaka 1037 and the cyclic year Mammatha, corresponding to 1115-16 A. D. This record, though damaged, seems to confer the office of the headmanship (*veḍḍikam*) of Vijaya-

¹ *SIH*, Vol. V, No. 579.

² *Ibid* Vol. IV, No. 1234.

³ *Ibid*, No. 1218.

⁴ *Ibid*, Nos. 1251, 1272, etc.

⁵ *Ibid*, No. 1226.

⁶ *Ibid*, Nos. 1259 to 1274 etc. It is given there as *Kōṇṛinnamkōṇḍān*.

⁷ *Above*, Vol. VI, pp. 319-222.

⁸ The editor of this inscription has taken Parāntaka mentioned in the Smaller plates at the beginning of the record as one of the surnames of Kulōttunga I referred to in the Telugu portion of the same record as *Śrīra-maṇḍa-śrīpa-śrīpa-Vishṇuvardhana-mahārājula* in whose 45th year of reign corresponding to Śaka 1037 the grant was made. But a careful reading of the record, as also of the Vijayavāḍa inscription referred to below, now reveals that they were different.

⁹ *Above*, Vol. XXII, p. 276, text lines 11-12.

¹⁰ *SIH*, Vol. IV, No. 337.

vōda on a certain Bhituana who is described as the Vēṅgi-Chāṭukya-aṅkakūra¹ and whose brother Baddana had originally obtained the same office from Kulōttuṅga I described therein as the son of king Rājamahēndra.² The record bears at its end a royal confirmatory order dated in the 47th year of a king who is described as *Samastabhucanākṛaya, Rājādhirāja, Rājaparamēśvara, Paramabhūṭāraka, Ravikulatilaka, Satyāśrayavarmanīya, Chōlakyaśharaya, Tribhuvanachakravartin, Perumavilāsa*.³ This king can be no other than Kulōttuṅga I as evidenced by the titles *Satyāśrayavarmanīya, Chōlakyaśharaya* and *Ravikulatilaka* applied to him, and by the date mentioned in the inscription which agrees with the king's corresponding regnal year. This record would yield c. Śaka 1033 or c. 1111-12 A.D. for the accession of Parāntaka. It will be clear from the above that Parāntaka was ruling over the Vēṅgi country in the closing years of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I as a semi-independent ruler under the aegis of the Chōlas and that he was a prince of the Chōla-Chāṭukya line, probably one of the seven sons of Kulōttuṅga. We may safely identify Parāntaka of the Telugu inscriptions cited above with king Parakēsarivarman Parāntakadeva in whose reign the Tamil records under review were issued. Then, these two records of the 9th year will have to be assigned to c. 1119-20 A.D., corresponding to the 50th or the last year of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I.

We know that Kulōttuṅga I, on the death of his uncle Vijayāditya after a reign of 15 years, got possession of the Vēṅgi country in 1076-77 A.D. and appointed his sons in succession as viceroys there. The first to be so appointed, Rājārāja Mummadi-chōla, preferred living under the same roof as his parents to the enjoyment of a distant vicereignty and at the end of a year relinquished his office. His younger brother Vira-chōla was then chosen as the viceroy, and he continued to rule there for six years from the date of his anointment in Śaka 1001 (1078-79 A.D.). From 1084 to 1089 A.D. another son of Kulōttuṅga, by name Rājārāja Chōlaganga, the eldest, was the viceroy when he was succeeded by Vira-chōla again in his second term of vicereignty. Vira-chōla was there till at least 1092-93 A.D.⁴ What became of the vicereignty after that date is not clear. It is generally believed that Vikrama-chōla, another son of Kulōttuṅga I, who succeeded his father on the Chōla throne, became the viceroy of Vēṅgi and continued in that office till he was summoned to the south in 1118 A.D. by the aged Kulōttuṅga to become the co-regent (heir-apparent to the Chōla throne). No inscription of Vikrama-chōla issued during the time of his vicereignty of Vēṅgi or directly referring to it has come to light so far. But that he was a viceroy for some time in Vēṅgi is borne out by his *meykietti* itself.⁵ The Pithāputam inscription of Mallapadēva dated Śaka 1124 (1202-03 A.D.) states that Kulōttuṅga ruled for fifty years the five *Drāṇḍas* together with the Andhra country and that, when Vikrama-chōla went to rule the Chōla country, the land of Vēṅgi became heretofore of its lord (*Vēṅgi-bhūmic=nāgaka-mūlā jāṭi*), i.e. fell into a state of anarchy. The inscriptions found at Drākshūrāma point out that Parāntaka was the viceroy of Vēṅgi during roughly the last ten years of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I, and from the Tamil inscriptions edited below we may surmise that he was probably chosen as heir-apparent by Kulōttuṅga I and crowned as such with the title Parakēsarivarman and continued in that capacity till the last year of the reign of his father Kulōttuṅga I, corresponding to 1119-20 A.D.

¹ The *anakkūra* was an officer whose duty it was, when called upon to do so, to lead armies to battle on behalf of his master, to represent him on the battle-field and champion his cause. See N. Venkatasubramanyam, *The Eastern Chōlukyas of Vēṅgi*, p. 245, note 1.

² Rājamahēndra was a title of Rājārāja-gaṇāditya, the Eastern Chōlukya king and the father of Kulōttuṅga I.

³ It is worth noting that many titles, characteristically Western Chōlukyan, are borne by Kulōttuṅga I.

⁴ Above, Vol. V, p. 70 ff.; Vol. VI, p. 334 ff.; *SIH*, Vol. I, p. 40; *A. R. Ep.*, 1922, Part II, para. 6; R. A. N. Sastri, *The Chōlas*, Vol. II, pp. 30-32, 43.

⁵ *SIH*, Vol. II, No. 68.

⁶ Above, Vol. IV, p. 233, vv. 22-24.

But Kulōttuṅga was succeeded on the Chōla throne by Vikrama-chōla and not by this Parāntaka. If the statement in the Pithāpuram pillar inscription of Mallapādēva that Vikrama-chōla was ruling over Vēṅgi up to the time of his departure for the south to ascend the Chōla throne is to be accepted, then we have to identify this Parāntaka with Vikrama-chōla. The *meṅkīrtti* of Parāntaka contains identical expressions and appears more or less the same as the earlier portion of the *meṅkīrtti* beginning with the words, *Pūmādu puṇara*, etc., of Vikrama-chōla.¹ This may also be cited in support of the above presumption.²

But there are difficulties in accepting this identification. The *meṅkīrtti* beginning with the words *Pūmādu puṇara* appears in the inscriptions of Vikrama-chōla even in the second year of his reign³ (thus practically from its commencement) and it contains a reference to his Kālīṅga expedition which took place in the reign of his father Kulōttuṅga I, when he (Vikrama-chōla) was only a child.⁴ But the *meṅkīrtti* of Parāntaka of which we have the version brought up to the 24th year of his reign does not contain any reference to this Kālīṅga war. Moreover it is purely a eulogistic one of the more or less conventional type containing no reference to any event of importance. There is also no evidence, epigraphical or literary, that the title of Parāntaka was borne by Vikrama-chōla, though we know of his other titles like *Tyāgasmudra*.

Vikrama-chōla counts his regnal years from the date of his accession to the Chōla throne which took place on or about the 29th June, 1118 A.D.⁵ But we have seen above that Parāntaka counted his regnal years from some date in Śaka 1033 or 1111-12 A.D. and that such a reckoning was continued by him up to 1119-20 A.D., the date of the two records now under publication; i.e. even beyond the initial date of 1118 A.D. claimed for Vikrama-chōla.

Again, according to the Pithāpuram pillar inscription⁶ of Mallapādēva, Vikrama-chōla must have left his Vēṅgi viceroyalty and come over to the south before the date of his accession to the Chōla throne in 1118 A.D. But Parāntaka appears to have continued in Vēṅgi even after that date. An inscription⁷ from Drākshārāma registers a gift to the temple of Parāntakōṣvata built there, and perhaps also points to the presence of Parāntaka there in the 49th year, 533rd day of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I, i.e. on or about the 7th May, 1118 A.D.

We have therefore to account for two persons, Vikrama-chōla and Parāntaka, both claiming to be Parakṣarivarman and ruling as co-regents along with their father Kulōttuṅga I during the last two years of the latter's reign. This position is anomalous in Chōla history and has to be explained. It cannot be said that Kulōttuṅga I chose and anointed both of them as heir-apparent. The Vijayavāḍa inscription⁸ referred to above clearly points out that Parāntaka was chosen as heir-apparent and entrusted with the governance of the Vēṅgi country, nearly seven years prior to the date claimed for the accession of Vikrama-chōla to the Chōla throne. Parāntaka's position, not only as successor-designate but also as ruler *de facto* was recognised both in the Telugu country of Vēṅgi and in the Tamil area of the Chōla dominion proper. On the south wall of the Kōḍagdarāma temple at Madhurāntakam in the Chingleput District of the Madras State, there is a Tamil inscription⁹ dated in the 7th regnal year of a Parānta[ka]dēva

¹ *SI*, Vol. III, No. 80; Vol. VII, No. 832.

² Similar expressions are found in the *meṅkīrtti* beginning with words *Pūṇal māḍavṇaṅga* of Kulōttuṅga I, *ibid.*

³ *A. R. Ep.*, 1905, No. 408; also Nos. 170 of 1908, 229 of 1929; *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Sd. 9.

⁴ The original has the word *aiṁ-tadai-pyāṁman*, i.e. the period of childhood when amulet shaped like the five weapons of Viṣṇu are worn.

⁵ Above, Vol. VII, pp. 4-5.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 226-42.

⁷ *SI*, Vol. IV, No. 1226.

⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 737.

⁹ No. 126 of 1896; *SI*, Vol. V, No. 991.

without any distinguishing title and without any *mayakkirtti* but in characters of about the 12th century A.D., registering the grant of land as *tiruvayōttipēttam* to Tiruvayōttipperumāl of Śrī-Madhurāntaka-chaturvēdimaṇḍalam, a *taṇṇiūr* in Kaḷattūr-kōṭṭam, a sub-division of Jāyāṅḡōḍaṁḍalam.¹ This Parāntakadēva can be no other than the king Parāntakadēva of the two inscriptions now being edited.

It cannot also be said that Vikrama-chōḷa was chosen by his father Kulōttuṅga I to succeed him on the Chōḷa throne because of the demise of Parāntaka, for, we find from the Drākshārāma inscription referred to above² that Parāntaka was alive on or about the 7th May, 1119 A.D., i.e. more than ten months after the date of the accession of Vikrama-chōḷa.

The only alternative therefore left for us is to presume that Vikrama-chōḷa did not recognise the selection of Parāntaka as co-regent and claimed that he alone was the rightful person for that position. If that be the case, Vikrama-chōḷa could not have asserted his right and achieved his object by peaceful means. There must have been a civil war between these two brothers for the Chōḷa throne.

The Tanjavur temple inscription of Vikrama-chōḷa dated in the 4th year of his reign contains a significant passage in his *mayakkirtti* beginning with the words *Pūmālai nūḷaiṇda*, which runs: 'He joyfully stayed (a while) in the Vēṅḡai-maṇḍalam and put on the garland of victory over the northern region, and in the south he put on the sacred-jewelled crown by right so as to put an end to the commonness of the goddess of the sweet-smelling lotus-flower (i.e. Lakṣmī) and the timeliness of the good earth-maiden who had the Pōṇṇi (i.e. the river Kāvēri) for her garment.'³ It means in other words that Lakṣmī, the wealth of the southern country, had become common (i.e., ownerless) and the land of the Kāvēri lonely (i.e. unaccompanied) and that both of them found a remedy for their situation in the coming of Vikrama-chōḷa. This very same passage, describing the state of the southern region at the time of the accession of Vikrama-chōḷa to the throne is also found in the *mayakkirtti* of Kulōttuṅga I beginning with the words *Puḡal īḷṇḍa pupari*,⁴ thereby indicating that Vikrama-chōḷa had to face the same situation⁵ as prevailed at the time when Kulōttuṅga I ascended the Chōḷa throne.⁶

¹ A foot-note to the text of this record, published in the *SIJ*, quoted above, states that 'the characters in which the inscription is engraved appear to be of a later date than that of Parāntaka' (evidently I or II). The mention of the name Jāyāṅḡōḍaṁḍalam in the record for Tōḍaimaṇḍalam clearly points out that the record cannot be placed earlier than the time of the Chōḷa king Rājaraḷa I, after whose title Jāyāṅḡōḍa the territorial division was named.

² *SIJ*, Vol. IV, No. 1226.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, No. 68. The relevant portion of the original text is given below arranged in the metrical form:

Vēṅḡai-maṇḍala-ttāṅḡ-īṇḍaiṇḍa
vaḷḷai-ttāḷai vāḷai śūṇṇi-ttēṇ-ḷai
ttē-maru-kaiṇḍa-ppūṇṇai-pōḍumayum
Pōṇṇi-ūḷai-nappilap-pāvaiy
taṇṇimayum tēviraip-puṇḍai-tirumai
maḷḷam-urimaiyir-chōḷi.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, No. 68.

⁵ The chief queen of Vikrama-chōḷa is mentioned in the *Vikrama-śōḷa-śā* (Kuppi 40) and the *Tamiḷ-Nāṭṭar Charitai* (verse 142) as *pōi chālvuruti* (i.e. a female chālvuruti). This title is not applied to any other queen. We have already stated that the practice of nomenclature in the *mayakkirtti* the queen seated along with the king on the throne came into use only in the time of Kulōttuṅga I. This was necessitated probably because, being a Chāḷukyan by birth, he claimed a right to the Chōḷa throne not only as the grandson of a Chōḷa emperor, but also as the consort of a Chōḷa princess. A similar situation possibly arose for Vikrama-chōḷa also, of which we do not have the details.

⁶ Relying on this passage, Dikendra Chandra Ganguly has suggested (*The Eastern Chāḷukyas*, pp. 129-30) that there was a civil war for the Chōḷa throne during the last days of Kulōttuṅga I and that Vikrama-chōḷa, one of the contestants came out successful.

The indifferent use of both the titles Rājākṣarīvarman and Parākṣarīvarman for Vikrama-chōla might also be construed as pointing to such a conclusion; but it may also be merely the result of a mistake of the kind, of which other instances are also known. Kulōttuṅga, being a Rājākṣarīvarman, his immediate successor on throne should have been a Parākṣarīvarman. The occasional use of the title Rājākṣarīvarman by Vikrama-chōla¹ presupposes the existence of another king with the title Parākṣarīvarman between him and Kulōttuṅga even though Vikrama-chōla did not perhaps recognise such a position and, claiming himself as the direct successor of his father Rājākṣarīvarman Kulōttuṅga I, used the title Parākṣarīvarman which is generally found applied to him in his inscriptions.

There are about half a dozen undated inscriptions of Parāntakadēva at Drākṣhārāma registering the oaths of fealty taken by certain persons to serve Parāntakadēva faithfully.² The occasion which necessitated such a step is not clear. But it is significant to note that these oaths were taken to serve faithfully Parāntakadēva personally and not in respect of the throne or kingdom of the Chōla or Chālukya as the case may be, probably indicating that there was another person at that time claiming equal rights as Parāntakadēva and that the oath was meant to safeguard the interests of their liege lord Parāntakadēva against the other person.

It may also be said that the political condition of the country at this period was favourable to Vikrama-chōla for embarking on a civil war.

We know that towards the end of his reign, Kulōttuṅga I lost some portions of his territory, both in the west and in the north. In the west, the province of Gaṅgavādī was lost to the Hoysalas. Bittiga Viśhṇuvardhana, the Hoysala ruler of the period claims the title *Talakāḍu-koṇḍa* which is applied to him for the first time in an inscription dated in 1117 A.D.,³ and in the same year he is described as ruling in Talakāḍu and Kōlāla (Kolar) and over the whole of Gaṅgavādī. Ninetysix Thousand as far as Koṅga.⁴ This province which was under the Chōlas at the time and was regularly administered as a division of the Chōla empire was conquered for the Hoysala by *Danda-nāyaka* Gaṅgarāja. This event is graphically described in several of the Hoysala inscriptions.⁵ The success of the Hoysalas was complete and this was followed by the expulsion of the Chōlas from Gaṅgavādī. That this campaign was not in the nature of a mere raid and that the Hoysala was well-pleased with the result will be evident by his assuming the title *Talakāḍu-koṇḍa* and by the issue of gold coins bearing the legend *tri-Talakāḍu-goṇḍa*.

The victory gained in Gaṅgavādī was pursued by the Hoysalas even in regions beyond its frontiers. Of Puṇḍra-rāja, another general of the Hoysalas, who also seems to have taken part in the expedition against Gaṅgavādī, it is said in an inscription dated 1117 A.D. that he 'frightened the Todas [of the Nilgiris], drove the Koṅgar underground (or to the low-country), slaughtered the Pōlvas, put to death the Maleyālas, trifled king Kala (Kalapāla) and offered the peak of the Nilagiri to the goddess of victory'.⁶ It also adds that on receiving the king's order, Puṇḍra 'seized Nilagiri, and pursuing the Maleyālas captured their forces and made himself master of Kērala Nūlātri, and pursuing the Pōlvas slaughtered by him are evidently the Pōlvas, a community of the Koṅga country,⁷ round about Avināśi. The region also came to be

¹ E.g., *A. R. Ep.*, 1908, Nos. 426, 431; *ibid.*, 1926, No. 144; *ibid.*, 1909, Part II, para. 45; *ibid.*, 1926, part II, para. 27.

² *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1270-75A.

³ *Ep. Carr.*, Vol. III, MI. 31; also Vol. IV, Yd. 6.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Ch. 82.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, (rev. ed.) 8b. 240. The same account is given in Vol. III, MI. 31 also dated in 1117 A.D.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Ch. 83.

⁷ *A. R. Ep.*, 1923, Part II, para. 59.

known as Pūluva-nādu and places like Sēcūr in the Avināsi Taluk and Perumānallūr in the Gopichettippalaiyam Taluk of the Coimbatore District are said to be in the Pūluva-nādu.¹ Similarly, Poṅgal-nādu captured by Paṇḍya in the course of the campaign seems to be the Poṅgalūrkkā-nādu of the Kōṅgu inscriptions. The village of Kiraṇūr in the Pajani Taluk of the Madurai District was included in those days in the Poṅgalūrkkā-nādu.² The Hoysala inscriptions of this period mention Kōṅgu, Chēram and Ānamale as forming the southern extremities of Viṣṇuvardhana's kingdom. Viṣṇuvardhana claims to have squeezed Madurai in the palm of his hand³ and extended his victorious march even up to Rāmēsvaram.⁴ One record states that, 'on the Pāṇḍya flourishing his sword', Hoysalēśa 'cut him down with his own sword, and left only half a man to look on in the Tiguḷa army.'⁵

This does not appear to be a mere hyperbole, as we find an echo of Viṣṇuvardhana's invasion in the inscriptions of the Tiruchirappalli District. A record⁶ from Ādutturai in the Perambalur Taluk dated in the 4th year of the reign of Parākrama Pāṇḍya renews with the additional privilege for some money collection, an old charter said to have been issued to certain *Paḷḷi* residents in the 4th regnal year of Vikrama-chōḷadēva under peculiar circumstances. It is stated that 'during the war of Periya-vaṇḍan, when the images of gods and Nāyanmārs were carried away to be deposited at Dōrasamudra (Haḷēhū) in Mysore), [the *Paḷḷi*] rescued them, reconsecrated them in the temple, and agreed to provide for the expense of maintaining the worship of these images, making it a part of their communal obligation, in return for which act of service, the members of the community were to enjoy 'the temple honours of silk *parivattam* and *arulappādu*'. It is also said that the above arrangement was approved and sanctioned by Perumāḷ Kulōttuṅga Chōḷadēva,⁷ thereby indicating that the rescue of the idols was effected immediately after they were removed and within the life-time of Kulōttuṅga I. It is not clear from the inscription who the Periya-vaṇḍan waging war in the Tamil country was; but the mention of Dōrasamudra makes it evident that the Hoysalas were among the invaders. Another damaged inscription⁸ from Karūr, one of the capitals of the Kōṅgu kingdom, dated in the 3rd year of the reign of Vikrama-chōḷa, corresponding to 1120-21 A.D., states that the idol of Kūttanār (i.e. Natarāja) in the temple of Tiruvāṇḷai-Āṇḍaiya Nāyanār at Karuvūr in Veḷḡāla-nādu, a sub-division of Virāṭōla-maṇḍalam which had been lost in the [days of the] revolt (*kalahattil lēman-tappanomaigal*) was brought back after a search and set up by the Śiva-Brahmanas of the temple who also made provision for worshipping the same. Evidently the country seems to have suffered very much in the hands of the Hoysalas who were probably unscrupulous in striking terror in the hearts of the people.⁹

¹ Ibid., 1909, No. 184. See also Nos. 192, 211, 328 and 329 (pp. 185, 204, 308 and 309) of *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, Vol. I, published by the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library. This region is also referred to as Pūruva-nādu and possibly the Pūruva-rājar mentioned in the Velvikūḷi plates of the Pāṇḍya king Neḷuṇḍajaiyan (above, Vol. XVII, pp. 291-308) are the rulers of the region.

² *SI*, Vol. V., Nos. 262 to 284.

³ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Cn. 180.

⁴ *A. R. Ep.*, 1913, Part II, para. 47.

⁵ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, Bl. 171. The mention of the *Tiguḷa* or Tamil army under the command of the Pāṇḍya precludes the possibility of identifying him with an Uchchāṇḍi chief.

⁶ *A. R. Ep.*, 1913, No. 85.

⁷ Ibid., Part II, paragraphs 46-47.

⁸ *SI*, Vol. IV, No. 387.

⁹ There are inscriptions of the 45th and 46th years of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I (e.g. Nos. 620 and 647 of 1909 respectively at Tiruchirai and Kōmārikāpāram in the Tanjavur District) stating that the lands of tenants who had deserted the villages unable to pay the taxes for over two years were confiscated and sold to the temples, and these are significant considering the time and the large number of such cases (see also Rangacharya, *A Topographical List of Inscriptions in the Madras Presidency*, Tj. 74, 1210).

The Hoysala incursions into the Chōla dominion were not restricted to the southern part. They appear to have carried on the expedition in the eastern direction also in the course of which Tegeyūr and Kōyāttūr (modern Laddigan in the Chittoor District) became subject to Vishnavardhana who is also credited with the conquest of Kāñchi, on which he took the title of *Kāñchi-gaṇḍa* which is very often met with in his inscriptions.¹ That this was not again a mere boast will be clear from the statements found in his inscriptions that 'he made proclamations of his victories over numerous kings by sound of drum in Kāñchīpura',² that 'he was like a fierce forest-fire to the territory of the Tondai chieftain',³ and that 'after conquering Kāñchi and Madurai he burnt Jananāthapura'.⁴ It is also said that he slew an Andhra king.⁵

It is significant to note that the capture of Kāñchi and the burning of the city of Jananāthapura are claimed not only by the generals of Vishnavardhana, but also by the generals of another monarch, viz. Vikramāditya VI, the Western Chālukya ruler of Kalyāṇa, at about the same time. We know that the Hoysalas were from the very beginning the feudatories of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa and that they continued to be so even at that time. It is therefore quite possible that the Hoysalas were waging war in the northern front as the subordinates and under the banner of their suzerain power, the Western Chālukyas.

Viewed in this light, the Periya Vaḍugaṇ mentioned in the Aḍutturai inscription* referred to above as waging war in the heart of the Tamil country would only mean the 'big (or elder) or great northerner', i.e. the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI. Similarly, the exploits of 'displaying his valour before Māṇikyadēvi of the Chakrakūṭa throne', 'burning the city of Jananāthapura through his general' and the like in the north that the Hoysala is credited with, should be deemed to have taken place when he was in the service of his overlord Vikramāditya. Vikramāditya was waiting long only for an opportunity of making reprisals for his earlier failure in his wars against Kulōttuṅga I. Such an opportunity presented itself now. His plan was evidently to take advantage of Kulōttuṅga's preoccupation with the affairs in the south and create a diversion in the north by proceeding against the kingdom of Vēṅḡ and its vassal-states.

The exact course of the events of this campaign is not clear. But that at the end of this campaign, practically the whole of the Telugu country came under the sway of Vikramāditya VI is evident from the provenance of his inscriptions. A stone record[†] from Kollūm in the Tenālī Taluk of the Guntur District dated in the cyclic year Manmatha, the 40th year of the reign of Tribhuvanamalladēva (Vikramāditya VI), i.e. 1115-16 A.D., refers to his famous general Anantapālayya and mentions the officers such as the *mantri*, *purōhita*, *sēnāpati*, etc., in whose presence, the king made a certain gift. There are inscriptions of the next year Duramkha, the Chālukya-Vikrama year 41, at Māgoḷa and Raṅgāpuram in the Hadagallī Taluk of the same District, in one of which Padmaladēvi, a queen of Vikramāditya VI, is referred to as ruling over the *agrahāra* of Māṅgoḷa.[‡] In Śaka 1039 (December, 1117 A.D.), the Kākatīya chief Prōḷa of Anumakonda acknowledges the supremacy of the Western Chālukya ruler and records that the Anumakonda territory was conferred on his father Bēta some time before by the same sovereign.[§] About a year later, in the cyclic year Viḷambin, corresponding to the Chālukya-Vikrama year 43 (December, 1118 A.D.), we find *Mahāśāntantālīpati Mahāprachandandamānāyaka* Anantapālayya actually

¹ See, e.g., *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Cm. 100.

² *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 331.

³ *Inscriptions of Sravasti Belgola*, No. 53 (old).

⁴ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Cm. 100.

⁵ *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 213.

⁶ *A. E. Ep.*, 1913, No. 35.

⁷ *SII*, Vol. IX, No. 193.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Nos. 104 and 105.

⁹ *Above*, Vol. IX, p. 256.

ruling over Vēṅgi 14000 as a subordinate of Vikramāditya when a certain Nāyaka made some gift to god Agastyēśvaradēva at Konmūru, in the Bapatla Taluk of the same District.¹ About 1120 A.D., Anantapāla's wife made a gift to the celebrated shrine of Bhīmēśvara at Drākshārāma.² The gifts made by Velanāṅṭi Rājendra in the same year and by Mayilamma, the wife of a Telugu-Chōḷa chief, in the year after that, at Drākshārāma are recorded in inscriptions dated in the Chālukya-Vikrama era.³ Another inscription from Tripurāntakam⁴ in the Markapuram Taluk of the Kurnool District, dated in the Chālukya-Vikrama year 51, Parābhava (corresponding to Tuesday, June 22, 1126 A.D., a solar eclipse occurring on this date), states that Anantapālārasa, the *Daṇḍanāyaka*, was ruling over Vēṅgi 12,000 and Emmadala 5,000 as a subordinate of Vikramāditya. This record states that Anantapāla had the pleasure of seeing his nephew and son-in-law Gōvindarasa who was ruling over Kondapalli 300, pursue the Chōḷa, conquer the Chōḷa country and carry away as booty a large number of elephants, soldiers, treasures and all the belongings of the Chōḷa king. Gōvindarasa also attacked Jannātharājapura, another name of Drākshārāma, then the provincial capital of Vēṅgi, and brought from it everything of Kumāra, captured Dōcheya and Gōṅka (probably the *śakātās* of the Chōḷa viceroy)—a feat which was considered as amounting to the capture of the person of the king himself, and burnt Vēṅḡipura.⁵ Anantapāla is said to have earned, as a consequence, the title *Chōḷa-śajaka chūṅkūra*. The same victory is also claimed by Śchapa, a subordinate of Anantapāla, who is said to have pursued the Chōḷa forces from the village Uppinakatte in Vēṅgi to Kāṇchī and gained for himself the title *Chōḷa-rāṅṅa-nirmūḷana*.⁶ It will thus be seen that Vēṅgi was completely conquered by Vikramāditya VI who carried his arms even as far as Kāṇchī. This eclipse of the Chōḷa-Chālukya power in Vēṅgi continued till the death of Vikramāditya VI in 1126 A.D. Thus Vikramāditya VI and his Hoysala subordinate Viśṇuvardhana, together overran the entire Chōḷa empire in the west and north. It was at this time when the whole dominion of the Chōḷas was overrun by foreign invasion resulting in much loss of territory that Vikrama-chōḷa began to assert his right to the Chōḷa throne and wage the civil war with his brother or half-brother Parāntakadēva. It may even be supposed that these troubles started after he proclaimed himself as the rightful heir to the Chōḷa throne. An inscription on a pillar in front of the Chōḷēśvara temple at Nijūrōḷu in the Guntur District registering the gift of land and lamps to the temple of Gōḷkēśvara at Chēpakumbali or Hodupalli by Mārava Paṇḍa, the general of Velanāṅṭi Gōḷka, is dated in Śaka 1054 and the 17th regnal year of Tribhuvannachakravartin Vikrama-chōḷa yielding Śaka 1058 (1115-16 A.D.) as the date of his accession, three years earlier than the date usually assigned to him.⁷ And Kulōttuṅga I was alive when these two sons of his were fighting one another for the throne. We do not know what his attitude towards them was or whom he supported. But it is natural to presume that having already chosen Parāntaka as heir-apparent and associated him with the government, he would have espoused the cause of that son as against Vikrama-chōḷa unless it be that Parāntaka had in the meanwhile turned a traitor: there is indeed no ground to suppose such a situation. On the other hand, the inscriptions of Parāntaka show in unmistakable terms that his administration had the entire approval of his father and the reigning monarch, Kulōttuṅga I.

Then Vikrama-chōḷa would have had to contend against both his brother Parāntakadēva and his father Kulōttuṅga I to achieve his object. His ultimate success, even during the lifetime of his father, clearly implies that he must have had the active support not only of some strong

¹ *SIH*, Vol. IX, No. 196.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 1211.

³ *Ibid.*, Nos. 1216, 1228.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, No. 213.

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 212.

⁶ *JAHRS*, Vol. XVIII, p. 59, *Proc. AIOG*, Session X, p. 421.

⁷ *SIH*, Vol. VI, No. 123.

and influential local faction, but also of some strong foreign power, mightier than that of the Chōla. We have pointed out elsewhere¹ that Vikrama-chōla was the son of Kulōttuṅga, not by Madhurāntakī, the Chōla princess, but by a Hoysala princess. The invasion of the Chōla dominion by Hoysala Viśhṇuvardhana with the support of his ally and overlord the Western Chālukya Vikramāditya VI who was the avowed enemy of the reigning Chōla monarch Kulōttuṅga I was perhaps partly motivated by the Hoysala king's desire to install Vikrama-chōla, his nephew, on the Chōla throne. The Hoysala bore the brunt of the war in the south as well as in the north, just before the formal proclamation of the accession of Vikrama-chōla.

It is also to be noted in this connection that the regions of Gaṅḡavāḍi in the west and Vēṅḡ in the north lost by the Chōlas in the closing years of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I were not recovered by Vikrama-chōla. So far as Gaṅḡavāḍi was concerned, the bulk of it was lost for ever. And as for Vēṅḡ, so long as Vikramāditya VI was alive, the Chōlas do not appear to have set their foot in it and their erstwhile subordinates, the local rulers, acknowledged the suzerainty of the Western Chālukyas. Towards the end of the reign of Vikramāditya VI, we find an Eastern Chālukya prince Sarvalōkāśraya Viśhṇuvardhana entrusted with the administration of Vēṅḡ. An inscription on a stone pillar now in the Rajahmundry Museum,² which once probably belonged to the temple of Virabhadraśvara at Pattēsam, registers the gift of 25 cows to the temple by a resident of Pemugonda on a day in Śaka 1067 coupled with the 21st regnal year of Sarvalōkāśraya Viśhṇuvardhana-mahārāja, corresponding to the 25th December 1145 A.D. This would yield Śaka 1047 or 1125-26 A.D. as the date for his accession. We have records of Chālukya Vikramāditya VI dated in his 51st regnal year³ which commenced in June 1126 A.D., and his son and successor, Sōmēśvara III ascended the throne some time between July 24 and October 5 of the same year. The Western Chālukyas were in complete occupation of Vēṅḡ when this Eastern Chālukya prince commenced his rule there. An inscription⁴ in Sanskrit incised on a pillar lying in front of the Kēśavaśaṁin temple at Yenamalakoduru in the Gannavaram Taluk of the present Guntur District records the gift of the town of Vijayavāḍa to the temple of Mallēśvara by Bhīma, the son of Boddāna. It is stated therein that Boddāna obtained the town as a gift for the prosperity of his family from the Chōla king Triparāntaka and the Karpāṭa king (*Karpāṭa-bhūbhujab*), i.e. the Western Chālukya monarch. Another record,⁵ a Telugu version of the same, incised on the same pillar gives some additional particulars. It states that Bhīma belonged to the Pallava family and gives his genealogy for three generations. But it is not known who this Chōla prince Triparāntaka was. The fact that the grant made by him was confirmed by the Western Chālukya king would show that he was ruling over Vēṅḡ as a subordinate of the Western Chālukya and this could have happened only after the conquest of that country by Vikramāditya VI. We have already noticed that Vijayavāḍa was originally granted by Kulōttuṅga I to a certain Boddāna and that the gift was renewed by Parāntaka and confirmed by Kulōttuṅga I in 1115-16 A.D. in favour of Bhīmana who was the brother of the above Boddāna and had been enjoying the property even during the life-time of his brother. The same was now conferred on Boddāna by Triparāntaka-chōla and confirmed by the Western Chālukya king, probably Vikramāditya VI. Triparāntaka's name is not found elsewhere and he is a Chōla prince unknown hitherto. In an inscription⁶ from the Telingana districts a general of Kumāra Sōmēśvara, son of Vikramāditya VI, states that he captured the Chōlaga and his younger brother. Probably Triparāntaka

¹ Above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 227-28.

² *SII*, Vol. X, No. 116.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, No. 212.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 81.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 100.

⁶ *Telangana Inscriptions*, No. 35; *JOB*, Vol. XXV, pp. 59-61.

was that brother whom subsequently Vikramāditya VI set up to rule over Vēṅgi. It is quite likely that this prince was set up to rule over Vēṅgi during the last days of Vikramāditya VI, presumably to continue the hold of the Western Chālukya rule over the area permanently and to prevent the return of the country to the Imperial Chōlas.

Thus at the time of Vikrama-chōla's accession to the throne, the Chōla empire had lost Gaṅga-vāḍi in the west and Vēṅgi in the north. Probably such cession of territory to the Chālukya was the price which Vikrama-chōla had agreed to pay for the help rendered to him by Vishnavardhana and Vikramāditya VI in securing the Chōla throne. It is true that evidences are not quite clear and that some of the foregoing statements may not be capable of individual proof at present; but there is nothing implausible in the surmises made, the correctness of which will have to be confirmed by future discoveries.

Our thanks are due to Dr. N. Venkataramanayya who helped us by drawing our attention to the Telugu records referred to in the discussion above.

TEXT¹

A

- 1 Svasti-Śrī [||*]Pūmaṅgai va|ara Puvimaṅgai puṇara
- 2 Jayamaṅgai magu|a* Puḡa|maṅgai ka'mahara-ttann-a-
- 3 ḡiy-iraṇḍu|u*]-tataṇipar sūṭṭa(ḡa) poḡ-muḡiṇodu|m]-mu* puḡa-
- 4 luḡan sūḡi-taḡ-gōṇ varavi|* sēṅḡōḡ na-
- 5 ḡāṭṭa(tti)* tiṅḡa]-vey-kuḡai-ki| vijaiya-siti-
- 6 hāṣaṇaṭṭu vīṭṭirundaruḡiya Kō-Pparakōsari-pa|n*]
- 7 maraṅḡa Tribhuvanachakkaravattiga| śrī-Parāntakadē-
- 8 vaḡr*]kku yāṇḍu 9-dāṇadu Nittavinōḡa-va|anā-
- 9 t' ḡṇu Nallūr-nōṭṭu Rājakōsari-charu|p*]pēḡimaṅ-
- 10 galattu Tḡi]ruchehēlūr Mahādēva(r*)kku Pāṇḡi-
- 11 kuḡaṇi-va|anāṭṭu Kiḡiyūr-nōṭṭu [Kā]i-
- 12 kuḡi [k*] kuḡaḡa|a|ḡa Arayaṇ [Ka*]ḡa|p*]ḡan*[u-a]-
- 13 ḡa Irājakōsari Pērayanēn* amudu-
- 14 paḡlikku ḡāṇ kuḡḡu-viṭṭa nilam-āṇadu[|*] Rā-
- 15 jakōsari-charu|p*]pēḡimaṅgalattu Kalākala[oh*]-

¹ From the ink-impression.

* Read magu|a.

* This is redundant.

* Read poḡ-muḡi-pḡḡiḡa. It is written correctly in B.

* Read marabēl.

* The phrase *śrī* caramāḡa has been omitted here. See B, line 2.

* The first *j* is superfluous.

* The *u* following *pa* is superfluous.

* [The reading appears to be *Pāṇḡḡa* (i.e., *Likḡḡaṇḡa*) here as well as in line 28.—D.C.S.]

E

FIRST PIECE



SECOND PIECE



THIRD PIECE



Scale - One-fifth

- 16 ohāri Kavnāyan Nārāyaṇan Nārāyaṇanār-pakkal.
 17 nān¹ vilai-konḍu-viṭṭa nilam-āvaḍu [l*] ādi(t*)ta-
 18 vadikku mārku Rājakēsari-vāy-
 19 kkālu[k*]ku terku aṇṇi[ā]ṇṇaṇṇa-
 20 iṭṭu iraṇḍāṇ-chaḍirattu- kṛeya-
 21 m[pa]lambaḍi nilam kālēmukkāṇi[k*]
 22 k[ll*]-eṭṭu mā [l*] i-ṇṇilam kālē-
 23 mukkāṇi[k*]k[il] eṭṭu māvu[k*]kum vi-
 24 lai iṭṭu-[k*] koṇḍa kāsū āṇu [l*] i-k-
 25 kās-āṇum-iṭṭu-[k*]koṇḍu i-ṇṇilam
 26 chaṇḍr-ādi[t*]tavarai i-[d*]dēva[rk*]ku amudapaḍi śe-
 27 lvadāga-[k*] koṇḍu viṭṭēṇ Araiya-
 28 p. Kaṇṇa²ppaṇāṇa³ Rājakēsari Pērayaṇēṇ⁴ [l*]

TRANSLATION

A

Hail! Prosperity! While the goddess with the (*lotus*) flower (i.e. Lakshmi) prospered; while the goddess of Earth wedded (*the king*); while the goddess of victory beamed with joy; while the goddess of Fame was resplendent; while (*all other*) kings bore (*on their heads*) his two feet; while he put on with fame the shining golden crown and wielded the sceptre in the tradition of (*his*) forebears; while he was seated on the victorious throne under the white parasol extending up to the (*four*) quarters; in **the 9th year** (*of the reign*) of (*this*) king Parakēsari-varman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds (*Tribhuvanachakravartin*) the prosperous **Parāntakadēva**:

The following land was purchased and given away as gift by me, Araiyan Kaṇṇappaṇ *alias* Rājakēsari Pērayaṇ, a resident of Kāḷikoḍi, a village in Kiliyūr-nāḍu, a sub-division of Pāṇḍikūḷāṇi-vaḷanāḍu for the (*daily*) offerings to the god Tiruchchēlūr-Mahādēva in Rājakēsari-chaṇṇpēḍimaṇḍalam(*chaturvēdimaṇḍalam*) in Nallūr-nāḍu, a sub-division of Nittavinōḍa-vaḷanāḍu. The (*piece of*) land purchased (*for being given away as gift*) by me from Kavnāyan Nārāyaṇan *alias* Nārāyaṇan of Kālūkalachohāri in Rājakēsari-chaṇṇpēḍimaṇḍalam to the west of Āḍittavaḍi, to the south of the channel (*nīyēkkūl*) Rājakēsari and comprised in the second square of the fifth *kaṇṇāṇṇu* and measuring 1/4, 3/80, 1/800 (or 231/800) (*kālēmukkāṇi-k[il]-eṭṭu mā*). The price (*for and*) paid for this land of 231/800 (*measurement*) was six *kāsus*. This (*price of*) six *kāsus* was paid and the land given for offerings to the god till the sun and moon last, by me Araiyan Kaṇṇappaṇ *alias* Rājakēsari Pērayaṇ.

¹ The letter *ā* is written underneath *ā*.

² The first *f* is superfluous.

³ This *pa* is written like the Grantha letter, i.e. *pa* and *pa* below the other.

⁴ The letter *ā* is written below *ā*.

⁵ The letter *g* is written below *g*. [See above, p. 196, note 8.—D.C.S.]

B.

- 1 Svasti Śrī []* Puvimāṅgai vaḷara Pūmāṅgai puṇara Jayamāṅgai māṅḷa¹ Puṅai
[ma*]ga² malara taṅṇ-aṇḍi-irāṇḍum³-tarāṇipar sūṇa poṇ-mṇḍi oḷi⁴yiṇa puṇa([]*)-uḷaṇ
sūṇi
- 2 taṇ-gōṇ marabiḷ sūṇḍōḷ naḍḍātti-[t*]iṣai varambāṅa-ttiṇḍa⁵-veṇkuṇḍaḷ-kī⁶ viṣaiya-s[]māsa-
nattu viṇṇirandaṇḍi⁷ya* Kōv=[I*]rāpakāṣati.
- 3 paṇmarāna eḷak[ka*]rāvatthi(tti)ga⁸ śrī-Pirāntakadēvaṇku yāṇḍu 9 āvaḍu []*
Uḷaiyār Tīruvaṇṇaṭṭuṇḍi Uḷaiyār Kō⁹

¹ Read *maṅḷa*.

² This *ma* is superfluous.

³ The letters *ḷa* looks like *na*.

⁴ The first *i* is superfluous.

⁵ The letter *ḷa* looks like *na*.

⁶ The inscription stops abruptly here.

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHÆOLOGY

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

VOL. XXXII

PART V

JANUARY 1958

EDITED BY

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Government Epigraphist for India



समर्थनं कुरुते

Published by the Manager of Publications, Delhi
Printed at the Government of India Press, Calcutta, India
1959

Price Rs. 10.00 or 16 sh.

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No. 23—SIRRAMBAKKAM INSCRIPTION OF PARAMESVARAVARMAN, YEAR 1

(I Plate)

P. B. DESAI, DHARWAR

This inscription was found at **Sirrambakkam** alias Tenkārāpai, a village in the Tiruvallūr Taluk, Chingleput District, Madras State. It was copied by a member of the office of the Government Epigraphist for India in the course of the epigraphical survey of the Taluk in 1947-48. It is registered as No. 83 of Appendix B and noticed at page 1 of the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for that year. I edit the record here for the first time with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The epigraph is engraved on a slab of stone used as a step at the entrance of the Chelhamman temple in the above village. The slab is almost square in dimensions measuring about 29 inches long and 28.5 inches broad. In the central part of the stone is carved a floral design consisting of melon-shaped petals arrayed within the space formed by two concentric circles. The diameter of the inner circle is about 8 inches and that of the outer one 15.5 inches. The space inside the inner circle is left blank. The margin on the four sides of this design contains the writing. The inscription is made up of six lines, two of which are incised in the upper space, followed by two more in the right. Next comes one line at the bottom and another towards the left. The record is partly damaged and a few letters in lines 3 to 5 are obliterated. As the inscription speaks of the erection of a temple, it seems likely that this inscribed slab was originally fixed into a wall of that temple.

With the exception of the four letters of the Grantha alphabet, viz., *ṣ*, *m*, *ḥ* and *j* in the first line, the **characters** are archaic Tamil of the unornamental variety and belong to the 7th century. They may be compared with those employed in the cave inscription at Vallam¹ and some of the labels on the rocks near Pūñjēri.² Among the individual letters may be noted the initials *s* in line 5 and cursive *y* in line 6.

The **language** is Tamil. We may note the honorific plural *varummar* of Sanskrit *varman* in line 1. The vowel-ending plural form *Somāśiyāru* in the compound *Somāśiyāru-marumagan* is also noteworthy. Two similar forms are met with in the Vallam cave inscription, namely, *Mayānilanppōttarēvaru-āṣiyāru* in line 3 and *Vayandappirāṣarēvaru-magan* in line 4. The full import of the expression *Tūṇāḥ-gilavar* in line 2 is not known. The word *kilavar*, which, however, forms part of it, may stand for 'chiefs' or 'headmen.' The expression *taṭumā* in line 6 is difficult to explain.

The inscription refers itself to the first regnal year³ of *Mahārāja Paramēśvaravarman*. Considering the palaeography of the epigraph and the historical facts known about the Pallavas of Kāñchi, who had risen to power at this time and were wielding authority in the region represented by the present record, we are justified in identifying this *Mahārāja Paramēśvaravarman* with the Pallava ruler Paramēśvara I (circa 670-700 A. D.). The **date** of our epigraph would thus be about 670 A.D.

¹ *SIJ*, Vol. II, No. 72 and Plate X.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, No. 29 A and Plate II.

³ The expression *taṭumā* from *taṭai* is used adjectively in the sense of 'first'. The same usage may also be noted in the familiar phrase *taṭumāi kōṇḍalai* meaning 'first child'. For epigraphic usage of the word *taṭai* meaning 'first,' we may note the expression *Ṭai-taṭai-ppiraiyāl* in the Takkāḍam inscription (above, Vol. XIX, p. 87).

The object of the epigraph is to record the construction of a temple by the sister's son of Sōmāśiyār¹ who appears to claim some distinction. The name of this relative is partially preserved in the expression *Kumā[ra]*. This appears to be the earliest known reference to the construction of a structural temple in the Tamil country.

The epigraph is of importance on account of the fact that it is one of the few early inscriptions on stone written in archaic Tamil. Added to this is another fact that it is also one of the few inscriptions referring to the reigns of the early Pallava rulers and citing the regnal years. The epigraphs of the early Pallava kings of the Simhaviṣṇu line are characterised by the following notable features. They are inscribed generally on rocks and in caves; their script is Pallava-Grantha of the ornamental variety and their language is Sanskrit. Most of them are of the nature of mere labels comprising royal titles and epithets. Even if we take into account a few more Tamil inscriptions of the early period belonging to private agencies,² purely Tamil epigraphical records as such containing specific allusions to the contemporary rulers are conspicuous by their paucity. Only two such instances have come to our notice so far. One is the Vallam cave inscription mentioning Pallava Mahēndravarmaṇ I and the other the Tirukkalikunram epigraph referring to his successor Nannabhavarman I.³ The present record, therefore, makes a welcome addition to this meagre list.

There is probably only one place-name mentioned in the record and it is Ālavāy. This place is usually identified with Madurai. But if we connect the word *Ālavāy* with *ēḷuppāṭu* occurring later, it will show that the temple was constructed at Ālavāy which may have been an early name of Tenkārāṇai, the provenance of the record.⁴

TEXT

Upper Side

- 1 Śrī-Mahārāja-Paramēśvaravarunmaṭṭka yāga talaiṭṭā-
- 2 vadu Tūṇaṅ-gi[avarn]=Ālavāy] Sōmāśiyā-

Right Side

- 3 ru-marumagan Kumā[ra] . . .
- 4 ēḷuppāṭa kō[ṭṭu] . . .

Lower Side

- 5 . . . a[ṭṭu]vāṇi . . .

Left Side

- 6 yār taḍumāv-ēṭṭa []⁵

¹ Sōmāśiyār may be contracted either from Sōmasyājiyār or Sōmājiyār.

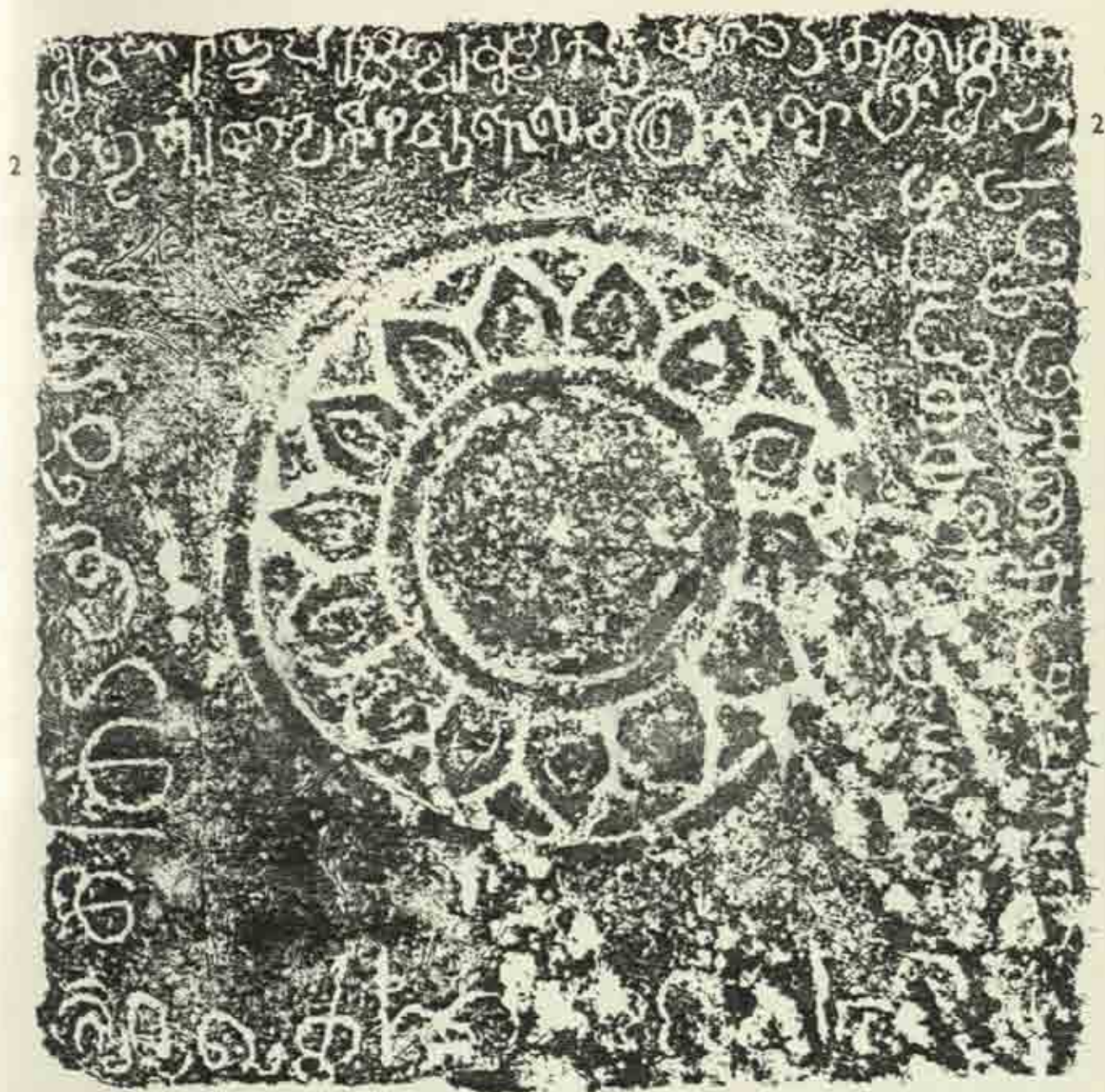
² For instance, Tirumeyyam inscription (*SIL*, Vol. XII, p. 3, a. 1); Pāṇjēri records (*Ilak.*, No. 23 Δ); *A.R.Ep.*, 1937-38, Nos. 133, 140, etc.

³ *A.R.Ep.*, 1932-33, p. 55.

⁴ [The language of the record seems to mean that Sōmāśiyār hailed from the locality called Ālavāy. -D.C.S.]

⁵ From impression.

SIRRAMBAKKAM INSCRIPTION OF PARAMESVARAVARMAN; YEAR 1



Scale: One-fourth

No. 24—PATTALI GRANT OF YUVARAJA RAJENDRAVARMAN, GANGA YEAR 313

(1 Plate)

D. C. Sircar, CALCUTTA

This inscription was published by Mr. Manda Narasimham in the Telugu journal *Bhārati*, June 1954, pp. 574 ff. In April 1956, it was purchased from Mr. Narasimham for the Epigraphical Gallery in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India. Nothing is known to us about the findspot of the record and the story of its discovery. Mr. Narasimham's article in the *Bhārati* does not disclose any fact in these respects. But there is little doubt that the plates were discovered somewhere in the Srikakulam District of Andhra Pradesh.

The inscription is written on three copper plates held together by a ring bearing the seal of the issuer of the charter. The plates are rectangular in shape and measure each $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height. They have slightly raised rims. There is a hole (about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter) in the left side of the plates for the ring to pass through. The diameter of the ring is about $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches while its thickness is about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch. The ends of the ring are soldered to the bottom of a thick circular seal about 1 inch in diameter. On the countersink surface of the seal, which is considerably corroded, there are traces of the figure of a standing animal which is no doubt a bull that was the emblem of the Eastern Ganga kings. The three plates together weigh about 94 tolas and the ring and the seal about 38 tolas.

There are altogether 37 lines of writing in the inscription. But line 30 containing only three *akṣaras* written between the beginning of lines 29 and 31 is not a continuous line, while the last line contains only one *akṣara* followed by a *daṣaḥ*. The inscription is incised on the inner side of the first plate and both the sides of the second and third plates. It has, however, to be noticed that, through oversight, the engraver originally began to incise the concluding part of the record (lines 34 ff.) on the outer side of the first plate instead of on the corresponding side of the third plate, which is its proper place. But the mistake was detected when only one line and a half had been engraved on the reverse of the first plate.

The characters belong to the later Kalinga script and resemble those of many early medieval inscriptions discovered in the Srikakulam region. The letter *ḍā* has the form of *ḍā* in some cases as noticed often in inscriptions in the later Kalinga alphabet. The language of the record is corrupt Sanskrit and it is written in prose with the exception of a few imprecatory and benedictory stanzas at the end. In point of orthography, the record resembles other epigraphs of the area and age in question. The grant was issued in the year 313 of the Ganga era, which fell in the period between 809 and 811 A.D. The date is written both in words and in figures; but there are no other details of the date.

The charter was issued from Kalinganagara by Yuvarāja Rājendravarmā, described as the son of Mahārājapūṣpabha Paramatara Parambhāṭṭaraka Anantavarmān of the Eastern Ganga family. It records the grant firstly of the village of Pāṭṭali (elsewhere called Pāḍali) situated in the territorial unit called Kṛishṇamaṭṭamba, in favour of the goddess Kaśhipōṭṭi-bhāṭṭārikā, in order to provide for her offerings, etc., by Yuvarāja Rājendravarmā himself and secondly of Kuṣasaṭṭkīra-grāma in Dēpupaṇṭhālī and Arālī-grāma in Jāmbōṭṭa-paṇṭhālī in favour of the same deity by Rājendravarmā's mother Lōka-mahādevī. The primary object of the charter was to record the grant of Pāṭṭali-grāma since the order of the Yuvarāja was issued to the inhabitants of that village only. That Lōka-mahādevī's grant of the villages of Kuṣasaṭṭkīra and

Arali was added to the main charter as a subsidiary issue is further suggested by the fact that the boundaries of the gift land quoted in lines 24 ff. refer to the village of Pāḍali (i.e. Pāṭṭali) only.

The village of Pāṭṭali or Pāḍali was bounded in the east by a *naiḍhāni-tiḷā* (probably meaning 'a boundary pillar') and a *bīḷa* tree; in the south by a pit and another *naiḍhāni-tiḷā*; in the west by a pit (called Bātṭaka probably after the name of the locality or its owner) and a mango tree; and in the north by a pit (called Kāsimbi probably after the name of the locality or its owner) and certain forests. The above section of the charter is followed in lines 26 ff. by some of the well-known imprecatory and benedictory verses. The date of the grant, viz. year 313, is quoted in lines 34-35 as the year of the victorious reign of the Gāṅgāya dynasty. The document was written by *Mahāśāhivirahika* (i.e. the officer in charge of war and peace) Sāmīrāja and the plates were engraved by the *śakhaḍāḥa* (i.e. goldsmith) Dāmachandra.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it is one of the few charters issued by a crown-prince, the most well-known instance of this class of documents being the Mayidavolu plates¹ of the Pallava Yuvamahārāja Śivaskandavarman who flourished in the first half of the fourth century A. D. The circumstances leading to the issue of a charter by the crown-prince instead of the king himself in these cases cannot be determined.

In order to determine the identity of the Gāṅga crown-prince Rājēndravarmā, son of king Anantavarman, we have to take note of the following records of the family: (1) Alamanda plates² of Anantavarman son of Mahārāja Rājēndravarmā, dated year 304; (2) Indian Museum plates³ of Mahārāja Dēvēndravarmā, son of Mahārāja Rājēndravarmā, dated year 308; (3) Tekkali plates⁴ of the same king, dated year 310; (4) Nāmpali grant⁵ of Yuvārāja Rājēndravarmā, son of king Anantavarman, dated year 314; and (5) Mandasa plates⁶ of Rājēndravarmā, son of Anantavarman, dated year 342. These records show that the Gāṅga king Rājēndravarmā was succeeded by his sons Anantavarman (year 304) and Dēvēndravarmā (years 308 and 310) and that Dēvēndravarmā was succeeded by Rājēndravarmā, son of his elder brother and predecessor Anantavarman. The charter under study, issued by Anantavarman's son Rājēndravarmā as Yuvārāja in the year 313, is therefore the third of his known records, the other two being his Nāmpali grant issued likewise as Yuvārāja in the year 314 and his imperfectly deciphered Mandasa plates of the year 342 probably issued as king. The present epigraph mentions Lōka-mahādēvī, mother of

¹ Above, Vol. VI, pp. 86 ff. Another such instance is the Urrupalli grant (*Jed. Asst.*, Vol. V, pp. 5 ff.) of the Pallava Dharmapūṣpamahārāja Vāṅgugōya; but the record is dated in the regnal year of the reigning monarch Śimhavarman. If, however, the dating would have been in an era, as in the present case, Śimhavarman's name could have been omitted since it is not mentioned in the formal part of the grant. Cf. the Hale plates of the Kadamba Yuvārāja Kāṁthavarman, probably dated in the Gupta year 80 (*Ind. Ant.*, p. 334). For a grant issued by a Mahāyuvārāja, see B. Ch. Chakrav. *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Part II, p. 84.

² Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 18 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 73 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 312 ff. As the date is written in this record as *śata-mayā dai-śatā*, it was not quite certain that the intended reading is really *śata-mayā dai-śatā* (i.e. in the year 310). No doubt on this point can, however, be entertained after the publication of the Indian Museum plates issued in the year 308. That the two records belong to one and the same Gāṅga king is clear from the fact that the same scribe and engraver are mentioned in both the charters. The Indian Museum epigraph was written by Baharya (i.e. Bahadradhīrāja) Sarva-chandra and engraved by Alakāṣṭha śrī-śaśanta Khapḍimāla, while the writer of the Tekkali charter was śrī-śaśanta Sarva-chandra and its engraver Alakāṣṭha śrī-śaśanta Khapḍimāla. The undated Chiracole (Srikakulam) plates (*JAS. Letters*, Vol. XVIII, 1932, pp. 17E) of the same king were also written and engraved by the said persons, viz. Sarva-chandra-śrī-śaśanta and śrī-śaśanta-Khapḍimāla. The official designation Baharya also occurs in the Chiracole (Srikakulam) plates (*Jed. Asst.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 11-12 and Plate) of Satyavarman, the first son of Dēvēndravarmā and successor of Rājēndravarmā of our inscription. This record is dated in the Gāṅga year 36) which was at first wrongly read.

⁵ *A. S. Ep.*, 1923-24, pp. 97-98; *Journ. Or. Res.*, Vol. IX, 1935, pp. 59-63.

⁶ *S. Ep.*, 1917-18, Appendix A, No. 12 (cf. p. 137).

Rājēndravarmān and queen of Anantavarman, for the first time. The Nāmpali charter records the grant of Nāmpali-grāma situated in Nidijēru-vishaya in favour of Sāmirāja, son of Gulāmarāja (wrongly read as *Gupamarāja*) of the Ayana-kula. It was written by *Mahāśālikēśvara* Raha (i.e. *Rahasya* or *Rahasyādhipati*) Śrī-Sāmantā and engraved by *Akṣhaḍḍin* Dāmachandra. It will be seen that the same *Akṣhaḍḍin* Dāmachandra was also the engraver of the charter under study while Sāmirāja, donee of the Nāmpali grant, seems to be none other than *Mahāśālikēśvara* Sāmirāja who was its writer. It is interesting to note that the Mandasa plates, issued by Rājēndravarmān more than quarter of a century later, was written by *Sandhuśvara* Rāṇmūya who was the son of the said Sāmirāja.¹

An interesting feature of the records of Rājēndravarmān, issued by him as Yuvārāja during the years 313 and 314, is that they do not refer to the rule of his uncle Dēvēndravarmān who is known to have issued charters in the years 308 and 310. It should also be noticed that Yuvārāja Rājēndravarmān's grants dated in the years 313 and 314 and Dēvēndravarmān's charters dated in the years 308 and 310 were all issued from the city of Kaliṅganagara. In the present state of insufficient information on the point, it is difficult to suggest any hostility between Rājēndravarmān and his uncle only on this ground. We know that the Early Eastern Gāṅga kings generally represented themselves each as the son of his father and not as the successor of his predecessor. As for instance, Dēvēndravarmān's charters describe him as the son of Rājēndravarmān and not as the successor of his elder brother and predecessor Anantavarman. But Yuvārāja Rājēndravarmān's case is somewhat different since he issued the charters in question as a crown prince when his uncle Dēvēndravarmān may have been on the throne. As, however, the Mayidavolu plates were similarly issued by the Pallava Yuvamūlārāja Śivaskandavarman without any reference to the reigning Pallava king who was probably his father, it is not easy to arrive at a conclusion from this fact.

Besides Kaliṅganagara, the capital of the Eastern Gāṅgas, identified generally with modern Mukhalingam near Sriakulam, and the well-known Mahāśūragiri peak on the borders between the Ganjam and Sriakulam Districts, the inscription mentions the following geographical names: the villages of Pāṭṭali or Pādali, Kuḍasaṅkira and Arali as well as the districts of Kṛishṇamattamba, Dāpu-paṭṭhālī and Jāmbōṭṭa-paṭṭhālī. I am not sure about their location. There are other instances of the use of the word *paṭṭhālī* to indicate a territorial unit in the inscriptions of the area in question.²

TEXT*

First Plate

1 Siddham³ svamī⁴ [] A*[maṣapur-āṇu(nu)kārīṇa(b*)] aravartu⁵-sukha-ra[ma]⁶ni-

¹ In the records of Dēvēndravarmān the expression *Śrī-Sāmantā* is used as an epithet of both the scribe and the engraver. In this case, however, Sāmantā looks like the personal name of the scribe unless it is believed that the personal name was omitted after the epithet through oversight. An *Amātya* Śrī-Sāmantā seems to have been the scribe of the Tekkal plates of Anantavarman (second son of Dēvēndravarmān, predecessor of Rājēndravarmān of the inscription under study), dated year 258 (above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 344).

² The engraver of the record is stated to have been the son of one Māchandra who seems to have been related to Dāmachandra. Māchandra may also be a wrong reading for Dāmachandra.

³ Cf. Kōṭṭāḍaka-paṭṭhālī in the Korochanda plates of Vijābhavarman (above, Vol. XXI, pp. 23 ff.) and the Chitrode (Sriakulam) plates of Indravarmān (*Ind. As.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 122 ff.). Paṭṭayagiri-paṭṭhālī is called a *vishaya* in the Saluva plates of Dēvēndravarmān (above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 62 ff.).

⁴ From the original plates.

⁵ Expressed by symbol.

⁶ Read *caru-qrū*. There is trace of a letter, originally incised and later erased, between *caru* and *qrū*.

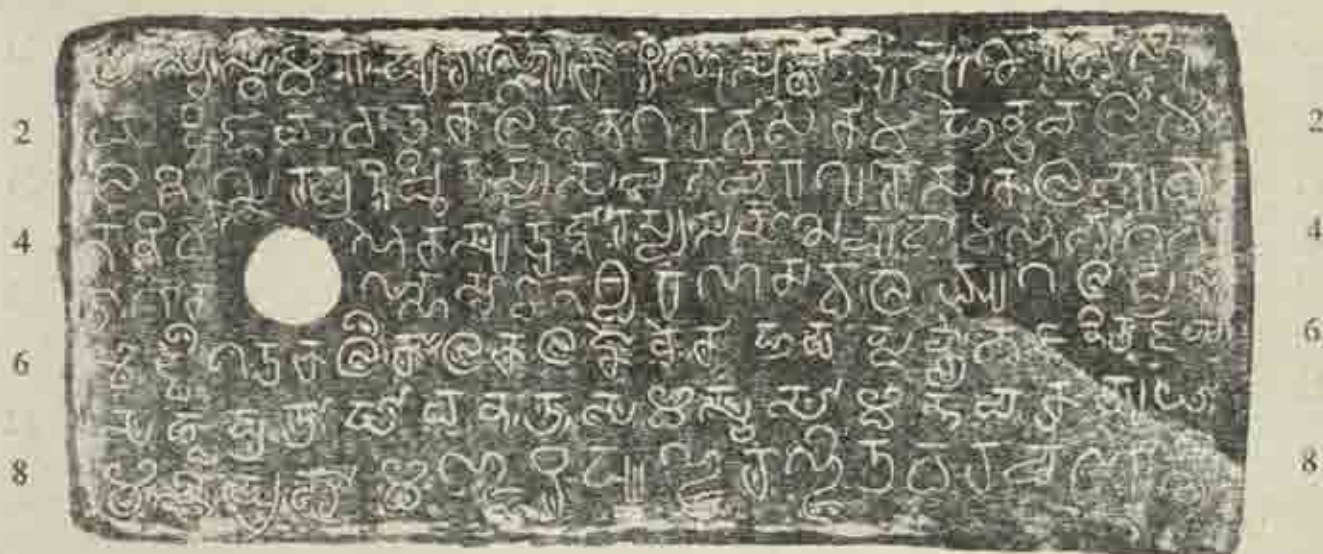
⁷ The sign meant for the letter *ma* has a peculiar form.

PATTALI GRANT OF YUVARAJA RAJENDRAVARMAN,
GANGA YEAR 313

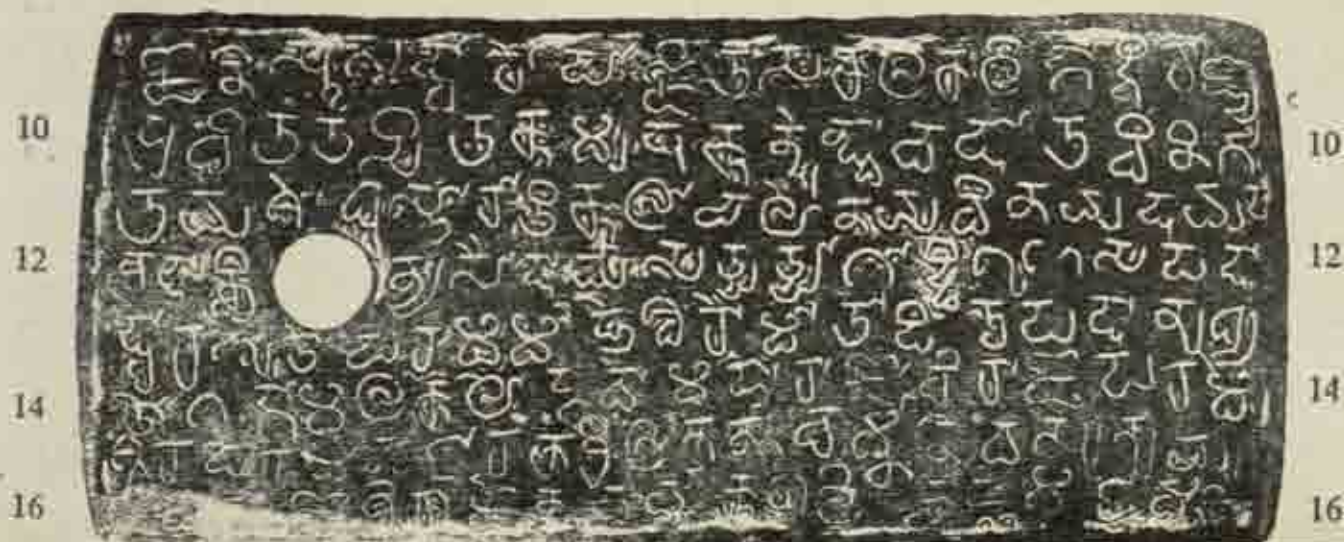
6, a



6, b



16, a



18 18
 20 20
 22 22
 24 24

26 26
 28 28
 30 30
 32 32

34 34
 36 36

- 19 t-Kañchipōṭṭi-bhaṭṭārikāyā va(ha)li-nivōḍya-charu-nimitā(ttā)ya.
 20 pradatan(ttaḥ |) aparam-¹api Dāpu-pañchālyāya² Kuśasañkire-gā(grā)ma[h³]
 21 Jāmvō(mbō)ṭṭa-pañchālyā(m⁴) Arali-grāmar(maś-cha) tasya mātarnyāth⁵ ān(ān)-Lō-
 22 kamahādōvi(vyā) pradatan⁶ bhaṭṭārikayāth⁷ sarva-kara-bharaiḥ parihṛitya
 23 chandr-ārica-pratiśthā⁸ mātā-pitaraurētnaneś-cha⁹ punya(ṣy-ā)bhivṛidha(dḍha)-
 24 [yō |¹⁰] Pādali-grāmasya ai(a)niā-li(h)gā¹¹ni bhavanti pu(pā)rva-diśyā[ni¹²] naidhā-

*Third Plate, First Side**

- 25 ni¹³-chū(ū)lā vi(bi)lva-vṛikṣa[ś-cha |¹⁴] dakṣhiṇēna garta(rtā) naidhā(dhā)ni-silā [cha |¹⁵]
 paśch[i]m[ō]na Bhutṭaka-
 26 garta(rtā) a(ā)mvra(mra)-vṛikṣa[ś-cha |¹⁶] uta(tta)rōḡa¹⁷ Kāśuvī(mbi)-garta(rtā) vanā(na)-
 rāji[kā]ś-cha-ēti [|¹⁸] Va(Ba)hu-
 27 bhū-vasundhā(dhā) datā(ttā) rājahi(h¹⁹) Sagur-śdibhi[h²⁰] |²¹ yasya yasya
 28 yadā bhū(bhū)mi[ś²²]-tasya tasya tadā phala[m |²³] Sva-datā(ttān) para-datām²⁴vā²⁵
 29 yō harēti(ta) vasundharā[m |²⁶] sa viś(hāyō(yān) kṛimibhu(r-bhū)tvā pitṛbhi[h²⁷] saha
 30 pachyati(tē [|²⁸])²⁹
 31 Ma bhuya phalasaka³⁰ va[h³¹] para-datā(tt-ā)ti pāthiva(vāḥ |) sva-da(dā)nā[t³²] phalam-
 ānantya[ū³³] para-
 32 dān-ānupālana(nā) [|³⁴] Iti kamala-dala(lā)mvu(mbu)-vindu-lāla(lān) chapala³⁵ āti(ya³⁶)m-
 anu-
 33 chintya manusa(śya)-j(ji)vitam [cha|³⁷] puruṣa³⁸m-³⁹adam-⁴⁰adākita vuddhā⁴¹ na hi puruṣe-

¹ Read pañchālyāya.

² Read mātā.

³ Read pradattāḥ or pradatan.

⁴ Read bhāṣārāṭṭam.

⁵ Better read ā-chandr-ārica-pratiśthā(ha) (or pratiśthā(hā) brūtā).

⁶ Read pitṛ-ānupālana⁷.

⁷ The superscript of the conjunct is written on an erasure.

⁸ The word naidhāni seems to be derived from Sanskrit naidhāni and to have been used to indicate 'a boundary pillar'. Better read naidhāni⁹ for naidhāni here and below. (The correct form would be naidhāni.—Ed.)

⁹ Read datāni or.

¹⁰ These letters, engraved between the beginning of the previous and following lines are not in a regular line of writing.

¹¹ Read Mā bhūḍaḥ phala-matā.

¹² This word is reduplicated.

¹³ Read naidhāni.

¹⁴ Read viddhāśāstra daddhā.

Third Plate, Second Side

- 34 na¹ para-ki(ki)rtayō vilōpya(pyāb ||) Gaṅgēya-vaśā²-pravarddhava(mā)na-vijaya-
 35 rājya-samvachhara-sata³-trayē trayōdaga(ā-ā)dhika(kā) 313 āhitaṁ-ida[ā*]
 36 mahāsaudhivigraha-irī⁴-Saminājēna⁵ [||*] utki(tkī)ṛṇa[ā*] ch-ākhaśāma⁶ iri(āri)-
 Dūmaśchandāna(nāṭṭa) i-
 37 ti |⁷

¹ The intended reading is *parashāna*; but read *parushāṇa* for the sake of the metre.

² Read *Gaṅgēya-mukha*.

³ Read *saṁvachhara-śata*.

⁴ Read *maṇḍiragrāhika-irī*.

⁵ Read *Satma*. Instead of the 4-mātrā of *Sa*, the engraver seems to have missed what looks like a second
 4-mātrā of *ma*.

⁶ Read *śāśāṇa*.

⁷ This letter and the punctuation mark are bisected below the end of the previous line.

No. 25—FRAGMENTARY MAURYA INSCRIPTION FROM MATHURA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

A fragment of an inscribed stone slab was discovered in 1954 at Katra Keshavdev within Mathurā city, headquarters of the District of that name in Uttar Pradesh. It was presented by the Shri Krishna Janmabhumi Trust, Mathurā, to the local Archaeological Museum. In April 1955, I received two impressions of the fragmentary inscription from Mr. K. D. Bajpai, Curator of the said Museum. I am thankful to Mr. Bajpai for giving me an opportunity to study the inscription which was found on examination to be of considerable historical importance.

The inscribed fragment measures 22½ inches in height, with a small piece of stone broken away both from the top and from the bottom. The width of the stone is not uniform since it is mutilated at both the sides. The breadth of the upper part is 11 inches while that of the lower portion is only about 8 inches. There are altogether 15 lines of writing in the inscription. But a few letters are noticed in the upper left corner of the stone, although they appear to be scribbles of a slightly later date, having little to do with the original record under study. The letters of the epigraph are carefully engraved but they are not uniform in shape. As for instance, letters in line 1 are considerably smaller in size than those in lines 2-10. The letters in lines 11-15 are also somewhat smaller. The space between the lines is likewise not uniform, that between lines 1 and 2 being more than in any other case. Some letters are broken away from the beginning and end of all these lines. The major part of the record is written in verse and so the number of the lost syllables can be easily determined.

The characters resemble those of such inscriptions of the seventh and eighth centuries belonging to the western parts of Northern India as the Banaskhera plate¹ of Harsha (606-47 A.D.), the Kundaesvar inscription² (V.S. 718-661 A.D.) of Aparājita, the Jhalrapatan inscription³ (V.S. 746-689 A.D.) of Durgagana, the Kudarkot inscription⁴ of about the second half of the seventh century, the Nagar inscription⁵ (V.S. 741-684 A.D.) of Dhanika, and the Kanawda inscription⁶ (V.S. 795-738 A.D.) of Sivagana. Some of the vowel-marks and subscripts are often of the ornamental type. For the ordinary and ornamental types of the medial signs of *i*, *ī* and *ē*, see respectively *śrī* and *śrī* in line 9, *śrī* in lines 3 and 4, and *śrī* in line 3 and *mūlyā* in line 8, while, for subscript *r*, see *śrī-Chandra* in line 4. The difference between the ornamental forms of medial *i* and medial *ē* is that the former is extended towards the left after a sharp curve in the middle. The form of *rū* in line 2 is interesting. In many cases, the letter *d* has a marked protrusion at the back as in the modern Śāradā and Gurumukhī alphabets (cf. *dyutayā* in line 1, *id-ārpa* and *Chandra* in line 4, *dinā* in line 13). In some cases, the globular limb of *n* is not joined with the vertical hanging from the top *mātrā* (e.g. in *nripatī* in line 4). The letter *k* shows

¹ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 208 ff. and Plate.

² Ibid., pp. 29 ff. and Plate.

³ Ibid., Vol. V, p. 181 and Plate.

⁴ Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 180 ff. and Plate.

⁵ *Abanta Kausadī*, Part I, pp. 267 ff. and Plate.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 57 and Plate.

the older type only when it is the superscript in a conjunct or a vowel-mark is added to its bottom (cf. *Kṛishṇa* in line 3, *Karkkaḥ* in line 4). The letter *b* is indicated by the sign for *e*. On palaeographical consideration, the inscription may be assigned to the latter half of the seventh century or the first half of the eighth, preferably to the former period.

The language of the record is Sanskrit and, with the exception of the invocatory passage at the beginning and the sentence mentioning the engraver in line 15, the whole epigraph is written in verse. As regards orthography, the inscription resembles contemporary records of Northern India. Final *m* is changed to *anusvāra* at the end of the second and fourth feet of stanzas. The extant part of the inscription bears no date.

The inscription contains a *prāśasti* in five stanzas in all. The composer offers his adoration to a god in verse 1. Verse 2 introduces the royal personage, the recording of one of whose pious activities was the object of the inscription, while verse 3 speaks of the particular meritorious deed performed by him. Verse 4 prays for the permanency of the object made and verse 5 mentions the author of the *prāśasti*. A passage in prose at the end of the record mentions the engraver. It is not possible to determine whether the date in figures was incised at the end of the line and is now broken away.

The first *akṣara* in the extant part of line 1 seems to be a damaged *ṣṭ* which is followed by a double *daya* and a symbol for *Siddham*. It is not possible to restore the word ending in *ṣṭ* unless it is believed that the scribbles above the beginning of the line were meant to write the same. These scribbled letters appear to read *Yada-ra(rā)ṣṭ* which follow what looks like a damaged *Siddham* symbol. But it has to be admitted that such a passage at the beginning of an inscription is rather unusual. The *Siddham* symbol in line 1 is followed by a passage which appears to read *namaḥ* | and what follows in lines 1-2 is a stanza in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre in adoration of a god whom epithets *lāl-āṅgana-rajaḥ-pūja-hṛdi*, [*ma*]hāvāraha-rūpa and *jaṅgama* have only been preserved. There is no doubt that the reference is to the god Vishnu since the expression *mahāvāraha-rūpa* certainly speaks of the Boar incarnation of that deity.

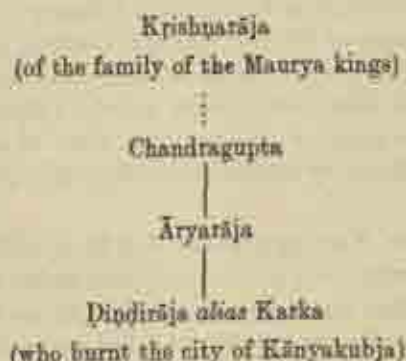
Verse 2 in lines 3 ff., while introducing the hero of the *prāśasti*, speaks, in the first foot, of a king named **Kṛishṇarāja** who is stated to have belonged to the royal family of the **Mauryas**. The second foot of the stanza mentions another king, apparently named **Āryarāja**, who is described as the son of **Chandragupta**. The words indicating the relationship between **Kṛishṇarāja** and **Āryarāja** are lost; but the intention of the *prāśastikāra* appears to have been to represent **Chandragupta's** son **Āryarāja** as born in the family of **Kṛishṇarāja** of the **Maurya** lineage. The second half of the stanza speaks of a person known by two names, viz. **ḍiṇḍirāja** and **Karka**, one of which was given to him (by the people) in recognition of what he did with reference to the invincible **Kānyakubja**. This **ḍiṇḍirāja** alias **Karka** was no doubt a ruler who was probably the son or successor of **Āryarāja**, although the words indicating their relationship cannot be traced in the extant part of the verse. The verb indicating the nature of the achievement of **Karka** **ḍiṇḍirāja** with reference to the city of **Kānyakubja** is also imperfectly preserved; but the idea may have been to represent him as one who burnt the city. This seems to be suggested by the preserved last *akṣara* of the verb (viz. *hya* which may be the remnant of *śirḥakhya*) as well as the fact that the word *karka* has 'fire' as one of its meanings. **ḍiṇḍirāja** may thus have well been called **Karka** or 'the Fire' because of his success in burning the city of **Kānyakubja**.

Verse 3 describing the meritorious deed performed apparently by **ḍiṇḍirāja** **Karka**, which was the subject of the *prāśasti*, is damaged and its purport is not quite clear. The first half of the stanza has, however, the expression *pūya-āṅganaśchhitti* and the passage *mahatā mūlyena yat-kāritam(tam)* and the latter half the letters [*ṣa*]rāś *śirḥ* *śakṣitum* *māṭā*... *lavḥa(bḍha)-egam-atyāhatam(tam)*. It therefore seems that the king performed the deed in question in the

chain of many other pious works and at the cost of a large sum of money. The purpose seems to have been to put garlands around the head of a deity whose name seems to read *Sauri* (i.e. Vishnu; cf. the Vaishnavite adoration in verse 1). The *aksharas mālākā* may suggest *mālākāra-nikāya*, i.e. a guild of florists. In that case, it is possible to think that the king deposited a good sum of money with a guild of florists as a permanent endowment for the supply of garlands regularly for adorning the head of the deity he worshipped. The next stanza (verse 4) contains the prayer [*pra*]tidinaṁ tāvat-samāro[ha]ta which, together with the preserved parts of certain other passages, suggests that the garlands were meant to be placed on the deity's head every day so long as the sun and the moon would shine. In this context, the passage *ra(ba)[udha]naṁ mahad-idaṁ eva-śrīyaśē* would show that the pious work of Diṇḍirāja Karka related to *bandhana* (possibly *mastaka-bandhana* of the deity) and that it was done for his own merit.

According to verse 5, the eulogy (a word of this import is lost) was composed by a person whose name seems to be *Bālasēna* and whose father's name ended in the *aksharas lakṣ* (cf. names like *Mallaka*, *Gollaka*, etc.). The prose passage following this stanza was meant for mentioning the name of the engraver of the record; but the name is lost. The word *karāṇika* qualifying the lost name is, however, clear on the impressions.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it mentions certain hitherto unknown rulers of the Maurya family, who flourished in the early medieval period. The genealogical information supplied by the present record may be tentatively tabulated as follows:



None of these rulers is known from any other source. The name of Chandragupta seems to suggest that the tradition of the mighty Chandragupta (c. 324-300 B.C.), the great founder of the Maurya dynasty of Magadha, was not totally forgotten in the family as late as the early medieval period. The reference to Kānyakubja, which is modern Kanoj in the Farrukhabad District of Uttar Pradesh, probably suggests that the territory over which these early medieval Mauryas held sway included, as is also indicated by the findspot of the record, some of the south-western areas of Uttar Pradesh.

It is interesting to note in this connection that three early medieval branches of the Maurya dynasty are so far known.¹ The first of these are the Mauryas of the Konkan, who are represented in the inscriptions of the Chālukyas as having been subdued by the Early Chālukya king Kirtivarman I (566-98 A.D.) and Pulakēśin II (610-42 A.D.) of Bādāmi.² An inscription³ from Kanawda in the old Kotah State of Rajasthan, dated in the Mālava year (i.e. V.S.) 795-738 A.D., belongs to the Brāhmaṇa prince Śivagaṇa who was a feudatory of king Dhavala or Dhavalātman

¹ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, pp. 282-84.

² *Abore*, Vol. VI, pp. 4-5 (text line 4, verses 9); p. 6 (text lines 10-11, verses 20-21).

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 56 ff.

of the Maurya lineage. Another inscription¹ from Waghli near Chalisgaon in West Khandesh mentions the Maurya chief Gōvindarāja who was the twenty-first descendant of the chief Kikata of the Maurya dynasty of Valabhi (i.e. modern Wala in Kathiawar) and ruled in Śaka 991-1069 A.D. as a subordinate of the Yādava Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Śūṇachandra II of the Sēṇa country (i.e. modern Khandesh). But the facts that the palaeography of the inscription under study closely resembles that of the Kanawā inscription and that the Malwa-Rajasthan region is much closer to Mathurā than the Konkan and Khandesh appear to connect the Mauryas mentioned in our epigraph with the Maurya king Dhavala of the Kanawā inscription. It was probably these Mauryas who are referred to in the Nausari plates² of the Gujarat Chālukya chief Pulakēśin Avāntjanāśraya, dated in the Kalāchuri year 490-738 A.D. It is stated in that record that the Chālukya chief repulsed a Tāpika (i.e. Arab) army which, after destroying the Saindhava, Kanbhēlla, Śūṇaśtra, Chāvōtaka (i.e. Chāpākata), Maurya and Gurjara kings and wishing to penetrate the Dakṣiṇāpātha country, came to reduce the Navasārikā territory under his rule. It was probably the Maurya king Dhavala who was defeated by the Arabs then in occupation of Sind.

D. R. Bhandarkar³ was inclined to identify Maurya Dhavala of the Kanawā inscription with *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājadhīrāja Paramēśvara Dhavalappa*, overlord of Guhilaputra Dhanika of Dhayagartā, mentioned in the Dhod inscription probably dated in the Gupta year 407-726 A.D. Dhavalappa, however, appears to be a South Indian (probably Kannada) name and the king may have been related to Rāshtrakūṭa Nannappa, bearing a similar *appa*-ending name, of the Indragarh (Mandasaṇḍ District, Mādhyā Pradesh) inscription⁴ of the Mālava year (i.e. V.S.) 767-710 A.D. It has, however, to be admitted that the Maurya king's name is given in the Kanawā inscription as *Dhavulātman* which may be a Sanskritisation of *Dhavalappa*. If Bhandarkar's identification is accepted, the southern name of a Maurya king of the Malwa-Rajasthan region may be explained by supposing that these Mauryas were related to the Mauryas of the Konkan in the south.

As already indicated above, it is very probable that Maurya Dhavala of the Kanawā inscription belonged to the family referred to in the inscription under study. It also seems that the Mauryas of the Malwa-Rajasthan region were descendants of one of the Kumāra viceroys of the western province of the ancient Maurya empire, which had its headquarters at the city of Ujjayinī. Since the Kanawā inscription of V.S. 795 (735 A.D.) appears to be slightly later than the present record, king Dhavala may be tentatively regarded as one of the successors of Dīṇḍirāja Karka of our epigraph. The genealogy of these Mauryas would thus stand as follows:

Mauryas of the Malwa-Rajasthan Region



¹ Above, Vol. II, pp. 321 ff.

² Bhandarkar's *Ins.* No. 1229.

³ Cf. *ibid.*, No. 1271 and note.

⁴ The inscription has been published (under the name 'Dahok inscription') above, Vol. XX, pp. 122 ff. where the date has been read as the year 207 of the Harsha era corresponding to 812 A.D.

⁵ *A. R. Ep.*, 1934-55, No. 158 of App. B; above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 112 ff.

FRAGMENTARY MAURYA INSCRIPTION FROM MATHURA



Scale : Four-tenths

The only geographical name mentioned in the inscription is Kānyakubja, modern Kanoj in the Farrukhabad District, Uttar Pradesh. In the present state of our knowledge, it is not possible to determine who the Kānyakubja contemporary of Dīpdirāja Karka was. But he may have been an ancestor of the great Yaśōvarman who ruled from Kanoj in the first half of the eighth century A.D.

TEXT¹

(Mètres : verses 1, 5 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verses 2-4 *Śāṇḍilyakriyā*.)

- 1 ²|| Siddham³ na{ma} || Kāl-āñjana-rajah-puñja-dyuta{yē} ..
- 2 ... ⁴ {|| ²*} {Ma*}hāvarāha-rūpāya jaogamā{ya} ..
- 3 .. ⁵|| 1*} {Ā*}n-Maurya-nrip-ānvayē nariapatiḥ śrī-Kṛishṇarājā{ō} —†
- 4 ———— ⁶ ȡ Āryarāja-nripatiḥ śrī-Chandragupt-āt{m}ja—* {|| ²*}
- 5 ———— ⁷ {tu Dīpdirāja iti yaḥ Karkkaḥ pra ———
- 6 ȡ ———— ⁸ {kya} {cha} Kānyakubja{bja}m-a{syam} yō-bhāgi ———
- 7 ȡ ———— ⁹ {|| 2*} ———— ȡ nirmala-mahāpūṇy-āvyayachchhi{tta} ———
- 8 ———— ȡ {tta} mahatā mūlyēna yat-kūritam{tam} | syā{d-a} ———
- 9 ———— ȡ {Ṣau}rē{|| 2*} śrī vāshtitum mālākā ———
- 10 ȡ ———— ȡ {ā}vriha{bha}vyam-avyāhataḥ{tam} || 3*} Bhāsvān-yāva{d-a} ———

¹ From impressions. I am indebted for a few suggestions to Dr. R. Ch. Chhabra. At the left upper end of the inscribed stone, there are four akṣaras which appear to be preceded by a damaged Nidāham symbol and to read Pa{du} ra{vri}y{t}. As already noted above, these characters are slightly later than those of the record under study and are probably not a part of it.

² There are traces here of an akṣara which may be *ya*. It is difficult to determine its significance and to say whether the passage turned above this part and referred to in note 1 above was written at a later date in imitation of the one that had been engraved here.

³ Expressed by symbol.

⁴ The last syllables may be conjecturally restored as *Vishuvā samā*.

⁵ An expression like *mahātmanā* would suit the context.

⁶ The remnant of this vowel-mark suggests that it was of the ornamental type found in *śrī* in line 3.

⁷ We may suggest the restoration of a word like *heli* or *jyoti* here.

⁸ The last akṣaras may be conjecturally restored as *Tad-mahābhāsa*. The latter read as *dā* should not be confused with *śā*. Cf. *śā* in line 4 and *dā* in line 11.

⁹ The intended word is no doubt *śamajak*.

¹⁰ The last syllables may be conjecturally restored as *śāma-dāya*.

¹¹ The expression may be conjecturally restored as *prati-pātrayak*.

¹² The words may be conjecturally restored as *śāma-dāya*.

¹³ The intended word is most probably *śāma-dāya*.

¹⁴ The akṣara before *ek* looks like *śā* but the lower part of the right limb of *ś* is not ornamental as found elsewhere in the epigraph.

¹⁵ The intended expression may be *śāma-dāya*, i.e. a guild of the florists.

¹⁶ The word intended here may have been *śāma*.

11. ◡ ◡ ◡ — — — ◡ — — —¹ śirō bhūtiz-bhūshayitum bhavaty=ati-sitā y[ā] — ◡ — — ◡
 12. —² [||³] — — — ◡ ◡ va(ba)[ndha]⁴nath mahad=ida[m] eva-[śrēya]śē mi ◡⁵ — — —
 13. — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ [ti]dinath⁶ tśvat=samārō ◡ —⁷ [|| 4⁸]
 14. llaka⁹-s[ā]n[nā] [||¹⁰] raohitā Vā(Bā)h[ā]ś[ā]¹¹ . . .
 15. [|| 5¹²] [utkīrṇā] karaṇika —¹³ [||¹⁴]

¹ These two *śikharas* may be conjecturally restored as *śambhā*.

² We may suggest the restoration *yāni-sandhānāśrayam*.

³ The superscript in this conjunct appears to be *s*; but the subscript is doubtful. Can the reference be to *maṭṭa-bandhanam*?

⁴ This is a conjunct. The superscript seems to be *s*; but the subscript is doubtful. Can the intended reading of the expression be *śikharas* or *śikharā*?

⁵ The expression is no doubt *pratilāpam*.

⁶ The intended word is apparently *śamāśraya*.

⁷ The name was something like *Mallaka*, *Gellaka*, etc.

⁸ The name seems to have been *Bālāsena* and the expression *Vā(Bā)h[ā]ś[ā]*.

⁹ The name seems to have been written in three *śikharas* with an *ś-mātra* attached to the second of them. The traces suggest *amāla-śrī*.

No. 26—NELKUNDA GRANT OF CHALUKYA ABHINAVADITYA

(1 Plate)

P. B. DESAI, DHARWAR

As a contributor of an article on the antiquity of Bellary, I received a complimentary copy of the September (1953) issue of the Kannada Journal *Saraga Sahitya*, Bangalore, in October 1953. This issue also contained an article on a copper-plate record of Chālukya Abhinavāditya¹ by the late Shri Hullūru Shrinivasa Joyis of Chitradurg,² Mysore State. The importance of the charter at once arrested my attention and I requested the Government Epigraphist for India to secure the original plates for examination and study. The plates were received in January 1954 through the Director of Archaeology, Mysore, and returned soon after. I edit the inscription on these plates here with the kind permission of the above authority from the set of impressions preserved in his office³ at Ootacamund.

According to the information contained in the above-mentioned article of Shri Joyis, the plates were the ancestral property in the possession of the family of Pūjāri Bhīmappa, a resident of the village of Gañjagatti in the Holalkere Taluk, Chitradurg District, Mysore State. They were obtained by S. Kenavayya, a relative of the owner, and handed over to Shri Joyis for decipherment and study. The plates appear to have been later deposited in the local archaeological museum at Chitradurg.

This is a set of three copper-plates held together by a circular ring. The first and third plates are engraved on one side only while the second contains writing on both the sides. There is a ring-hole about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter, in the left margin of each plate for the ring to pass through. The plates measure almost uniformly $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length and $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches in breadth. The thickness of each plate is about $\frac{1}{16}$ inch. The ring is fastened to the bottom of a circular seal. The diameter of the ring is 3 inches and its thickness $\frac{1}{2}$ inch. The seal is about one inch in diameter. In the counter-sunk surface of the seal is the emblem of what looks like a boar facing left. The plates along with the ring and seal weigh 70 tolas, while the ring and seal weigh 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.

The charter comprises 28 lines of writing, which are distributed evenly on all the four sides of the plates. The characters are Telugu-Kannada of the 7th century, being normal for the period. They may be compared with those of the Karnul plates⁴ of Ādityavarman and, allowing some margin of difference, with other cognate records such as the Talamañchi plates⁵ of Vikramāditya I.

Some of the letters exhibit cursive forms: for instance, *sa* in *Nārāyaṇa* (line 7), and *l* in *Uśchhāna* (line 8) and *vallabha* (line 13). Initial *u* occurs twice, in *udita* in line 2 and *uśchhātrīṇa* in line 25. Medial *i* and *ī* are distinguished, the former being indicated by a circle and the latter by a spiral at the top of the letter, e.g., *Hārī* in line 4. Except in one or two cases, *anusvara* is generally retained. In *udita-mā*⁶ in line 2, it is turned into nasal in *andhi* with the following letter.

¹ The facsimiles of the plates are not reproduced along with the article, although it gives the text of the record, which needs improvement in certain places.

² This name was formerly spelt as Chitaldroog.

³ The inscription is registered as U. P. No. 22 of 1953-54 and noticed briefly in the Report for the year.

⁴ *JBBNS*, Vol. XVI, plate facing p. 213.

⁵ *Above*, Vol. IX, plate facing p. 100.

In regard to **orthography**, the consonant following *r* in a conjunct is doubled. This rule which is optional is wrongly applied even in the case of an exceptional letter *sh*, e.g., in *Harshaha* (line 10).

The **language** is Sanskrit and except for two verses, one at the beginning and another at the end, the composition is in prose throughout. The text is accurate excepting a few scribal errors.

The inscription commences with the expression *svasti*. This is followed by a verse in the *Anushubh* metre in praise of a foot of the god Hari, described as lustrous like the rising sun, and stated to have been raised to measure the earth and to crush the darkness in the form of the demon (Bali). The composer of the record has deliberately used the expression *abhinav-āditya* meaning the 'new sun' in the above description to convey through *double entendre* an allusion to the ruling king Abhinavāditya who issued the charter. Next are recounted the usual *prāsa* of the Chālukya or Chālūkyā house and the genealogy of the rulers belonging to it. In the genealogy are mentioned only three kings, viz., *Paramēśvara* Satyāśraya-prithivīvallabha who vanquished Harshavardhana, i.e. Pulakēśin II, his son Ādityavarman, and the latter's son **Satyāśraya-prithivīvallabha** *alias* **Abhinavāditya** who issued the present charter. As in the case of Pulakēśin II, both Ādityavarman and Abhinavāditya are endowed with the imperial titles *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*.

King Abhinavāditya is stated to have issued an order to the concerned persons announcing the gift of the village Nelkunda, situated in the Uchchaspīṅga *ekshaya*, free of all imposts to the Brāhmaṇa Kuppasātman of the Dēvarāta-Kaṇaika *gōtra*, who was well-versed in the Vēdas along with the Vēdāṅgas and engaged in performing the six-fold *śarmaṇa*. The grant was made on the full-moon day of Bhādrapada in the increasingly victorious reign of the king, the specific year of the reign, however, not being mentioned. The epigraph concludes with the usual imprecatory verses.

The inscription is of **great historical importance**, as it not only reveals for the first time the existence of a **hitherto unknown prince of the early Chālukya house of Bādāmi**, but seems also to let in some new light on the dark period of its history following the defeat of Pulakēśin II at the hands of his adversary, Pallava Narasiṃha I. Pulakēśin II vanishes from the political scene in 642 A.D. and his son Vikramāditya I emerges as a victor who re-established Chālukya supremacy in 655 A.D. About 13 years that intervened between these two events are characterised by paucity of historical information. It has been surmised that during this period a part of the Chālukya kingdom was under the occupation of the Pallavas and that although several sons of Pulakēśin II aspiring for the Chālukya throne were ruling in different areas, none of them was powerful enough to drive away the enemy and assert his authority over the feudatories.¹

An elder son of Pulakēśin II, who seems to have claimed sovereignty over the Chālukya empire during this period of anarchy, although, in fact, his sway was apparently confined to the region of the Kurnool District, was Ādityavarman.² That the area under his authority might have also included parts of the adjacent Districts of Bellary and Chitradurg is indicated by the present plates.³ This Ādityavarman⁴ must no doubt be identical with his namesake whose

¹ *The Classical Age* (The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. III), p. 241.

² *Ibid.*, p. 242.

³ See the discussion on the geographical names below.

⁴ A tradition, apparently wrong, seems to have grown after a lapse of centuries that Ādityavarman was father of Vikramāditya, being himself not the son but grandson of Pulakēśin II. According to the Kautthem grant of 1009 A.D., e.g., Ādityavarman was the son of Nejamari and grandson of Pulakēśin II (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 17). A Divyavara inscription of 1123 A.D. substitutes the name Tījamari for Nejamari (*Ep. Cars.*, Vol. XI, Pg. 1), showing thereby the unreliable nature of the tradition (cf. *Ramb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 361, n. 2). It may, however, be noted that no such name intervenes between Pulakēśin II and Ādityavarman in the account given by the Kannada poet Ranna (982 A.D.) in his *Gadāyuddha* (II, 8).

son Abhinavāditya issued the charter under study. **Abhinavāditya** who was also called **Satyāśraya-prithivivallabha**, evidently after his grandfather Pulakēśin II, is known for the first time through our record. It is noteworthy that like his father Ādityavarman, Abhinavāditya also claimed the imperial titles, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramāśvara*, which imply his right over the Chālukya empire. As it is reasonable to assume that no other prince of the Chālukya house claiming sovereign status was permitted to rule in any part of the kingdom after the accession of Vikramāditya I in 655 A.D., we may assign the rules both of Ādityavarman and his son Abhinavāditya within the span of 13 years, 642 to 655 A.D. With the ascendancy of Vikramāditya I, Abhinavāditya, a rival as he was, might have been dislodged from his position and reduced to a state of vassalage.

Only two geographical names are mentioned in the record. **Uchchāśringa-vishaya** wherein the gift village was situated, must evidently have taken the name after its chief town Uchchāśringa. This place is identical with the present village of **Uchchāśringidurga** in the Harapanhalli Taluk, Bellary District. On account of its well-fortified and strategic situation, it played a conspicuous role in the history of the region during the early and medieval period. A copper-plate charter of the Early Kadamba king Harivarman was issued in the fourth year of his reign from Uchchāśringi.¹ This place appears to have been made their headquarters by a few more members of the Early Kadamba line.² It was one of the capitals of the Nolamba-Pallava rulers.³ A later line of the Kadamba feudatories⁴ and chiefs of Pāṇḍya extraction also ruled here.⁵ It was one of the strongholds subjugated by Hoysala Viśnuvarādhana in the course of his northern expedition.⁶

An inscription at Uchchāśringidurga itself,⁷ dated 1064 A.D., describes the place as having been situated in the district of Kadambavāḍi. Indulging in a legendary account of its different names, it further states that it was known as *Mōghanāda*, *Vira-Kanakagiri*, *Uttarāga-parvata* and *Uchchāśringi-parvata*, respectively in the Kṛiti, Trūtā, Dvāpara and Kali ages. The gift village **Nelkunda** has to be identified with the modern village of **Nalkunda** situated in the Dāvānagera Taluk, Chitradurg District. It thus appears that Uchchāśringa-vishaya embraced areas in the adjacent Districts of Bellary and Chitradurg.

TEXT*

First Plate

- 1 Svasti || Jayaty-abhinav-ādī¹*tya-mukhi pāda-tala[m] Harōḥ [1*]
- 2 uditam-mātur-avan[di*] sur-ārāti-tamō-paha[m] ||² [1*] Śrīma-
- 3 tā[m]³ sakala-bhuvana-sāntistūyamāna-Mānavya-sagō-
- 4 trāṅgām Hārīti-putrāṅgām sapta-lōka-
- 5 mātrībhiḥ Sapta-mātrībhiḥ-abhivandhitānām Kārttikā-
- 6 ya-parirakṣaṇa-prāpta-kalyāṇa-paramiparā-

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 39.

² *CE. Kadamba Kula*, p. 36.

³ *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 271.

⁴ *CE. Kadamba Kula*, pp. 232 ff.

⁵ *Hind. Enc. S. Ind.*, op. cit., p. 373.

⁶ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 436.

⁷ *SI.*, Vol. IX, Part I, Ins. No. 126.

* From impressions.

* Meteo : Awashubh.

¹ On account of defect in the engraving, the medial *i* sign on the top of this letter is detached.

² This punctuation mark is shown by two curves, one above the other, the upper one looking like the top of a 'v'.

³ This *avashubh* is shifted to the top of the following m.

Second Plate, First Side

- 7 [ṛā]¹[m^{*}] bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa²-prasaḍa-samā-
 8 samā³sādita-Varāha-lāñchhan-ēkshaṇa-kahaṇa-vañ-
 9 [kpit-ā⁴]āra(ā)sha-mahābhīṭām Chalukyānām-anvayam=alati-
 10 kari[shuṇa⁵]h sakai-Ōttarāpa[thē]⁶[v]am-āri-Harashha(sha)-
 11 va[rddha⁷]na-parājaya-ōpalabha-Paramēśvar-āpa-
 12 ra-nāmadhēyasya āri-Satyāśraya-prithivī-
 13 vallabha-ma⁸hārājādhirāja-paramēśva-
 14 śasya pautraḥ śrīmad-Ādityavarma.¹⁰

Second Plate, Second Side

- 15 prithivīvallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśva-
 16 śasya tanaya(yaḥ) [maya-vimay-ādi-sāpra]ya¹¹-ga-
 17 ṇa-saṁpannaḥ Pannagapati-bhōga-sadriśa-līlaja-
 18 parigla-yugalaḥ śrīmad-Abhinavāditya-āpara-
 19 nāmadhēyaḥ āri-Satyāśraya-prithivīvallare(bha)-
 20 mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvataḥ sarvān=ēva-
 21 m-ājnā¹²payati viditam=astu yō-smā¹³bhūḥ satata-

Third Plate

- 22 pravardhamāna-rājya-sa[m]vatsarē Bhādrapada-[pau]rṇaṣa-
 23 syām Dvārātā-Kauśika-sagōtrāya Vēda-Vēdānga-
 24 pāmagāya śat-karma-niratāya Kuppasarmmaṇ-
 25 Uchchaṣṭiṅga-vishayē Nēlkunda-nāma-grāmam(maḥ) sarva-
 26 parihārah dattaḥ [¹⁴sva-dattā(m^{*}) para-dattāni vā yō
 27 harēta vaśundharām(rām) [¹⁵]śhaṣṭi-varshaha(sha)-sahasrāṇi
 28 viśtā(abhā)ṣā¹⁶[m^{*}] jāyatē trī(kri)mih [¹⁷z^{*}]

¹ The shape of this letter is peculiar, the sad-like mark above, possibly indicating its length.

² This na and the following pa are not properly shaped.

³ Omit these two letters as they are unnecessarily repeated.

⁴ The letters "krāḥ" are engraved cursively and do not bear the usual form.

⁵ The superscript ā looks more like ma.

⁶ The right curve of this letter being omitted it looks like ṣ.

⁷ As the bottom of the subscript v is left open it looks like g.

⁸ This letter is partially cut off on account of the incision of the ring-hole.

⁹ This ma is not properly engraved.

¹⁰ There is some narrow space after this, sufficient for engraving about three letters; but it is left blank.

¹¹ The wrong word may be restored possibly as śmarāṇya or śmarāṇ.

¹² The cursive form of this letter is noteworthy.

¹³ The punctuation mark is indicated by a sign looking like the letter ga.

¹⁴ Metre: Anuṣṭup.

¹⁵ There is a hook-like mark above this letter.

¹⁶ This punctuation mark engraved after some blank space, is indicated by a sign looking like the letter i followed by a small curve.

1
2
4
6

2
4
6

II.a

8
10
12
14

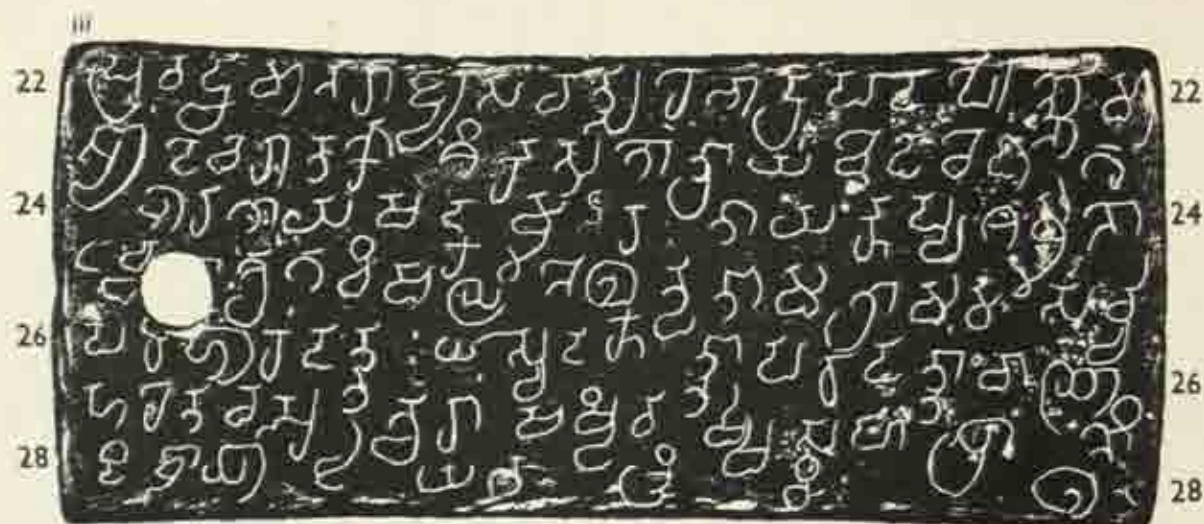
8
10
12
14

II.b

16
18
20

16
18
20

Scale: Three-fourths



SEAL



(from a Photograph)

No. 27—KUNTAGANI PLATES OF KADAMBA RAVIVARMAN, YEAR 12

(1 Plate)

G. S. GAL, OOTACAMUND

These plates were published about fifteen years ago by Dr. H. D. Sankalia in the *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IV (1941-42), pp. 178-81 (Plate opposite page 220). As I felt that the reading of the text and its interpretation could be improved, I requested Dr. Sankalia to send me the original plates which were in the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona. Dr. Sankalia very kindly arranged to send the plates to me and also permitted me to re-edit them. Accordingly, the inscription¹ is edited in the pages of this journal with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The plates are known to have been found at Kuntaganī, a village about 50 miles north-west of Banavasi in the Sirsi Taluk of North Kanara District in the present Mysore State.² This village is included in the Ankola Taluk of the same District. The set consists of three copper-plates, each measuring 6.4 inches by 1.9 inches. There is a hole, about .5 inch in diameter, on the left side of each plate, through which passes the ring with the seal. The ring is about 2 inches in diameter, while the seal which is oval in shape, measures 1.2 inches by 1 inch. In the counter-sunk surface of the seal is a figure which is rather difficult to make out. Possibly it represents the standing figure of an animal. The first and the third plates are inscribed on the inner side only while the second plate has writing on both sides. The first and the second plates contain 3 lines of writing each and the third plate has 4 lines. Each line contains about 20 *akṣaras*, except the last line of the third plate which has about 12 *akṣaras*. As some portions of the plates have flaked off, the letters are damaged in these portions. The plates, together with the ring and the seal, weigh 45 *tolas*.

The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets and are regular for the period to which the record belongs. They resemble the alphabet of the Sirsi³ and Halsi⁴ plates of the same king. As regards individual letters, *ṛ* is written throughout without the loop, whether used as single or in conjunction. The closed or box-type of *b* is found in lines 3, 4, and 11. Attention may be drawn to the form of *ṛ* in line 5, the sign for *ph* is found in lines 9 and 12 and that for *upadhāniga* in line 2. As regards orthography, it may be observed that the consonant following *ṛ* is reduplicated⁵ while the sibilant *śh* is correctly not so reduplicated.

The language of the record is Sanskrit and, except the two imprecatory verses at the end, the text is in prose.

The inscription belongs to the reign of the Kadamba Maṇavajya Ravivarmaṇ of the Early Kadamba dynasty. It records that, on the full-moon day of the month of Śrāvaṇa in the twelfth year of his reign, the king granted 24 *niṣṭānas* of land situated on either side of a tank-bund which he caused to be constructed in the village of Variyakā. The donee of the grant was one Bhavaśvāmin of the Dhaumya *gōtra*, who was well-versed in the Vēdas.

¹ It is registered as No. 23 of A. R. Ep., 1955-56, App. A.

² *N. Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, p. 178.

³ Above, Vol. XVI, Plate opposite p. 270.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, Plates between pp. 26-29.

⁵ For a discussion on this feature, see above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 145-47.

The inscription does not supply any new historical information either with regard to the king or to his date. As many as seven inscriptions belonging to his time have been discovered so far and the present record will be the eighth. Two of his copper-plate grants have been already published in the pages of this journal.¹ His Sira plates are dated in his 35th year, showing that he ruled at least for 35 years. According to the revised chronology of the Kadamba dynasty, Ravivarman has been assigned to the period *circa* 484-519 A. D.²

The grant was issued from Vijaya-Paṅktipura. The other known grants of this king have been issued either from Vaijayanṭi or Palāsikā.³ So the present inscription is the only one known so far, which is issued from Paṅktipura. I have shown elsewhere⁴ that this Paṅktipura should be identified with modern Hangal in the Dharwar District of Mysore State and that it is not another name of Vaijayanṭi as supposed by Dr. Sankalia. Paṅktipura is also mentioned as Pāṅktipura in the Kirukuppaṭūr grant of Kadamba Krishnavarman II.⁵ Here it occurs as Pāṅktipura-vishaya which is evidently the region round about Hangal. In later records the place-name appears as Pāntipura or Pānthipura⁶ and is subsequently replaced by Pānṭungal which is the earlier name of modern Hangal.

In connection with the gift of the land the following expression occurs in the record: *Kārppaṭēśvara[m-siti chaturveśā]ṭi-nivartitāṃ pukkōḷi kshētram...*

The portion given in brackets is damaged as a chip of the copper has peeled off there. However the traces of the letters can be seen and the reading *chaturveśāṭi* can be restored without difficulty. But it is difficult to make out the two *akṣaras* after *Kārppaṭēśvara* which I have proposed to read as **m-siti*. If this reading is accepted, then *Kārppaṭēśvara* may be the name of the land granted. Probably the land belonged originally to a person or god called *Kārppaṭēśvara*. The meaning of *pukkōḷi* is also not clear to me. It might suggest the variety or kind of land granted. This expression occurs also in the Sira plates referred to above and in a copperplate grant of the Bhōja king Kāpālivarman.⁷ At the end of the record, there is an endorsement referring to a house-site and some land in the village. The purport of this endorsement is not clear.

The village Variyakā may be modern Bargi about 14 miles to the south-west of Kuntagaṇṭi.

TEXT*

First Plate

- 1 Svasti ([*] Vijaya-Paṅktipurē Svāmi-Mah[āśa-mā]*ṛigaṇ-ānu-
- 2 [ddb]*yāt-ābbishiktō Mānavya-[sagō]*trō Hārītī-[pūtra]*h-pratikṛita-avā-
- 3 dīhyāya-charchehim¹⁰ Kadambānām-mahārāja-śrī-Ravi[va]rmanā Variyakā-

¹ Nilambūr plates, above, Vol. VIII, pp. 146 ff.; Sira plates, *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 204 ff.

² *JOR*, Vol. XVII, p. 42.

³ Vaijayanṭi was the capital of this Kadamba dynasty and is identified with modern Banavāsi in the North Kanara District while Palāsikā is identical with modern Halsi in the Khanapur Taluk of the Belgaum District.

⁴ *JOR*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 188-89.

⁵ *Karnātaka Inscriptions*, Vol. II, No. 1; for the correct reading of the place-name, see *JOR*, Vol. XVIII, p. 189.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 251.

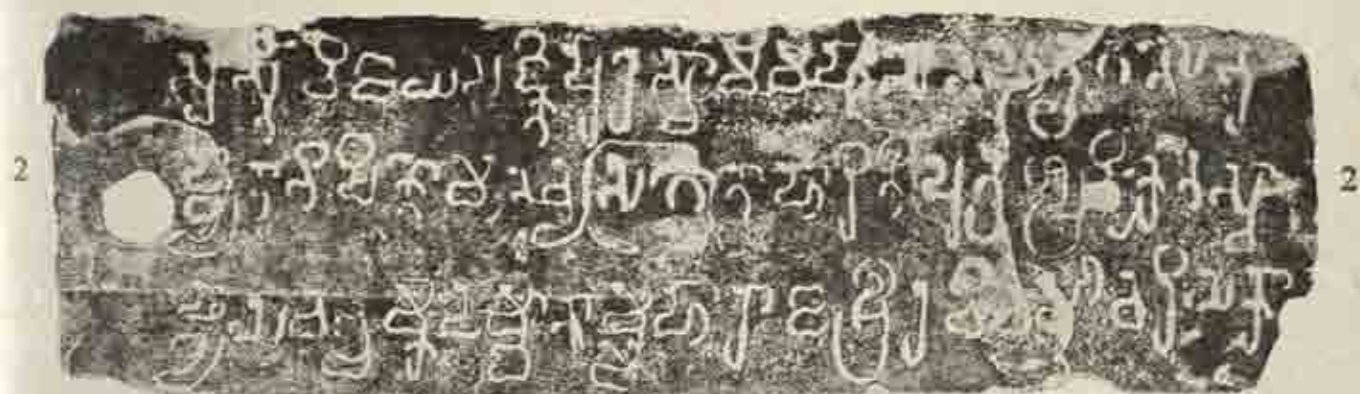
⁷ Above, Vol. XXXI, p. 235 and note 7. The actual forms in these records are *pukkōḷi* and *pukkōḷi*.

⁸ From the original plates and impressions.

⁹ The portion covering letters given in the brackets has peeled off; but still traces of the letters are seen on the plates, since the engraving is fairly deep.

¹⁰ Read *charchāḥ-parāśāṇa*.

KUNTAGANI PLATES OF KADAMBA RAVIVARMAN, YEAR 12



ii, a



ii, b



Scale : Actual



SEAL



(from a Photograph)

Second Plate, First Side

- 4 grāmē tāṭāka-bandhadi kīrayitvā tasy-ōbhaya-pārivayō[¹] Kārppatēśva[raim-iti cha-
turvim]²ati-
- 5 nīvarttanam pukkō[³]-kshētram Dhaumya-sagotrāya Bhavaevāmi-
- 6 nē vēda-pāragāya sva-varidhamāna-vijaya-sa(sam)vatsarē dvādaśē

Second Plate, Second Side

- 7 Śrāvāṇa-paurāṇamēyā[m-anēka]⁴-vijñāpanēn-āśhī[kaśi]ṇa-dāna-vidhinā
- 8 dattayan=su⁵-puṇy-ārtham=pūrvva-rāja-sthity-ānaya(yāl) yō=sy-āpaharitt[ā] sa
- 9 mahāpātaka-samyuktō bhavati [⁶] yaś=ch-ābhīrakshitā sa puṇya-phala-

Third Plate

- 10 [bhāg]-bhavati-ity-uktaś=cha [⁷] [Sva-dattām para-dattām vā] yō harēta vasundharām
(rām) [⁸] shashṭi--
- 11 varaha-sahasrāṅgi pachyatē [nara]kē bhṛīsam(sam) [⁹] Bahubhir-vvasudhā bhuktā rāja-
- 12 [bhi]=Sagar-ādhībhi[¹⁰] [¹¹] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phula[m] [¹²]
- 13 grām[¹³] grī[¹⁴]hasthāna[¹⁵] nīvarttana[¹⁶] cha]

¹ In this portion which has also peeled off, the lower part of ra is preserved and the trace of its upper part can be seen on the plate. The next two letters which are read as "śi" are not clear. In the next word, the vowel 'a' of it and the subscript 'a' of "rma" are preserved and the letters can be read as *claturvīm*.

² This portion is very much defaced.

³ Read *Jatturamāsa*.

No. 28—GRANT OF MAHARAJAKULA JAITRASIMHADEVA, V. S. 1347

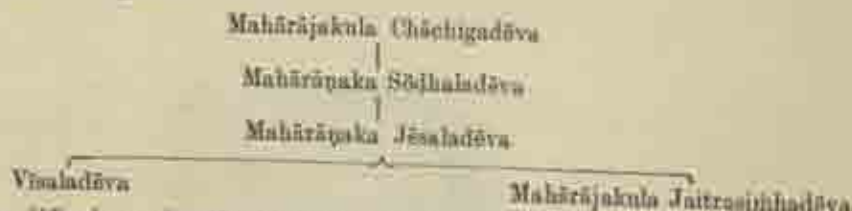
(2 Plates)

SADHU RAM, NEW DELHI

The present inscription¹ is engraved on a set of two copper plates measuring 18.5" × 13" each and weighing both together 497 *talas*. They are preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. The first plate is engraved on one side only, while the second bears writing on both the sides. There are two holes, $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter, along the longer side on both the plates, evidently meant for the rings to keep them together. The rings seem to have been lost.

The record is composed in Sanskrit verse and prose, of which the panegyrical portion is in verse and the documentary part in prose. The poetry is laboured and highly artificial, and abounds in alliterations. The record is written in the Nāgarī script of the 13th century A. D. The execution of engraving on the first plate is better and contains fewer errors than that on the two sides of the second plate, which appears to have been done by an apprentice. As regards orthography, there is *v* for *ḥ* except in some words. The medial vowels *ē*, *ai*, *ō* and *au* are formed with a *prishṭha-mātrā* stroke. There is a good deal of confusion between the execution of the letters *s* and *t*, *y* and *p*, *m* and *r*, etc. I have avoided to make the transcribed text cumbersome by inserting too many such corrections within brackets, and have often given the correct readings as they should have been.

The record is dated in the year 1347 of the Vikrama era, which corresponds to 1290 A. D. It records of the grant of the village of Takāri by Mahārājakula Jaitrasimhadēva to twenty-six Brāhmanas of the Śrīmāl caste,² whose names, along with the *gōtra* and the name of each one's father, are given from line 33 to 44. Takāri is described as situated in the jurisdiction of Nandapadra, which is probably identical with Nandapura on the bank of the Rāvā (v. 10), and was the capital of the kingdom during the reign of Visaladēva, the elder brother of Jaitrasimhadēva. The genealogy of this ruling family (*rāja-vaṃśa*), called Vaijavāpāyana in v. 2 and merely Vijapāyana in line 31, is given as follows:



It is rather difficult to identify this Vaijavāpāyana family. We have a reference to a Vaijavāpā *gōtra* in the *Rasikapriyā*, a commentary on Jayadēva's *Gitagōvinda* by Rājā Kumbhakarna, in which Bappa (V. S. 1342), the founder of Gōhila-vaṃśa is referred to as *devīya-puṣyaga* and belonging to the Vaijavāpā *gōtra*. In view of this, all that we can hazard is that this Vaijavāpāyana family may have been a branch of the same Gōhila stock.

The problem of identification is also complicated by the fact that the names occurring in this genealogy were very common among the Rājput families of that period. For instance, one

¹ The inscription was published by Shri Amrit V. Pandya in his *New Dynasties of Deccan History*, 1930, pp. 15 ff. and Pisala.

² The caste derives its name from the district of Śrīmāl and the town situated in it.

Jaithasimha is mentioned in the Balvān (Kotal District) inscription of the Chāhamāna Hammira of Rāṣṭasāmbhapura, dated V. S. 1345, almost contemporaneous with the present grant which is dated V. S. 1347. Similarly, there are a number of Chāchigadēvas and Visaladēvas, but none of them belonged to the Vajjavāpyana or Vijavāpyana family.

We shall, therefore, try to locate the family from whatever historical information we can glean from the text of the inscription. We know that Mahārājakula and Mahārājaka are not royal titles, but only feudatory epithets, notwithstanding the extravagant praise the panegyrist has lavished on their owners. Mahārājakula Chāchigadēva, the founder of the family, is called *eripa*. Being the great grandfather of Jaithasimhadēva, the donor of the present grant, dated V. S. 1347, he must have lived somewhere about V. S. 1270, and was most probably a feudatory of the Chaulukya king Bhīma of Gujārāt. In the inscription he is described as the extirpator of the Mālavas. The possible explanation of this feat of his valour that we can offer is that he might have helped Lavaprasāda and his son Viradhayala, the faithful Vāghēla adherents of Bhīma, in defeating Dēvapāla, the Paramāra king of Mālava in a battle fought at Ābu in V. S. 1288. The panegyrist may have made a big boast of it in order to please his patron.

Chāchigadēva's son Sōḍhala is said to have been described as *Maṇḍalā-gaṇa-kēvāra* by the nomad tribes in their songs (v. 5). He may have put down some *Maṇḍalēśvaras*, the feudatory chiefs or provincial governors, who had often rebelled against the kingdom of Gujārāt during the reign of Bhīma or even later during the reign of the Vāghēlas who supplanted the Chaulukyas in Gujārāt. Among the offsprings of Sōḍhala, was one Jēma who proved himself to be the jewel of a ruler by bringing happiness and prosperity to his subjects. Unfortunately, he lost his life in a fierce battle against certain enemies whose names are not mentioned. Both Sōḍhala and Jēma bore the title of Mahārājaka, and were, therefore, the feudatories of the king of Gujārāt like their ancestor.

The name of Jēmaladēva's son Visaladēva is omitted altogether from the genealogy repeated in the documentary prose portion of the record. While still a youngster, he is said to have pleased Arjuna, the king of the Gūrjaras by his courage in the battles. This Arjuna was probably no other than the Chaulukya Vāghēla king of Gujārāt of that name who fought against the Yādavas in order to foil their repeated attacks to capture Bhīrukachchha. He might have entrusted the sole command of these military expeditions to Visaladēva, his faithful feudatory, and, being pleased with his valorous achievements, given him the territory of Nandapura as a reward for his services (verse 10). This would justify the encomium bestowed on Visaladēva by the panegyrist in verse 14. Visaladēva ruled over Nandapura (his capital) very benevolently as a semi-independent ruler. This Nandapura was near Bhīrukachchha (modern Broach) in the Narmadā-tara *maṇḍala*. Later on, Visaladēva dared an attack on a Muhammadan ruler who had a very powerful army, and was killed in action. No clue is given as to the identity of this Muhammadan ruler. It is interesting to note that the names of more than one Visaladēvas are associated with the extirpation of the Mlēcchhas or Turushkas (both terms indiscriminately applied to Muhammadans or even other foreigners). On the Aśoka pillar at Kotla Firuz Shāh, Delhi, we have an inscription of the Śākambhārī king Visaladēva, also called Vīgraharāja (V. S. 1220), who is described as the exterminator of the Mlēcchhas.¹ Again, in the Pattanāpāyana inscription² of Paramāra Pratāpachha (V. S. 1344), we find Visala, the son of Bhādadēva and the ruler of Mālava, extolled as the sole conqueror of the Turushka hosts (cf. verse 12).

This Visaladēva was, however, alive in 1344 V. S., and may have been a representative of Sārṅgadēva, the son and successor of Arjuna on the throne of Gujārāt. Evidently, he was a

¹ *J. Ind. Arch.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 215 ff. The verse is quoted in the *Śākambhārī-pāṭha*.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 79.

different person from Visaladēva of this grant, though he appears to have been his contemporary. Visaladēva of our grant does not seem to have ruled for a long time. After his premature death, he was succeeded by his younger brother Jaitrasimhadēva, the donor of this grant, who, we learn from verse 25, was a feudatory chief, owing allegiance to the king of Gujārāt like his elder brother.

Unless the vague allusions in the record, such as (i) the extirpation of the Mālavas (v. 3) by Chālagadēva, (ii) the fierce battle of Jēmaladēva with unnamed enemies (v. 8), and (iii) the unnamed powerful Muhammadan ruler (Mīshchahāyara) who was attacked by Visaladēva (v. 10), are understood with some sort of certainty, it is difficult to identify the family under question and fix its place in history. Let us hope more literary or inscriptional evidence might be discovered to shed some light on the problem.

Among the geographical names in the inscription, Nandapadra or Nandapura is modern Rājpiḍā which name was introduced in the place of Nāndōl about 1920 in order to avoid its confusion with Nāndōl and Nāndōl (near Ahmedabad) and Nāndōl (in Marwar). It is still popularly called Nāndōl and people remember its ancient names Nandapura and Nandapadra. It is mentioned in early epigraphs as Nāndipuri and Nāndipura and in medieval inscriptions as Nandupadra. The village Takārt (modern Tunkārt) is situated about 8 miles to the west of Sahrāvī (modern Sahrāv opposite Tilakrāḍā) and about 25 miles to the east of the village of Rāḍha. The word *śaḍḍa* (line 49) corresponds to Prakrit *khāḍḍa*, meaning 'a nullah'. *Andoli* and *Dhāmni* were the local names of the nullah. The second of the two nullahs is still extant under the name of Dhāmni-Khāḍḍi.¹

In line 48, we have *trivṛtṣyām* (for *trivṛtṣyāyām* or *trivṛtṣyām*) which appears to be derived from Sanskrit *tri-vṛttman* and may mean 'near a place where three roads meet'. Or, like *Pañchavati*, *Trivṛti* may be the name of a place where there was a group of three banyan trees. *Ekakula-kulāikanyā* (*kūlikanyā*) probably means 'of the farmer possessing only one plough'. In *Bhāṇabībhūṭyā* (line 50), *būṭyā* is a Gujarātī word meaning 'a knoll or small mound'. *Bhāṇabī* may have been its local name.²

TEXT³

[Metres: Verses 1-4, 9, 11-12, 22 *Uṣṇjātī*; verses 5-8, 17-21 *Rathoddhatā*; verse 10 *Indravajrā*; verses 13-14 *Āryā*; verses 15-16, 25-27 *Vasantatilakā*; verses 23-24 *Sāṇḍilavakṛāṇḍā*.]

First Plate

- 1 ॥ ८० ॥ विधेविधेयात्क[र]ण[स]मी सुतं पयपात्रमयो मयात । यत्कंठनाला-
ध्य(द)वला सुसंती मंगा जगहे वि(वि)-
- 2 ॥ मतंतुहेला ॥ १ ॥ १ ॥ श्रीवैजयायनराजवंशे कवीद्रव्दविहितप्रशसे । सासीश्रुप-
श्चाचिगदेवनामा नामाद्यशो यस्य जगत्त्र-
- 3 ॥ येऽपि ॥ २ ॥ १ ॥ उत्पातरूपो रिपुभूयतीनां यो मालवोन्मूलतधूमकेतुः । [कातः]
पुनर्भूतलभानुभला विभ्रति तान्वाव महाम-

¹ For the location of these places, I am indebted to Shri A. V. Pandya, Director, Institute of Archaeology, Vallabh Vidyādhara, Bombay State, who originally discovered the copper plates from the palace stupa at Rājpiḍā.

² For these suggestions, I am indebted to Prof. H. C. Bhayana of the Bhāratya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay.

³ From impressions.

⁴ Every line begins with two such vertical strokes.

⁵ This may be intended for a symbol for *Om*.

⁶ This stroke is redundant.

॥ देवो देवो देवो ॥

॥ ६० ॥ वायुर्विद्यया नृ
 सुखं भूयः पवित्रायामगुह्यं यद्भुवननाम
 वल्लुलतीगगज्जालद्वय

नमो ब्रह्मणे श्रीवज्रगोपाय नमः ॥ १ ॥

॥ विष्णोः शक्तिरूपं रज्जुं पृथुवीनां यथा ॥ तद्वत्प्राप्तमनसं ब्रह्म इह ज्ञेयं तद्वत् ॥

प्राज्ञाविग्रहानामः ३३ अद्वैतनाथात्म्युत्पत्तिः सादृश्यादनुभवापहस्यद्वयविवशप्रलम्बन

॥ ता० चरलेन क समूह समंतं द्वावे रिपु रतं हि त्रुं जं मुदा लश ग ना क स रि ना मा व न्गं ति त्रु वि स ट्ठं तौ को भि न्ने

विष्णुस्य तत्त्वता आनुषाङ्गं किमपि लक्षणं न भवति । इति श्रुतेः । अत्रानुसृतं विष्णुमतं संकेतनाः । ॥ इत्यनेन सप्त

कुषात्रश्चास्यतामरसितं कुटिलं विद्धं नैकं रत्नं रत्नं ज्ञानं वयथा विशदयामुदुहरे

[illegible][illegible]

शुद्धात्तु मन्त्राणां स्वर्गं निराकृत्य ब्रह्मसंज्ञां प्रथमं च तत्रैव निरूपयति ॥ १ ॥

[illegible]

॥ अथ श्रीगणेशोत्थानम् ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

[illegible]

॥ मिथुनस्तमस्तु नृपयसपतुः सुखोऽपान्नाः ॥ ३ ॥ अत्र नराः कर्तव्यं कर्तव्यं ॥ ४ ॥

सुखकृपागवा का ३३ को पुराना कुलितो रिशु सुखानरदुट ममगररउ सुखजातिह्व कुनीमिदि

बोधनाद्वैतमलसुरसामानिधिपद्वैतनिर्वाहनिर्वाहनिर्वाह

[illegible]

अथ लक्ष्मिदेवता । अथ लक्ष्मिदेवता । अथ लक्ष्मिदेवता ।

[illegible]

- 4 ॥ ह्रींभि ॥३॥^१ ततोऽभवद्देरिविनाशकालः सुधीरधीः सोढलभूमिपालः । यस्य प्रताप-
प्रसरादरातिवशप्ररोहो न [कदाचिदा-]
- 5 ॥ सीत् ॥४॥^१ शूरसैनिकसमूहसमेतं दृप्तवैरिभटभञ्जिभुजंग(गं) [१^१] मंडलेयमजकैसरि-
नामा(म्ना) यं भणति भुवि भट्टकुलाति ॥५॥^१ [तद्भ-]
- 6 ॥ वे(वी)ऽय नृपतिर्भवभाजा भूषणं किमपि जसल आसोत् । येन वन्त-
महसा सहसाऽभुद्धास्वतौ वसुमती सकलापि ॥६॥^१ येन सर्व-
- 7 ॥ विभूता कल्यात्मस्वास्वतासिरसितः कुटिलेषु । निष्कलंकरजतीकरकलं
सज्जतेषु च यशो विशदेषु ॥७॥^१ युद्धदुर्धर-
- 8 ॥ घराधिपतीना संगरे यममुहूर्त्त(स्व)मिहैत ॥ कत्सरैः कतिभिरुज्ज्विकेच्छुर्देव-
देवमुहूर्देव स जातः ॥८॥^१ श्रीजेसले जंगम- ।^१
- 9 ॥ कल्पवृक्षे मरुन्महीमंडलमंडनेऽस्मिन् । [नृपो]ऽभवद्दीप्तदेवनामा कामाभिरामाकृति-
रस्य पुत्रः ॥९॥^१ यो गूर्ज- ॥^१
- 10 ॥ राधीश्वरमज्जंता(ज्जुना)ब्ध संतोष्य बाल्येऽपि मूषेषु भास्वान् । रेवा-
ल्लु(भु)वी भूषणरत्नभूतमानंदयत्नं(न्र)दगुरं रराज ॥१०॥^१ तमो ह- ॥^१
- 11 ॥ रन् जेसलदेवजन्मा सन्माग्लग्नं जनयत्(न्) जने च । विपक्षपक्षक्षयकालराशौ
रेमे स भूमीतलशीतलांशुः ॥११॥^१ स्मितं वि-
- 12 ॥ तन्वज्जडास्यपयं यः सर्वबा(वी)रप्रभुतामुपति । अशून्यचेष्टाततुरोऽय
मंजो चित्रं स रेजे विजयाकंदेव ॥१२॥^१ वीरस्य स-
- 13 ॥ ज्ञतस्य च सध्माश्च विनिमित्तस्य मूलेन । यस्य प्रतापविनयश्रियां भवो
भाति सातिशयः ॥१३॥^१ एकोऽनेकमनीकं
- 14 ॥ यादवराजस्य वारयन् बहुशः । कीर्ति स(च) यां जगत्या(त्या) यो दक्षिण-
भट्टकवाट[म]^१ति ॥१४॥^१ श्रीवीसलः सुकृतशील^२ सलीलमय-
- 15 ॥ मंडवयंभोगमनुभूय स एवमुब्धो । श्लोच्छ्रेष्ठवरं सकलराजकदंपदारिदुर्वार-
भूरिभटभीषणमभ्यधावत् ॥१५॥^१ दुर्मत्सरा[तु]-
- 16 ॥ रतुर(रु)ष्वकुपाणबाणकोदंडकायशकलाकुलितां धरित्री । कृत्वा नटद्वटभयंकरभंगुर-
भ्रूभ्राजिणुरेव च विवेश सुरे-
- 17 ॥ शघाम ॥१६॥^१ वीसले मुरसरागामुदरीपाणिपल्लवतिवारितधमे । जैत्रसिंह इति
तत्सहोदर प्राञ्चराज्यभवभोग-

^१ This stroke as well as two such strokes occurring at the end of lines 9-16, are redundant.

^२ It should be *akṛita-shīla*. The *viraga* is dropped either for the exigency of metre or by an uncommon *sandhi*.

- 18 ॥ भागभूत् ॥१७॥^{*} [यस्य] सौवसविचक्षुमातलक्षोदमेदुरितकायकृतयः । दासका
इव तमन्मदाः [सदा शत्रवो विनाय-
19 ॥ मेव तन्वते ॥१८॥^{*} येन तेन सुर(ः) शौर्यशोभिना निर्भयेऽभिनवकौत्तिकौमुदी ।
या द्विषद्विषमदाहकृत्स्ना हन्मूसा-

Second Plate, First Side

- 20 ॥ वू(वु)जदले व्यकासवत् ॥१९॥^{*} यस्मिन् सहजसूदरोदयं जातसज्जत(न)युति
व्यराजत । प्रौढपुत्रमहिषीम-
21 ॥ तल्लिका उग्रमाप्ल(त्)मिव शर्करानुषं ॥२०॥^{*} यो भुजाव(व)लदलत्सहादुमं
खड्गमृदुरमिहंकमुद्रहन् । स्वाङ्गुराज
22 ॥ इति राजसंगमे गीयते विरुदवादिर्वादिनि(मिः) ॥२१॥^{*} ऐश्वर्ययोगाद्भूवि सा(भा)-
ति वैश्वपन्नान्नोऽन्नी वि(कि)मिवाञ्चित्रं । स(स)तो यदे-
23 ॥ तद्गुणवर्ण(णं)नाय शताननाः सन्ति धत्तं पुरस्तात् ॥२२॥^{*} एकोऽयं रणरंगमल्ल-
सुभदत्रे(श्रे)णीमणीमंडतं(त्तं) गज्वंदु(दु)ज्वंयदोर्ध्वो
24 ॥ विजयते श्रीजैत्रसिंहो नृपः । यस्मासिः प्रतिपक्षवक्षसि यस्याभत ति(नि)त्यज(ज्व)-
लच्छोकाविष्मदमद(विष्कृतमंद)धूमलतिकाली-
25 ॥ लामलिश्यामलः ॥२३॥^{*} एकैकं यदनेकासुरिक्त्तसां विभ्रातिविच्छेदकृत्(दु)
वैरिस्वरविहारहारि हरितामतेषु यत्नेल-
26 ॥ ति । खदुर्गाजलमि(नि)मलं स(म)लिनतामाभत दुरचेतनां श्रीम(ज्जै)त्रमही-
भुजो विजयते चारित्रमस्यैव तत् ॥२४॥^{*} एतेन बीमल-
27 ॥ [क^{*}मात्पितृ^{*}प्रमृतां(भूत)श्रेयःकृते स्वपतिमंव(म)तिमाप्य दत्तः । श्रीमालवद्-
(पद्)द्विमितविप्रकरे टकारी धामः समं नवति(नि)वानसरोव-
28 ॥ राज्यैः(बैः) ॥२५॥^{*} यावच्च कांतशसिदर्शनजातलज्जास्ताराः स्फुरति नितरां
यमतांगणे ताः^{*} । यावच्च कृष्णपदं सेवतकृदि-
29 ॥ नेशो ग्रामे द्विजा गतभियः प्रसव(वसं)वु तावत् ॥२६॥^{*} श्रीमालमालमणिवत्तल्लणदेव-
सूतो(नो) सर्वाधिपत्यमन्त्रिणे विजया- ॥^{*}
30 ॥ कीद(कंदे)वे । संवत्सरे तुरगवेदगुणैर्दुसंख्ये जैत्रेण शासनमिदं समृद्धे द्विजेभ्यः
॥२७॥^{*} श्रीमत्(दु)विक्रमादित्यराज्यका-
31 ॥ लात्(दु) श्रुतिक्रांतेषु सप्ततत्त्वारिंशद्विक्रिषु त्रयोदशसु संवत्सरशतेषु ॥ १३४७ एवंविधं
काते(ले) वि(वै)जावा^{*} पायतमगोत्रे

^{*} Cf. *Int. Vishnu-sūtri-pāṭi-jedpād* in lines 45-46 below.

^{*} I. e. *Vishnupada*.

^{*} These *ecchia* are redundant.

- 32 ॥ महाराजकुलश्रीचाचिगदेवः तस्य पुत्रो म(म)हाराणकः श्रीमोडनदेवः तस्य पुत्रो महाराणकः श्रीवेसलदेवः त-
 33 ॥ स्य पुत्रो महाराजकुल(नः) श्रीजंजमिहदेवः । एतेन काश्यपसगोत्रः जोजलपु(सु)-
 ताः*] त्रिवां वीसलः गौतमसगोत्रः वि-
 34 ॥ जमादिय(त्य)मुतः] त्रिवां सालङ्गः परापरसगोत्रः विजयादित्यमुतः त्रिवां वासलः सनग-
 सगोत्रः पैवडमुतः त्रिवां
 35 ॥ विजयादित्यः उपमन्युसगोत्रः रत्नमुतः त्रिवां धीधाः उपमन्युसगोत्रः रत्नमुतः त्रिवां
 कृष्णादित्यः सनग- ॥
 36 ॥ सगोत्रः नागशर्ममुतः त्रिवां देवशर्मा सतपासगोत्रः वामुदेवमुतः त्रिवां केशवः
 भारद्वाजसगोत्रः नाग- ॥

Second Plate, Second Side

- 37 ॥ सूरमुतः त्रिवां चावाः गौतमसगोत्रः चातसूरमुतः दुवे वाडसूरः गौतमसगोत्रः
 देवादित्यमुतः
 38 ॥ दुवे पञ्चनाभः गौतमसगोत्रः तरु(ब)ह्यमुतः दुवे नगरादित्यः गौतमसगोत्रः
 केशवादित्यमुतः
 39 ॥ दुवे हरसूरः हारीतसगोत्रः केशवादित्यमुतः दुवे देवादित्यः भारद्वाजसगोत्रः
 सुमणमुतः दुवे
 40 ॥ साजलः काश्यपसगोत्रः देवधरमुतः त्रिवां हरिशर्मा भरद्वाजसगोत्रः
 देवादित्यमुतः त्रिवां महाशर्मा सनगस-
 41 ॥ गोत्रः केशवमुतः त्रिवां श्रीधरः बलसगोत्रः पैवामुतः त्रिवां मोक्षदेवः शांडिल्य-
 सगोत्रः उड्डरणमुतः उपां प्रो(परी?)
 42 ॥ क्षरविः भारद्वाजसगोत्रः सूर्यादित्यमुतः च (प?) घांघः भारद्वाजसगोत्रः
 विजय(प)सूरमुतः दुवे हस्तिदेवः उपमन्युसगो-
 43 ॥ वः गोममुतः दुवे मु(न)हादेवः लवंधायनसगोत्रः केलामुतः दुवे धीमाः
 लवंधायनसगोत्रः जालामुतः
 44 ॥ ठ वाडङ्गः कश्यपसगोत्रः जेनजमुतः त्रिवां सूरः एभ्यः सर्वेभ्यः श्रीमालीजातीयेभ्यः
 षड्विंशतिसंख्येभ्यः
 45 ॥ २६ द्रा(शा)ह्येभ्यः श्रुतिस्मृत्युदितनित्यनेमित्तिकादिसकलधर्मकर्मप्रवर्तनाय ज्येष्ठ(२६)-
 भ्रातृमहाराजकुल(न)श्रीवीसलमातु-^३

* These strokes are redundant.

* See foot-note 1 at p. 224.

- 46 ॥ पितृश्रेयसे चतुःसीमापर्वतः चतुःसीमांतर्गतमस्तनविधानादिवस्तुसहितः पुत्र-
पौत्रान्वयपरंपरया आचंद्रार्कं पा-
- 47 ॥ वत्(द्) भोक्तव्यो मम्मंदातटमुकुटभूतनंदपद्मोयदेशांतर्वर्ती टकारीनामग्रामः सकलकर-
विरहित उदकातिसमूहे
- 48 ॥ प्रवतः ॥ वस्य च ग्रामस्य चतस्रः सीमाः । यथा । उत्तरस्यां दिशि
त्रिवटीयां क्षेत्राणां परतः सीमा । पूर्वस्यां दिशि आकुली-
- 49 ॥ पट्टडा(खड्वा)यां सीमा । तथा दिशि सहिराविग्रामपक्षे वटपरतः आघाट-
सीमा । दक्षिणस्यां दिशि धामणीं पट्टडा(खड्वा)यां सीमा । पश्चि-
- 50 ॥ मस्यां दिशि रुद्रपरत एकहलहलैकस्य ऊजाणे सीमा । तथा पश्चिमस्यां
दिशि कोणे भाभीवृटीयाक्षेत्रस्य प-
- 51 ॥ रतः आघाटसीमा । इति चतुःसीमापर्वतोऽयं ग्रामः एभिर्द्रा(त्री)द्वार्यः
समविभागेन भोक्तव्यः । असीयां द्रा(त्रा)द्वारा-
- 52 ॥ नां निबग्नुहसोग्यानि निबवन्नुन्यातपतां तपतां च नंदपद्रप्रतिवध्वे(वडे)णु सर्व-
व्यपि देहेण दानं दानमंडपिका¹

TRANSLATION

V.1. Om². May the swan-shaped water-jar, ever held in the lotus-like hand of Brahman, dispense happiness—the jar, from whose neck-spout the fair Gaṅgā, gushing forth, imitates the grace of the lotus-fibres.

V.2. In the illustrious royal family of Vaijaraṇḍyana, lauded by hosts of eminent poets, there was a king, Chāchigadēva by name, whose fame could not be contained in the three worlds.

V.3. He was a portent for (the destruction of) the hostile kings and a comet (i.e. evil star) for the extirpation of the Mālavas. Resplendent, he shone (re his body) and by his great prowess as a life-sustainer like the very sun on the face of the earth.

V.4. To him was born the king Śūdhala of a strong mind, who was the very death for the annihilation of his enemies, and, before the advancing side of whose valour the families of his foes could never take root.

V.5. Him, who had a host of brave soldiers and was like a serpent, in putting to rout the warriors of his arrogant foes, the minster clans described as a lion overpowering the elephants that were the other Maṇḍalēśvaras (i.e. feudatory chiefs) on this earth.

V.6. His son, king Jēśala, with whom, possessed of benign splendour, the whole earth became luminous at once, was a rare gem among the mortals.

V.7. By him, the all powerful one, his blue-steel sword was flung on the crooked persons of impure mind, and his fame, as bright as the spotless moon, among the noble persons of pure mind.

¹ The concluding portion of the sentence is completely worn out.

² See p. 222, note 5.

V.8. Having played the role of Yama in a war with the kings who were irresistible in fighting, he, with higher ambition, became the friend of the lord of the gods (i.e. Indra) within a few years (i.e. died).

V.9. When the illustrious Jēśala, the moving tree of paradise, had become the ornament of the land of the gods (i.e. attained heaven), then his son, Viśala by name, who was of as lovely a form as Kāma himself, became the king.

V.10. Who, the resplendent one, even as a youngster, having pleased in battles Arjuna, the king of the Gūrjaras, shone brilliantly, spreading cheer in the city of Nandapura which was a gem set in the ornament of the land on (the banks of) the Rēvā (i.e. Narmadā).

V.11. The offspring of Jēśaladeva, dispelling the darkness and setting the people on the path of virtue, shone as if he were the moon on the earth's surface in the dark night of the destruction of his enemies.

V.12. With a smile that made his lotus-face bloom, who could assume the leadership of the tribe of the brave, no wonder! (that the same) Vijayāśadeva, his minister, who was clever at devising effectual plans, too, shone brilliantly.

V.13. In him, who was fashioned (as it were) from the same stuff as that of the Brave, the Noble and the goddess Lakṣmī, the inherence of (the qualities of) prowess, modesty and majesty shone out most conspicuously.

V.14. Who, all alone, having stemmed repeatedly the numerous hordes of the king of the Yādavas, makes his very fame in the country, the (barren) door to the soldiers of the South.

V.15. The illustrious Viśala of virtuous disposition, having thus enjoyed with facility the highest prosperity on this earth, made an assault on a Muhammadan (Mūshikha) ruler who was formidable with his large troops which were irresistible and had broken the pride of all the princes.

V.16. Making the battle-field strewn with the broken pieces of the swords, arrows, bows and the bodies of the rancorous Muhammadans (Turushkas), he entered the abode of Indra (i.e. was killed) while the frown still glowed over his brow, striking terror into (the hearts of) the scampering soldiers (of the enemy).

V.17. As the fatigue of Viśala was being removed by the sprout-like limbs of the amorous belles of heaven (i.e. after his death), Jaitrasīkha, his brother, came to share the enjoyment of the prosperity of a large kingdom.

V.18. With the skin of their bodies thickly covered with the dust of the ground close to his palace, his enemies, with their pride lowered like the slaves, always display nothing but humility.

V.19. By that very person (i.e. Jaitrasīkha), radiant with happiness and valour, a unique moon-light¹ was created in the form of his glory, which caused burning affliction to his enemies and made the hearts and faces of the noble to expand like the petals of the lotuses.

V.20. Whose mind, having associated with the noble people, was radiant with a natural and charming elevation: his grown up son and excellent queen.²

V.21. He, who, wielding here a singularly heavy sword, capable of felling a big tree when plied with the might of his arm, was extolled as *Kṣaṇḍgrāpa* (sword-king) by the bards singing laudatory poems in the assemblage of the kings.

V.22. What wonder, if he shines as Jaitra-paśāhanana (the victorious lion-Jaitra-sīkha) on this earth, when there are a hundred of noble persons to praise his virtues before him with a hundred mouths!

¹ Note that it was of a contrary nature to the ordinary moonlight which is cool in its effect and causes the lotuses to close.

² The sense of the second hemistich of this verse is obscure.

V.23. This illustrious king Jaitrasimha, thundering with his irresistible arms, alone is victorious over the circle of the excellent soldiers who are like a chaplet of gems and are the champions of the battle-field; and his bee-black sword, thrust into the heart of the enemy, wears the semblance of a slender column of smoke rising up from his (i.e. the enemy's) ever-burning anguish.

V.24. It is the good conduct of this very Jaitrasimha, pure as the waters of Gaṅgā, that triumphs as it washes away the moral impurities of the wicked, and which, being capable of removing severally the errors of many a learned man and of putting an end to the unrestrained movements of the enemies, pervades throughout the ends of the quarters.

V.25. By him has been given away, after getting the approval of his overlord, the village of Takāṭ into the hands of twenty-six Brāhmanas of the Śrīmāla caste, along with its nine treasures, pools, etc., for the great bliss of final emancipation of Viśala and his mother and father.

V.26. Let these Brāhmanas live in this village free from fear as long as these stars, shy at the sight of the bright moon, their spouses, continue to twinkle on the wide expanse of the sky, and as long as the sun continues to occupy its place in the heaven.

V.27. While Vijayādhvya, the son of Vallagadhva, who was the crest-jewel of the Śrīmāla family, was the minister with supreme powers, this grant was bestowed upon the Brāhmanas by Jaitra in the year reckoned by the (Sun's) horses (7), the Vēdas (4), the primary qualities (*guṇas*—3), and the moon (1):

Lines 30-33 (that is to say) when thirteen hundred years increased by forty-seven had elapsed since the reign of the illustrious Vikramāditya. At such a time, viz. (the year) 1347, there had been the illustrious Mahārājaka Uśohigadhva of the Viśa(Vaijaya)pāyana family; his son the illustrious Mahārājaka Sōdhaladhva; his son the illustrious Mahārājaka Jyālmadhva; his son the illustrious Mahārājaka Jaitrasimhadhva:

Line 33. By him,—

Lines 44-48, for the bliss of final emancipation of his elder brother the illustrious Mahārājaka Viśala, and his mother and father, and for the continuous performance of all the obligatory as well as accidental religious rites prescribed by the Vēdas and the *Smṛitis*, has been donated, with libations of water, the village of the name of Takāṭ up to its boundaries on four sides, situated in the jurisdiction of Nandapadma which is the pride of the banks of the Narmadā, free from all taxes and along with all the property like the nine treasures existing within its four bounds, to all those Brāhmanas of Śrīmāla family, 26 in number,¹ to be enjoyed in an uninterrupted succession of their sons and sons' sons for the same time as the moon and the sun endure.

Lines 48-51. The four boundaries of this village are, for instance:—the boundary on the northern side is beyond the Trivāt(?) fields; on the eastern side the boundary is along the Āṇḍāl nullah and in the same (?) direction the Āghāṭa-boundary extends beyond the banyan tree by the side of the Sahitāvi village; on the southern side the boundary is along the Dhānag nullah; on the western side the boundary is in the Upāṇa (garden ?) of the Ekahala-balaika (?) beyond the village Rāhūṭha; and on the western side in a corner, the Āghāṭa-boundary extends beyond the fields of Bhāmbhī-śōṭvā.

Lines 51-53. This village should be enjoyed by these Brāhmanas up to its four bounds, in equal shares. While these Brāhmanas carry their personal effects useful for their household to and from (the village), the gifts [should be free from all taxes at] the toll-booth (*Dharmapīṭh*)² in all the territories adjoining Nandapadma.

¹ The names of these Brāhmanas, along with the gifts and the names of every one's father (lines 33-44) are not included in the translation. They may be seen from the text.

² The word *dāma* is of frequent occurrence in the *Lakṣmīdharm*. For *mandapīṭh*, see Sōdhalā's inscription of A.S. 1247.

No. 29—BHUBANESWAR INSCRIPTION OF GANGA NARASIMHA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR AND K. G. KRISHNAN, OOTACAMUND

The inscription¹ under study is engraved on a stone tablet which was discovered in the course of an excavation of a site for the foundation of a monastery near the Gauri-Kedāra temple at Bhubaneswar, Orissa. The inscribed stone was made over to Mr. Ganapati Sircar of Calcutta by His Holiness Swami Kesavananda Brahmachari who had arranged for the excavation of the site in July 1916. Recently the stone was secured for the Asiatisk Museum of Indian Arts attached to the University of Calcutta. The inscription was published by Sircar with a good illustration in the *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XX, 1924, pp. 41 ff. Since the text has not been properly read and interpreted, it is re-edited here.

The inscribed slab measures about 26½" in height, 23" in breadth and 5¼" in thickness. About the middle of the top part, there is an image of Gāṇeśa measuring 8½" in length, 6" in breadth and 1½" in depth, engraved in bas-relief. The whole stone is stated to weigh nearly five maunds (about 400 pounds). The space in the right side of the surface of the stone is occupied by an Oriya inscription in Gaudīya characters, the first 15 lines of which cover an area 8½ inches wide by the side of the figure of Gāṇeśa while the width of the area covered by the remaining 22 lines below the above is 11 inches. The height of the area covered by the record in 34 lines is 24 inches. The space in the left half of the stone is similarly occupied by an inscription in the Tamil language in Tamil and Grantha characters, the lower part of which, lying below the figure, is separated from the Oriya epigraph by a space about 1" broad. The letters vary in size from ½" to ¾" in height as well as in breadth. They are thicker in shape in the Oriya part than in the Tamil section. The writing is in a fairly good state of preservation although a layer of stone has broken away from the left hand side of the top part with the result that a few letters at the right end of the first three lines in the Tamil portion are lost. But the lost letters can be confidently restored with the help of the excellent photograph of the slab published along with Sircar's article referred to above.

As already indicated, the inscription consists of two parts, one engraved in Tamil occupying the left hand side and the other in Oriya engraved in the right side. The last three lines of the Tamil portion are, strangely enough, engraved in three vertical columns on the left face of the slab exactly in the Chinese fashion. The letters have to be read in these lines from top to bottom while the lines have to be read from right to left. Both the Oriya and Tamil sections of the inscription refer to a transaction between a debtor and a creditor, the former being the pontiff of a *Maṭha* of Tamillian Śaivas at Bhubaneswar and the latter a local Oriya moneyed man. That is why the document is written in two different versions, Oriya and Tamil.

The characters of the Oriya part of the record belong to the Gaudīya class, some of them resembling either their modern Bengali or Oriya forms. The record may be assigned on palaeographical grounds to a date not much earlier than the fourteenth century. Letters like *ṣ*, *bā* and *ḷ* and the signs of medial *u* and *ū* exhibit Gaudīya forms, while *ā*, *ā*, *ācā*, *m*, *r*, *ī(-ō)* and *s*, as found in the inscription, are the same as in Gaudīya and in Bengali. Similarly, letters like *ī*, *ak*, *agh*, *p* and *ph* in the record are found in the medieval Gaudīya epigraphs found in Orissa and resemble their Oriya forms, although the letter *h* (cf. also the peculiar form of *hi* in line 3) has a

¹ A. R. Ep., 1955-56, App. B, No. 117.

cursive form which appears to be the origin of the modern Karapī (i.e. pertaining to the writer caste) form of the letter.¹ But the most interesting letter is *j* which is found only in Oriya and not in Bengali. This letter has not been traced in Orissan epigraphs earlier than the thirteenth century.² Medial *ṛ*, which has been only once used in line 29, is of the Oriya type. Of initial vowels, the inscription uses *a* (lines 16, 18, 24), *ā* (lines 10, 20-21, 24, 26-27, 31), *i* (lines 15-16, 20, 23, 25, 28, 31-32), *u* (lines 11, 15-16, 27) and *e* (lines 7, 10, 12-14, 16, 20, 22-23, 26, 28-30, 33). The numeral figures 1, 2, 5, 7, 8 and 9 are found in the record (cf. lines 3, 11, 18). Of these, 1 is of the Telugu, 2 of the Oriya, 5 of the Telugu-Oriya and 8 of the Gangliya-Oriya type. The Siddham symbol at the beginning and the two punctuation marks (meant for a double *daḍa*) at the end look like the figure for 2.

The **language** is Oriya though there is a little influence of Sanskrit at the beginning of the epigraph. The composition exhibits carelessness on the part of the scribe. Some of the expressions used in the record are not found in modern Oriya. The **orthography** is characterised by a tendency to use the medial forms of *i* and *u* instead of medial *ī* and *ū* respectively. Indeed medial *i* has been used only once in *bhikṣhā* (line 29, the word being elsewhere spelt as *bhikṣhā*) and medial *u* once in *śūrya* (line 33) for Sanskrit *śūrya*. We know that *y*, when it is initial or the component of certain conjuncts, is pronounced as *j* in the East Indian dialects in which *u* is pronounced as *o* and *ā* as *āh*. The inscription uses *y* for *j* in *vāṣṭyā* (line 2) for Sanskrit *vijaya* (cf. *jōtā kāla* for Sanskrit *yut-kāla* in lines 32-33) and represents the original sound of *y* by *ī* as in *asīd* (line 24) for Sanskrit *asīta*. Interesting are the following modifications of Sanskrit words: *śiṅgha* for *śiṅha*, *dāvaka* for *dāvaga*, *pravatāhamāna* for *pravatāhamāna*, *vāyā-rājā* for *vijaya-rājā*, *Kārtika-kṛishṇa* for *Kārtika-kṛishṇa*, *Ravi* for *Ravi*, *Kārtika* for *Kārtika* (or *Kirtirāsa*), *Siddhāra* for *Siddhārtha*, *maṭha* for *maṭha*, *ām* and *āṇa* for *āṇa*, *Taparāja-mahāmuni* for *Taparāja-mahāmuni*, *Laggābhata-āchārya* for *Durgābhata-āchārya*, *Uttara-sūta* for *Uttarāchārya*, *trīpāṭha* for *trīpāṭha*, *śūra* for *śūra*, *kalantara* for *kal-antara*, *Siva* for *Śiva*, *Tapachakravarti* for *Tapachakravartin*, *śhānā-pati* for *śhāna-pati*, *rāsi* for *rāsi*, *Pāṇḍi* for *Pāṇḍya*, etc. The expressions *śikṣā kari* (line 31), *āchārya* (line 31), *tapasāṅka* (line 32) and *chandra* (line 33) are defective, standing respectively for *śikṣā lābha kari*, *āchāryavanta*, *tapasāṅka* (or *tapasāmānaka*) and *chandra*. There are several other errors of this kind in the epigraph. The case-endings added to bases in *a* are: *ā* for both nominative singular (as in *Durgābhata* in line 15, *Āchārya* in line 31) and locative singular or plural (as in *rājā-Sanskrit rājā* in line 2, *dāvā-Sanskrit dāvā* in line 30), *ī* (as in *Chakravartī* in line 25) and *āṇa* or *śhāna* (as in *dāvāṇa* in lines 5-6, *nāṅkaṇa* in line 12, *tapasāṅka* for *tapasāṅka* in line 32, *kāṇa* in line 24) for genitive singular or plural; *āṇa* or *śhāna* for dative singular (as in *kāṇa* in line 24, *āchāryāṇa* in line 10); *āṇa* (for *ī* in modern Oriya) for locative singular or plural (as in *kāṇa-kāṇa*); *śhāna-takā* for ablative (as in *nāṅkaṇa tāṇa* in line 12). Among verbal derivatives, the following forms of the gerund occur in the epigraph: *dāi* (i.e. having given) in line 16, *śhāi* (i.e. having heard) and *edāi* (literally 'having spoken' but used in the sense of 'because') in line 22, *hāi* (i.e. having been) in lines 30-31, *kāi* (i.e. having done) in line 31. The following are verbs in the Past Tense: *kālā* (i.e. did or made) in lines 10 and 16, *ghālā* (i.e. took or borrowed) in line 12, *hālā* (i.e. became) in lines 19-20, 22-23, *dālā* for *dālā* (i.e. gave) in line 26. For the verbal forms *dāvā* in line 8 and *kāṇā* in lines 28-29, see *dāvā* in Plate VI B, lines 5 and 11 of the Purī Plates (B) of Narasimha IV.³ The expression *vaṇḍhā kālā* (i.e. gave in mortgage) in line 10, *śhāṇa kālā* (i.e. calculated the sum) in line 16, *mūṇa-kāṇāṇa kāvāṇa* (i.e. on the capital and interest having

¹ See *JBOIS*, Vol. X, pp. 185 ff., Chart XIII.

² Cf. above, Vol. XXI, p. 110; p. 127 and note 1. Originally *j* seems to have been distinguished from *i* by the addition of a diacritical mark; but this diacritically marked form was later employed to indicate *i* while the ordinary form of the letter indicated *j*.

³ Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 302 ff.

been done-calculated) in line 17, *Śiva-prāpti* (i.e. on having obtained Śiva-after death) in lines 18-19, *janita kṛt* (i.e. having been born) in lines 30-31, *āchāra*prata kṛtā kṛpāsāha* (i.e. of the ascetics who have been [devoted] followers of the rules of conduct) in lines 31-32, *jñā kāla-cha(m*)-dra-sujā vata* (i.e. so long as the sun and the moon exist) in lines 32-33, *ata kālāśa vata vata-rāta* (i.e. to exist for this much time) in lines 33-34, etc., are interesting.

The expression *śaśā* (line 16) seems to mean the same thing as Sanskrit *śatru* or *śatrita* (i.e. brought together) while *asū-sarakṣa kṛtā* (line 24) appears to mean 'in respect of a written [document] involving one hundred and eighty [gold coins]'. The word *madāmadā* in the locative in line 31 seems to stand for *math-āmatha* in the sense of 'in various *mathas*', i.e. in any *matha* in the three countries mentioned in the context, viz., Chōḷa-dēśa, Pāṇḍya-dēśa and Kāñchi-dēśa. But Sanskrit *matha* is modified to *matha-ja* in line 5.

The Tamil section of the record exhibits some palaeographical and linguistic features which are apparently due to the inscription being written in Orissa. Grantha characters have often been used in Sanskrit words. The use of medial *i* exhibiting a tendency towards the formation of a loop at its right, which distinguishes it from medial *e*, is clear in *Kṛti* (line 6), *pe* (line 12) and *air* (line 29). The sign for medial *i* in *vasiṭṭ* in line 32 is indicated by projecting the top *mātrā* of the letter *a* almost making a loop of it. This may be compared with the slightly different form of the same *akṣara* in *tanu* in lines 15-16. The letter *ṛ* (ṛ) in the word *māṭa* is written in two different ways. In lines 23 and 27 it is written in the usual Tamil form, while in lines 16 and 17 it is written with a downward curve as in Grantha, the latter form being comparable with *ṛ* in *bhatar* in lines 8 and 21 and in *poṭṭa* in line 27. It is possible that the pronunciation of the word *māṭa* was not clear to the person who drafted the Tamil section of the epigraph. The *repha* is indicated by a vertical stroke even where the Tamil forms of the Sanskrit words are used, e.g., *Kārttikai* in line 3 and *Kṛttikāsatṭi* in line 6, though the corresponding sign in Tamil was not unknown to the engraver (cf. *cārtta* in line 29).

The use of the expressions *rāsi-maitram* (lines 21-22) and *śanda* (line 24) is interesting. *Rāsi-maitram* means the friendship arising from two persons being born under the same *rāsi* or zodiacal sign. This interpretation is made clear in the Oriya part (lines 20-23) of the record. The other expression *śanda* seems to have been used in the sense of 'having written off'. The significance of the expression *madāmadā* (line 31) is not clear, though the context seems to suggest the meaning 'in various monasteries'.

Both the Oriya and Tamil parts of the inscription bear the same date and refer to the same transaction, though with slight differences in the details. The inscription is dated in the 22nd year of Śrī-Viṣṇu-Narāyaṇasimhadēva or Śrī-Viṣṇu-Nārasiṃhadēva and the details of the date are quoted as *Kārttika-ba. 7, Sunday*. The reigning Gaṅga monarch is called Narāyaṇasimha in the Oriya part (lines 1, 27) and Nārasiṃha in the Tamil section (lines 1-2, 30); but in line 5 of the former and lines 10-11 of the latter a king named Narasiṃha is mentioned with the distinguishing epithets *vaḍa* in Oriya and *periya* in Tamil, both meaning 'big'. Apparently the elder Narasiṃha was one of the predecessors of Nārasiṃha or Narasiṃha during whose reign the inscription under study was incised. A Telugu inscription¹ from the Simhachalam temple, dated Śaka 1305, Chaitra-ba. 6, Wednesday, corresponding to the 25th March 1383 A.D., records the gifts of the queens of Gajapati Peda-Narasiṃharāja and Viṣṇu-Bhānu-dēvarāja. The word *peda* or *pedda* means 'big' in Telugu exactly as Oriya *vaḍa* and Tamil *periya*.² The Simhachalam epigraph belongs to the reign of Gaṅga Narasiṃha IV (1378-1402 A.D.) and king Bhānu mentioned in it can be none other than his father Bhānu III (c. 1353-78 A.D.). Peda Narasiṃha seems

¹ XII, Vol. VI, No. 732 (pp. 282-86).

² In medieval Tamil inscriptions of the Chōḷas, a past king is often mentioned as *periya-dēva*. Cf. above, Vol. XXI, p. 180, text lines 7 and 10; Vol. XXIV, p. 139; Vol. XXV, p. 84.

to be his grandfather Narasimha III (c. 1327-53 A.D.) who was apparently distinguished from his reigning grandson bearing his own name by the said distinguishing epithet. There is thus some evidence to show that the Gaṅga king Narasimha III was referred to as the 'big' Narasimha in the records of the time of his grandson Narasimha IV. Although this does not preclude the possibility of an earlier Narasimha being distinguished from one of his predecessors of the same name in a similar way, we are inclined to identify the king, during whose reign the inscription under review was engraved, with **Narasimha IV** as the palaeography of the record seems to support this identification. Moreover the details of the date quoted in the inscription do not appear to suit the reign of Narasimha II or Narasimha III.

Mammohan Chakravarti, in his account of the chronology of the Eastern Gaṅga kings,¹ fixed 1378-79 A.D. as the initial year of Narasimha IV. The details of the date in our record, viz., **Aṅka 22** (i.e. 18th regnal year), **Kārttika (Pūrṇimānta)-ba. 7, Sunday**, would thus correspond regularly to **September 24, 1396 A.D.**

The Oriya part records that an area of 12 *Vāṭis* of land called **Vāghamarā** (situated at Vāghamarā according to the Tamil version) was granted as *Ēkādaśa-Rudra-bhikṣhū* in favour of the Siddhāśvata-maṭha at the illustrious Kṛttivāsa-kṣhōtra (modern Bhubaneswar) for the longevity and fulfilment of the desires of the elder **Narasimhadēva** who was apparently one of the past kings of the country. The significance of the expression *Ēkādaśa-Rudra-bhikṣhū* is clear from the Tamil part which states that the grant was meant for the feeding of Śaiva ascetics for the favour of the eleven Rudras. Some time after the creation of the endowment, Tapōrāja-mahāmuni, the pontiff of the Maṭha, mortgaged the land to Durgābhāṭṭa-āchārya from whom he borrowed 150 [gold] *Māḍhas*. He also borrowed ten [gold] *Māḍhas* and 30 *Pauṣis* of paddy from Uttarāśvata-nāyaka. *Pauṣi* is a measure of capacity prevalent in Orissa, which is equal to ten maunds. The word is probably derived from Sanskrit *pravṛti* or *pravṛtikā* which was equal to five *khāris* according to Śaṛvānanda's *Tikāśaśāstra* on the *Amarakośa*, II, 9, 89. The same measure is possibly mentioned in certain inscriptions from Bengal and Orissa.²

Durgābhāṭṭa-āchārya paid up Tapōrāja-mahāmuni's debt to Uttarāśvata-nāyaka and calculated the total amount including interest, payable to him by Tapōrāja-mahāmuni, to be altogether 180 [gold] *Māḍhas*. This no doubt included 150 *Māḍhas* lent by himself and 30 [gold] *Māḍhas* paid by him to Uttarāśvata-nāyaka as well as the interest accruing to these amounts and the price of the paddy with interest. Meanwhile Tapōrāja-mahāmuni passed away and he was succeeded in the pontificate by Tapaschakravartin. Since Durgābhāṭṭa-āchārya and Tapaschakravartin were born under the same *rāśi* or zodiacal sign, the former became a friend of the latter. Hence Durgābhāṭṭa-āchārya wrote off the debt of 180 [gold] *Māḍhas*, due to him from the head of the monastery, for the continuance of the *Ēkādaśa-Rudra-bhikṣhū* for the longevity and the fulfilment of the desires of the reigning monarch **Vira-Naranārasimhadēva**.

The Tamil version of these transactions while giving some additional information also differs in some details. The purpose of the original grant is stated to have been the feeding of the *Mahāśravas* (i.e. devotees of Mahāśvara or Śiva) for the propitiation of the eleven Rudras. The amount borrowed by Tapōrāja-muniḡa is stated to be 148 *Māḍhas* only as against 150 *Māḍhas* mentioned in the Oriya part. The reason of this discrepancy seems to be that 2 out of the 150 *Māḍhas* were paid to the writer and engraver of the document concerned. Thus while the creditor's version of the transaction in the Oriya part refers to the gross amount, the debtor's version puts the net amount he received after deducting the amount paid to the writer and the engraver. After the

¹ *JASS*, Vol. XXII, 1903, pp. 87 ff.

² See *pramāṇa-śloka* in the sense of a land measure, several of which made a *śulga-śloka*, in the Faridpur plate of Dharmāditya (*Solel Inscriptions*, p. 358) and *pramāṇa* in the Alagum inscription of the time of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga (above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 45, 46). The word *pramāṇa* also occurs in the Govindpur inscription (*A. R. Ep.*, 1968-69, No. B 357).

death of Tapatāja-mūmūṣa]. Tapachchakravartiga] became the head of the *Mutha*. The next stage of the transaction as mentioned in the Tamil section is the writing off of 148 *Mūḍais* by Durgābhāṭṭar since he was a *rāṣṭramitra* of Tapachchakravartiga]. Durgābhāṭṭar also undertook to repay the 10 *Mūḍais* and 30 *Pollis* of paddy which had been additionally borrowed (by Tapatāja-mahāmuni according to the Oriya version) from Uttarāśvara-nāyaka who was Durgābhāṭṭar's father-in-law (or maternal uncle).

In the final portion of the Tamil section, the land is stated to have been re-dedicated for the purpose of the training of the ascetics, who hailed from the three *Maṇḍalas* (i.e. the Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Kāñchi *dēśas* according to the Oriya section) and were trained in the conventional code of conduct in the various *Muthas* (apparently of the three *Maṇḍalas*), no doubt in the Śaṅkṣāvara-maṭha at Bhubaneswar for the long life, health and prosperity of **Vira-Nārasimhadēva**. The Oriya part records the re-dedication of the land for the continuance of the *Āśāśāla-Śāstra-bhāṣaka* which was meant for the ascetics who were born in the three countries, viz., **Chōḷa-dēśa**, **Pāṇḍya-dēśa** and **Kāñchi-dēśa**, and became devout followers of *āchāra* as a result of their initiation in the various *Muthas*. The word *āchāra* has been used in the Tamil part in connection with *saṃpradāyas*, no doubt referring to the conventions of a particular Śaiva school that flourished in the Tamil country. The reference to the three *Maṇḍalas* in the Tamil section is clearly explained in the Oriya part. It is interesting to note that the third of the three divisions of the Tamil country is mentioned as Kāñchi-dēśa, i.e. Tondaimaṇḍalam, which ceased to be a political unit after the fall of the Pallavas about the beginning of the tenth century but continued as a geographical and social unit. The Śaṅkṣāvara-maṭha at Kṛitavāsa-kṣhētra (i.e. Bhubaneswar) apparently owed its origin to a religious school hailing from the Tamil country, though we have no means at present of tracing its history. It may be noted that the names of the pontiffs of the monastery, viz., Tapatāja-mahāmuni and Tapachchakravartin, were only titles. They were no doubt Tamilians in origin. Durgābhāṭṭa-śāhaya and Uttarāśvara-nāyaka appear to have been residents of Bhubaneswar and were apparently Oriyas.

The location of some of the geographical names mentioned in the records has already been indicated above. The village called Vāghamārā or Vāghamārā, where the gift land was situated, may be identified with the modern village of Bāghmārī which lies about 24 miles due west of Bhubaneswar.¹

TEXT²

Oriya Part³

- 1 Siddham⁴ {["] Svasta(śā) } śrī-**Vira-Nāraṇāraṣiṅgha-dēva-**
- 2 śa⁵ pravratthamānō vā(vi)ṣṭa-rāṣi⁶ sa-
- 3 mvata⁷ 22 śrāhi⁸ Kātrika-kṛd[shua]⁹ 7 Ravī¹⁰-vā-

¹ India and Adjacent Countries Survey, Sheet No. 72.

² From inscription.

³ The letters g, v and śa had been to be pronounced as ḡ, k and śa respectively.

⁴ Expressed by symbol.

⁵ Sanskrit *śrīvratthamān*.

⁶ Sanskrit *pravratthamān* *vijayavijay*.

⁷ Sanskrit *mvata* for *manvata*. The letter *śa* had been at first omitted and was later inserted in a smaller form.

⁸ The letter *śi* is written in a cursive form. The word is derived from Sanskrit *śaṁḍi* through Prakrit *śamḍi*.

⁹ Sanskrit *Kātrika-kṛd*.

¹⁰ Sanskrit *Ravī*.

- 4 re []¹ Sri-Kitti²vāsa-khētram³ Sādhā-
 5 svare-māḍham⁴ Vāḍa-Narasīnghaḍḍeva-
 6 ākara⁵ āśa-kām-ārtha⁶ pūrvavakē⁷
 7 Vāghamarā vāra⁸-vāṭi-bhūmi śikāda-
 8 āa-Rudra-bhīkṣhā⁹ dāvā []¹⁰ bhūmi samam-
 9 dhā¹¹ Taparāja-māhāmuni¹² Dūggā-
 10 bhāṭa-āchāyānka¹³ varidhā kalā []¹⁴ 2
 11 māḍha sata dōḍha 150 []¹⁵ Utrēsva-
 12 ra-nāśakaṅkara¹⁶ tāhū ghētalā []¹⁷
 13 ā māḍha dāsa¹⁸ dhānya-pai(pau)ṭi triḥ-
 14 sēka¹⁹ []²⁰ Taparāja-māli(hā)mūni²¹ ā dh-
 15 ā dhānya sūnā Dūggābhāṭa²² Utrēsva-
 16 ra-nāśakaṅkara²³ dōi sūka kalā []²⁴ ākaṭṭi ā
 17 dhāra sūnā²⁵ māḍha-kāṇṭara²⁶ karantē māḍha.
 18 ātēka²⁷ sāt²⁸ 180 []²⁹ Taparāja-mūni Si-
 19 va³⁰-prāphtē Tapachakravati³¹ sthānā-pati³² hō-
 20 ilā []³³ ā Tapachakravatiākara Dūggābhāṭa-ā-
 21 chāyānka rāsi³⁴ []³⁵ Dūggābhāṭa-āchā[]³⁶ yē
 22 sūni āka-rāsi vōḷi maitre pakṣha hō-
 23 ilā []³⁷ ā Vāghamarā bhūmi vāra-vāṭi pha-

¹ Sanskrit *Kṛitti*, although in Orissa the name was often written as *Kṛiti*.

² Sanskrit *śādhāra*, though the intended word is *śādhā*.

³ Sanskrit *Siddhānta-māhātmya*, the intended expression being **māhātmya*.

⁴ Sanskrit *Brāhma-Narasīnghaḍḍeya*.

⁵ Sanskrit *āśa-kām-ārtham*.

⁶ Traces after this show that the engraver had begun to inscribe a letter here but gave it up.

⁷ Sanskrit *pūrvavakē*.

⁸ Sanskrit *bhīkṣhā*.

⁹ Sanskrit *samamūḥ*.

¹⁰ Sanskrit *Taparāja-māhāmuni*.

¹¹ Sanskrit *Durgābhāṭa-āchāyānka*.

¹² Sanskrit *Uttarāyana-āchāyānka* but **nāśakaṅkara tāhū* stands for Sanskrit *Yadyakā*.

¹³ Sanskrit *dāvā*.

¹⁴ Sanskrit *trimaṇḍala*.

¹⁵ The addition of a word like *grāha* here would have made the sense clear.

¹⁶ Sanskrit *Durgābhāṭa*.

¹⁷ Sanskrit *Uttarāyana-āchāyānka*.

¹⁸ Sanskrit *dhānya-sūnā*.

¹⁹ Sanskrit *dhānya-sūnā*.

²⁰ Sanskrit *dhānya-sūnā*.

²¹ Sanskrit *dhānya-sūnā*.

²² Sanskrit *dhānya-sūnā*.

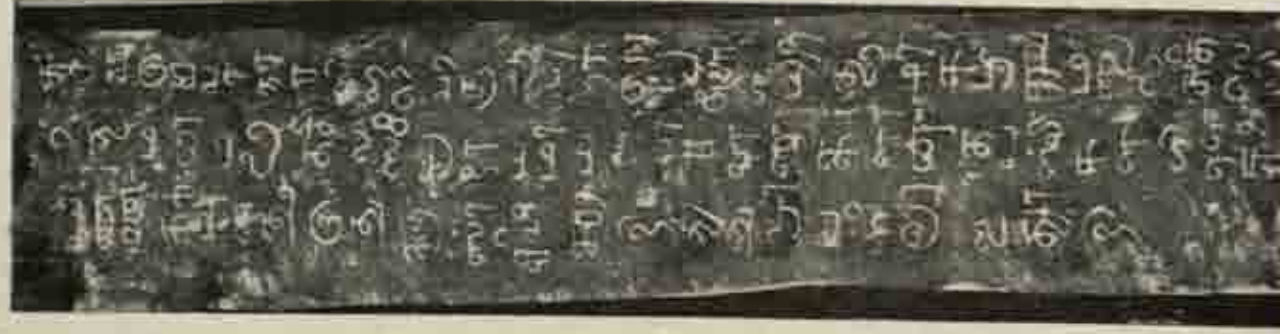
²³ Sanskrit *dhānya-sūnā*.

²⁴ Sanskrit *dhānya-sūnā*.

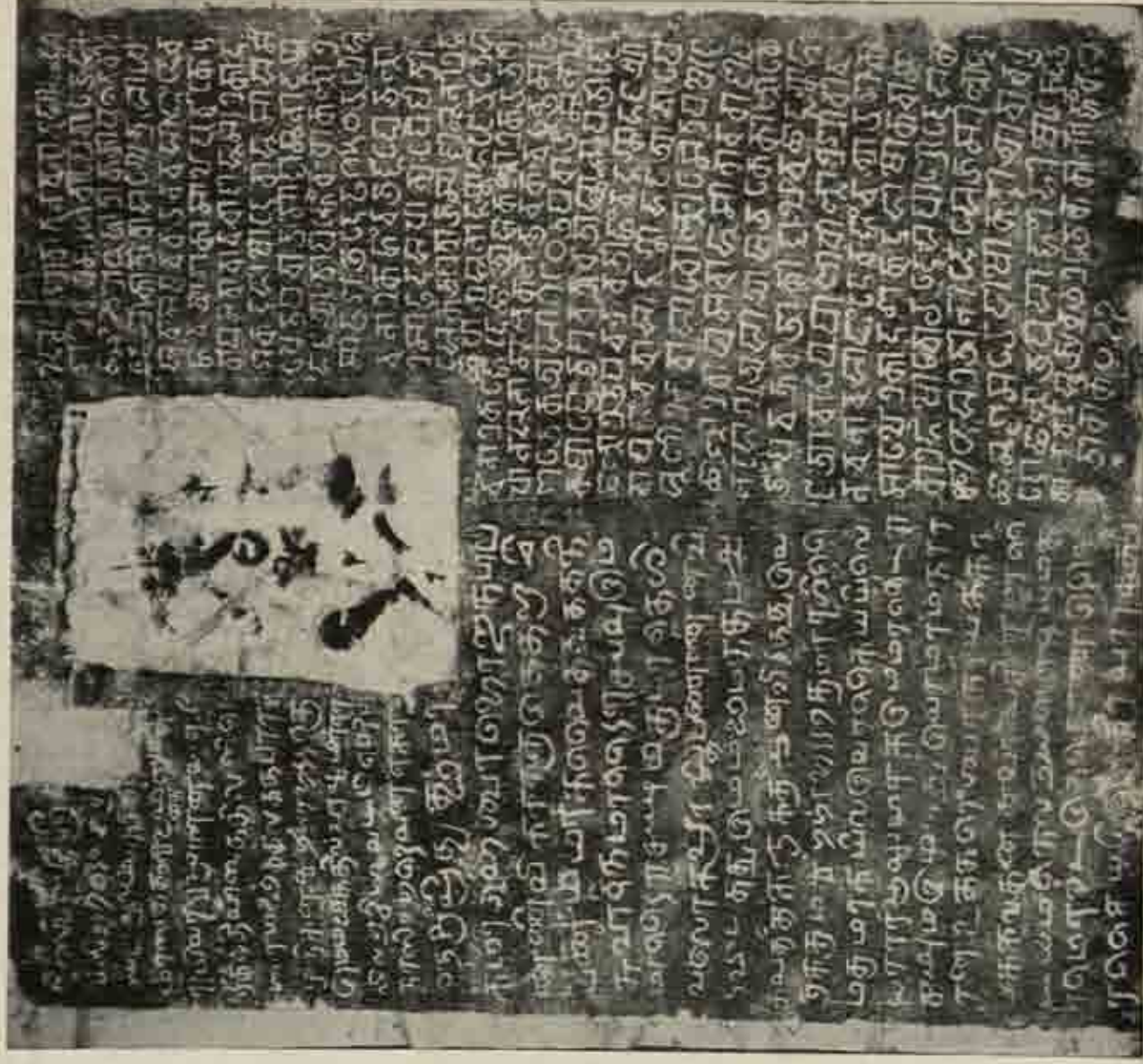
²⁵ Sanskrit *dhānya-sūnā*. The addition of a word like *dhānya-sūnā* would have made the sense clear.

BHUBANESWAR INSCRIPTION OF GANGANARASIMHA

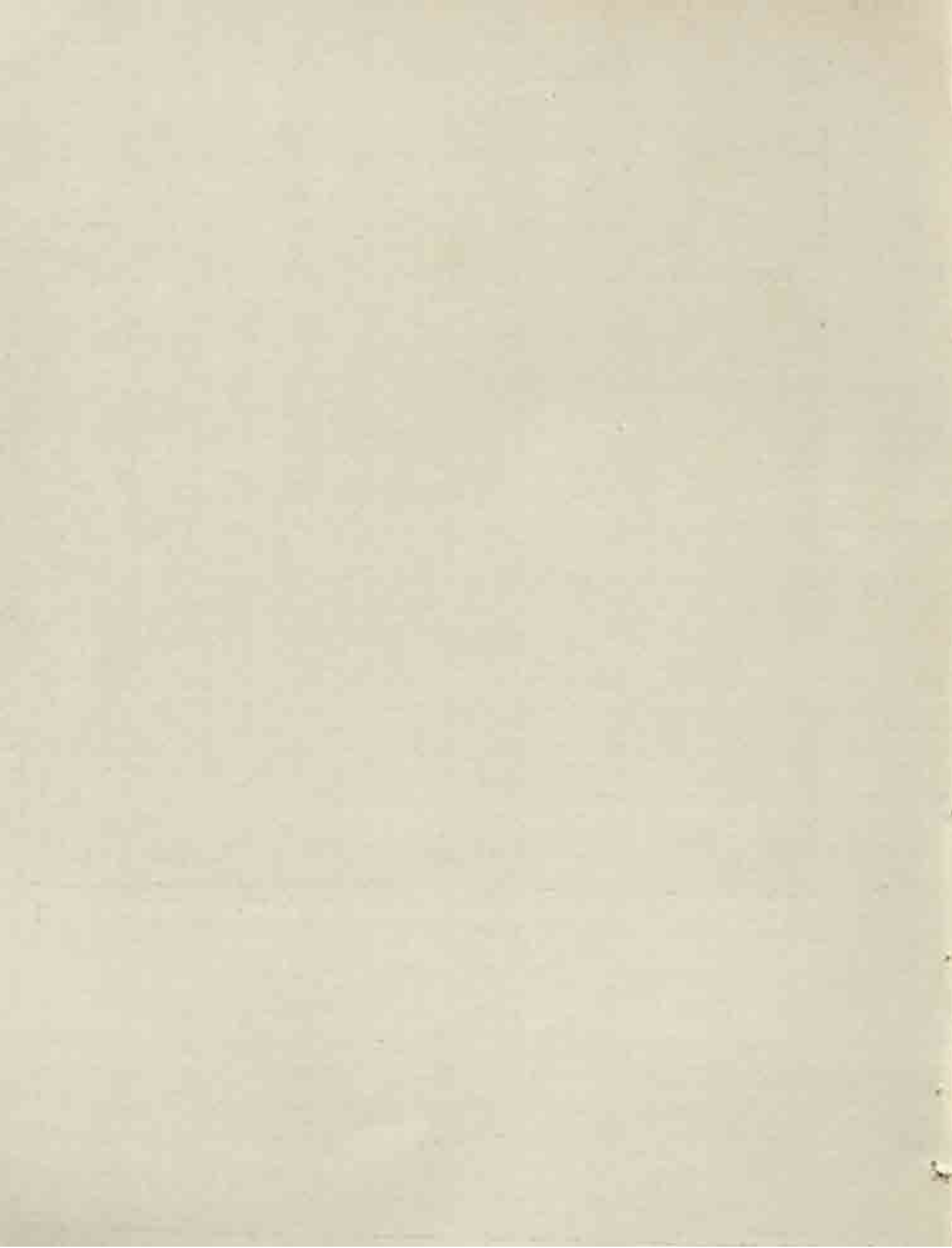
Left



Front



Scale: One-fourth



- 21 ja-bhōgya asā-sata¹⁰ kīlākai
 22 Tapachakravatīkī hāthara¹¹ Dūggābha-
 23 ja-āchāyē pāṇi dhilā ||*|| 3 kṛi-Vira-
 24 Naranārasā^(si) nṅhadēvaṅkara āsa-kā-
 25 m-ārthā śkādaśa-Rudra-bhīkshā karāi-
 26 va ||*|| 3 bhīkshā Chōḍa-dēsa¹² Pāṇḍi¹³-dēsa Kā-
 27 āchī-dēsa 3 tīnī dēsa¹⁴ jamilā hō
 28 i Maḍamaḍ¹⁵ dīkshā¹⁶ kari āchā^(ra*) vanta
 29 hōlā tapasāṅkā¹⁷ ||*|| bhīkshā jētē
 30 kāla chadra-sujya¹⁸ vrata¹⁹ ēśōka kālāṅka²⁰ vasa²¹
 31 vrativāka²² tsa 22²³

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-4) May there be success ! In the increasingly victorious reign of the illustrious Vira-Naranārasimhadēva—Year 22, Kārttika-kṛishṇa 7, Sunday.

(Lines 4-18) Formerly (an area of) 12 *Vāṭis* of land (at) Vāghamarā was granted as *Śkādaśa-Rudra-bhīkshā* in favour of the Siddhēśvara-maṭha at the illustrious Kṛittivāsa-kahōtra (i.e. Bhubaneswar) for the longevity and (fulfilment of) the desires of the elder Naranāsimhadēva. As to (this) land, (it) was mortgaged by Tapōrāja-mahāmuni to Durgābhāṭṭa-āchārya. The (amount borrowed) was one hundred and fifty (gold) *Māḍhas*—150. (He also) borrowed from Uttarēśvara-nāyaka. (In) this (case), ten (gold) *Māḍhas* and thirty *Pauṭis* of paddy. Having deposited them two (items, viz.,) paddy (and) gold (that had been borrowed by) Tapōrāja-mahāmuni, to Uttarēśvara-nāyaka, Durgābhāṭṭa-āchārya calculated the sum (payable to him by Tapōrāja-mahāmuni). On the paddy and gold being considered together (and) the capital and interest being calculated, (the whole amount was found to be) one hundred and eighty (gold) *Māḍhas*—180.

¹⁰ Sanskrit *asāyadhika-satāśa*.

¹¹ Sanskrit *Tapachakravartinīka-karāi*.

¹² Sanskrit *dīkṣa*.

¹³ Sanskrit *Pāṇḍya*.

¹⁴ Sanskrit *śāśāna-cakra-dāśāśa*.

¹⁵ The expression *dīkshā-dīkshā* would suit the context better.

¹⁶ The intended word is *āpāsāśa* or *āpāsāśāśa*—Sanskrit *āpāsāśa*.

¹⁷ Sanskrit *chandra-sujya*.

¹⁸ Sanskrit *vratā*.

¹⁹ Traces between *is* and *śa* show that the engraver had begun to inscribe a letter which was later given up.

²⁰ Sanskrit *vāṭa*. The word *perpala* would have been more suitable to the context.

²¹ Sanskrit *varishāśa-sarvashāśa*.

²² The last three signs indicate the end of the writing, the second and third probably standing for a double *daṇḍa*. For the first, cf. above, Vol. XXX, p. 218 and note 2.

(Lines 18-26) When Tapōrāja-muni obtained Śiva (i.e. died), Tapaschakravartin became the *sthāna-pati* (i.e. head of the *Maṭha*). This Tapaschakravartin's *rāśi* (i.e. the constellation under which he was born) was the same as that of Durgābhṭṭa-āchārya. Having learnt (this), Durgābhṭṭa-āchārya became a friendly party (to Tapaschakravartin) because (both of them) belonged to the same *rāśi*. Durgābhṭṭa-āchārya poured water in the hands of (i.e. made a ceremonial offering in favour of) Tapaschakravartin in respect of the written (document) involving one hundred and eighty (gold coins and) entitling (him) to enjoy the said twelve *Vāṭis* of land (at) **Vāghamarā**.

(Lines 26-34) (He declared that) the said (land) he made *Ēkādaśa-Rudra-bhikṣhā* for the longevity and (fulfilment of) the desires of the illustrious **Vīra-Naranārasimhadēva**. This *Bhikṣhā* is meant for the ascetics who are born in the three countries, viz., **Chōḍa-dēśa**, **Pāṇḍya-dēśa** and **Kāśchī-dēśa**, and who have obtained initiation in the various *Maṭhas* (of those countries) and become (strict) followers of the *āchāras* (prescribed for the *Māhēśvaras*). (This) *Bhikṣhā* is to last for so long a time as the sun and moon will exist.¹

Tamil Part

- 1 Svaati Śri [||] (**Vīra-Nā**)²-
- 2 rasimhadēvaṅku [yāṇḍu]³
- 3 22 āvaṇu Kārttigai⁴
- 4 māsaṭtu kṛishṇa-saptami
- 5 Ravi-vāram-um āṇav-aṅṅo
- 6 Śri-Kṛitivāsattil⁵ Siddhē-
- 7 āvara maḍattil Tta(Ta)parāja-
- 8 muniga| Durgā-bhaṭṭarṅku
- 9 m-maḍattil **Vārga(gha)mārā-**
- 10 vi| bhūmi 12 vaṭṭi **Periya-**
- 11 **Narasimhadēvaṅ** **Ēkāda-**
- 12 śa-Rudra-prītyartham-ā-
- 13 ga māhēśvara-bhōjana[m] pa-
- 14 ṇpi(ṇu)vikka-kkuḍutta bhūmi
- 15 paṇayam-āga vaiṭtu-ttani

¹ For the signs after this, see p. 233, note 13.

² A layer of the stone here has peeled off. The letters have been restored from the photograph of the inscription published in *JPAIB*, Vol. XX, Plate facing p. 41.

³ The word is written in Tamil characters; but the *vēṇa* is of the Grantha type as in some other cases below.

⁴ Read *Kṛititēṇa*.

16 *śu vāṅg(ṅg)ina māḍhai* 148 im-

17 māḍai 148 m kuḍādō śi-

18 vāḍka-prāpti paṇṇiṇa v-i

19 *ja¹* viḍattu im-maḍam Tis(Ta)pachcha-

20 kravatti(ṛtti)gaḷukku āṇa = viḍattu iya-

21 riḷkku Durgā-bhaṭṭarṅkku rāṣi-

22 maitram² āga(gai)ṭṭi iyaṛ kaiyyi(yi)lē

23 dhārā-pūrvam āga im-māḍai 1-

24 48 m iḷandu iyaṛ māmanār-

25 āṇa Uttarēṁ(rē)śvara-nāyakkar

26 pakkaḷ taṇṇa(ni)ṇ vāṅṅiṇa-mā-

27 *ḍai* 10 m nel 30 pottiyum t-

28 āmē ṛṣattu-kkoṇḍu iya-

29 r kaiyyi(yi)lē nīr-vārttu-

30 *[k³]*kuḍattu⁴ iv-**Va(Vi)ra-Nārasimhadēvaṅku** āyurā(r-ā)ṛḡya-yō(ai)śvarya-ā[r]-
ttham-āga mūṇṇu maḍalattilē pi-

31 paṇḍu maḍāmaḍattil sampadāyam-āy āchāravāṅga-āṇa tapasvigaḷ śikṣhai

32 paṇṇakkaḍavadu⁵ *[i⁶]* iḍukku sākṣi Āditya-chandrā-vanilā riyādi⁷ *[i⁸]*

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-5) Hail ! Prosperity ! In the 22nd (regnal) year of Vira-Nārasimhadēva, on Sunday, the seventh of the dark fortnight of the month of Kārttikā.

(Lines 6-19) Taparājamuniḡ of the Siddhēśvara-maḍa at the illustrious Kirttivāsa (i.e. Kṛttivāsa or Kṛttivāsa-kṣhētra) after having mortgaged land to Durgā-bhaṭṭar—the land (consisting) of 12 *Vaṭṭis* at **Vāghamārā**, given for feeding the *Māhēśvaras* in this monastery for the propitiation of the eleven Rudras by the elder Nārasimhadēva—and taken a loan of 148 *Māḍhais*, obtained *Śira-lōka* (i.e. died) without repaying these 148 *Māḍhais*.

(Lines 19-29) This *Maḍa* having (then) come (under the control of) Tapachchakravarttiḡ and this (Tapachchakravarttiḡ) and Durgā-bhaṭṭar being friends owing to their birth under the same

¹ The *śu* and the letter *śu* appear to have been engraved one upon the other. The *śu* above *śu* is to be ignored.

² The expression *śiḍa* is redundant.

³ The sign for *ai* is engraved at the end of the previous line.

⁴ This and the next two lines are engraved vertically. The letters have to be read from top to bottom and the lines from right to left.

⁵ The construction of the sentence is here imperfect, though its import is clear.

⁶ This expression seems to suggest that the author wanted the usual imprecatory passage at the end of such records to be understood here. Cf. the imprecatory stanza *Āditya-chandrā-vanilā-śikṣa*, etc., in *Ky. Cor.*, Vol. I (revised ed.), pp. 33 ff.

rāsi, this (*latter*) gave back 148 *Māḍais* in the hands of this (*former*) with the libation of water (i.e. relieved the *former* from the debt) and himself paid off 10 *Māḍais* and 30 *Peṇṇis* of paddy that had been (*additionally*) borrowed from his (i.e. Durgābhṭṭar's) father-in-law (or, maternal uncle) Uttarēśvara-nāyaka, and gave (*the land*) in his (i.e. Tapachchakravattiga's) hands with libation of water.

(Lines 30-32) Let the ascetics who have become well-disciplined in the convention (*of the Mā-hēśvaras*) in various *Māḍas* and have been born in the three *Māḍalas* be trained (*here*) for the long life, health and prosperity of this **Vīra-Nārasimhadēva**. Let the Sun, the Moon, the Wind, etc. bear witness to this (*transaction*).

No. 30—VILASA GRANT OF PROLAYA-NAYAKA

(I Plate)

N. VENKATARAMANAYYA AND M. SOMASEKHARA SARMA, MADRAS

This grant was originally discovered long ago, nearly a century back, in the village of Kandasida, near Pithapuram in the East Godavari District, by Sri Hundi Venkata Rao Pantulu Garu. He and his partner in business, a Vaidya whose name is said to have been forgotten, heard a metallic sound one morning while digging the earth for a brick-kiln of joint enterprise, when they further dug deep having been curious to know the cause of that sound. Then they found fourteen copper plates attached to a ring. Since it was a joint enterprise Sri Venkata Rao and his Vaidya partner both divided this new property equally between themselves, and got seven plates each. The ring also went to the share of the Vaidya partner who had copper vessels made out of the plates and the ring. The plates which went to the share of Sri Venkata Rao were preserved in his family with superstitious care as a unique treasure. Two generations after, their existence was revealed to Sri Salmayya Satyakamaya Rao Pantulu Garu, a public worker and scholar of repute, who was connected with that family by marital ties, and who, being educated in English, knew the value of copper-plate grants in general to history. Much interested in history, he made the discovery public, and was curious to know the contents of the plates. Some two decades back, when Sri M. Somasekhara Sarma, one of the editors of the grant under study, had gone to Visakhapatnam, Sri Hundi Venkata Rao Pantulu, the owner of the plates and the great grandson of their original discoverer, was good enough to place them in the hands of Sri Sarma for decipherment and publication.¹ Sri Somasekhara Sarma takes this opportunity to convey his grateful thanks to all those concerned for placing this record in his hands. The inscription is very valuable specially for the history of the Andhras, and throws a flood of light on the political conditions of the Andhra country subsequent to the fall of Warangal in 1323 A. D. The plates are now preserved in the Government Museum, Madras. It is fortunate that the seven plates that went to the share of Sri Venkata Rao Pantulu Garu, record a grant complete in itself, as the other seven plates probably do another one, and that these plates of one grant had not got mixed up with those of the other.

When these plates were with Sri Somasekhara Sarma they were sent to the Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy for being reviewed in his Annual Report. This set is marked as No. 6 of Appendix A in the Report for 1938-39 and finds a comprehensive notice in Part II. The inscription on the plates is now edited with the help of a set of excellent inked impressions, kindly placed at the disposal of the editors by Sri N. Lakshminarayana Rao, retired Government Epigraphist for India.

The following is an extract from the description of the plates given in the Annual Report:—

"This is a set of seven thick copper-plates the first and last of which are slightly bigger than the others measuring about 10½" long by 4½" broad, while the others (plates 2 to 5) measure about 9½" by 4½". Their writing, which is engraved on the inner side of the 1st plate and on both sides of the other six, is well preserved and protected by broad and raised rims covering their

¹ The following friends, the late lamented patriot and scholar, Sri Maripalli Ramachandra Kavi Garu, President of the Kavitha Samiti, Visakhapatnam, Sri Gobburu Venkataswami Bhatta Rao Pantulu Garu, whose researches in Hindu astronomical lore are very widely known throughout the Andhra country and the young poet and enthusiast, Sri Puripanda Appalarao Garu, Secretary of the above mentioned Samiti, all of whom were interested in having this charter published, deserve mention in this connection. See *Bharata*, Vol. XIX, pp. 307 ff.

edges on three sides, while the right margin is left plain. This rim is about $\frac{3}{16}$ " broad and is also as much in thickness. The plates are numbered in serial order on their inner sides in the breadth of this rim. They have ring holes about 1" in diameter near their left margin but the ring which must have passed through them and held them together is now missing. The plates weigh 510 *tolas*. In the right margin of the 2nd and 4th plates there is a slight knob-like projection, the purpose of which is not clear."

The inscription on the plates is neatly executed and is in a good state of preservation. The letters, almost all of which attained their modern forms by the date of this record, are deeply inscribed and are very beautiful. Very rarely do we come across such specimens of handsome Telugu writing in the grants issued in the early post-Kakatiya period. The script is Telugu which was current in the first half of the fourteenth century A. D. in the Andhra country and is akin to that found in the Dārapūṇḍi grant of Nāmapa-nāyaka.¹

No distinction is made between the vowels short and long *e* (ll. 118, 125 and 126), the letters *bē* and *bhā*, *d* and *dā*, and the secondary forms of the vowels *e* and *ē* and *o* and *ō*. The sign for the aspirate, seen in the grant in a few cases in *dha*, *pha* and *bha*, resembles a small inverted crescent attached below the right arm of the letter. It definitely came into use by the first quarter of the thirteenth century. It can clearly be seen in *ratas-garbhāgāḥ* (l. 8), "*śāśā vibhāsai*" and *vibhakti* (l. 11), "*lāḥā*" (l. 33), "*phalāḥ*" (l. 90), "*ponḍā*" (l. 117), etc. This however, is not always used uniformly. The remaining aspirated letters have quite distinct forms to differentiate them from their unaspirated counterparts. Superscript *r*, resembling the modern *aragraha* in a diagonal position, is attached at the right top of the letter. The final forms of *i* and *u* occur frequently, as in ll. 30, 31 and 33. In almost all cases the *auvāḥa* has taken the place of final *m*. The only letters in the record that differ from those of the present day are *ḥ*, *ḍ*, *ḍh*, *ṭ* and *ṭh*. The only difference between *ḥ* and *ḍ* lies in the top stroke. The letter *ḍ* exactly resembles *ḍ* of the present day, but without the loop inside in the right arm and *ḍh* resembles the present day *ḍ*. *N* can easily be identified even though it differs slightly from its present form. Among orthographical peculiarities, a superfluous *auvāḥa* is sometimes inserted before double *n*, or before *n* followed by a consonant as in "*crovāḥa*" (l. 61), "*Pṛṇṇa āhāpāḥa*" (l. 152), "*lāḥāḥa*" (l. 151, 155). *dāḥa* is written instead of *dāḥa* if the letter *dh* is doubled after *r* (ll. 70, 140, 141, and 141); the consonants, *g*, *ch*, *j*, *ṣ*, *ṭ* and *ḍ* sometimes and *y* invariably are doubled after *r*; the palatal *ṣ* is often used in the names of the donors for the dental *ṣ* as in *Siddhaya* (l. 110), *Siddhaya* (l. 117) and so on.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit with the exception of the passage in Telugu describing the boundaries of the village granted. The language, excepting the passage describing the boundaries, is chaste and is entirely in verse. This is a beautiful inscriptional *śloka* in Sanskrit, replete with *alankāras*, the like of which is rarely seen in the grants of the medieval period. Unfortunately the name of the composer is not given. Another noteworthy feature of this grant is the absence in it of the usual imprecatory verses that are generally found at the close of the inscriptions. The inscription ends with the signature of the donor which reads as *Prōḥa-nāḥa* (the signature of *Prōḥa-nāḥa*).

The passage describing the boundaries is shabbily inscribed, quite in contrast with the preceding Sanskrit part. The Telugu forms *kālī* and *kālwa* are both used to denote a canal; of these the former form has gone out of use now. *Kroḥṇa-pāḥa* (l. 147) means a canal that was dug. This is a compound of *kroḥṇa* and *pāḥa*, of which the former is a verbal adjective. *Kroḥṇa* is the root. It means 'to make a low depression, to dig with an iron cross-bar or other instru-

¹ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 226 ff.

ment'. This expression is also used in inscriptions in the sense of inscribing. *Kara* (l. 149, 154, 156) means an earthen bank. The term *śāśibhā* (l. 147) meaning a little, is obviously the older form of *śāśikā*. The expression *acura-bāḍe* (l. 151) is really made up of two words *acura* and *pāḍe*. The latter means 'a swamp or marsh'. *Acura-bāḍe* is a compound of *acura*, (a kind of grass) and *pāḍe*. In the passage *māṇḍ-ūḷa-muttala-Māṇḍāpe-puṣṭa* (l. 157) *muttala* is a compound of *māḍa* and *tala*; *māṇḍ-ūḷa-muttala* means at the junction of the three villages. *Māṇḍāpe-puṣṭa* is the narrow way (*puṣṭa*) belonging to the village of *Māṇḍāpe*, the present Māgam, a boundary village.

The inscription begins with the invocation of the god Viṣṇu and his *Varāha* incarnation (ll. 1-4). This is followed by an account of the creation. It is stated that at first the whole world was submerged under waters; that on perceiving this, the god Nārāyaṇa, assuming the form of *Brahmā*, created all the worlds, in the midst of which was the earth adorned by the Golden Mountain and surrounded by the islands and the seas; that in the centre of the earth and encircled by the salt seas was the *Jambūdvīpa* divided into nine *bhāgas* or continents, of which that extending from the Himalayas to the Southern Ocean was known as *Bhārata-varāha* comprising many countries, where different languages and customs prevailed, and that one of them named *Tilīṅga*, through which flowed many holy rivers, contained several rich towns and cities, beautiful mountains, impenetrable forests, deep tanks, and unassailable fortresses (ll. 4-15).

Several kings of both the Solar and Lunar families held sway over this country extending from the sea, without swerving from the path of righteousness. During the Kali Age, the kings of the *Rākāṣi* family ruled over *Tilīṅga* from their capital *Ekavālā*, like the *Maheśvāṇas* from *Āyādhya*. When several rulers of the dynasty passed away, *Pratāparudra*, a monarch famous for his prowess ascended the throne and ruled the country with truth and justice so that such famous monarchs of yore as *Yayāti*, *Nābhāga* and *Himgirātma* were completely forgotten. While king *Pratāparudra* was ruling the kingdom in this manner, bitter hostility arose between him and *Akasmada* *Suraśrīpa*, the lord of the *Turushkas*. The *Suraśrīpa*, who was the *Yama* (Death) to the kings, stamped out the remnants of the royal families left undestroyed by *Jāmalagaya* (*Parasūrama*). Although *Pratāparudra* vanquished that *Suraśrīpa* who had an army of 900,000 horses seven times, he had to submit to that *Turushka* at last, despite his military strength, and univalled skill in diplomacy, owing to the decrease of the good fortunes of the people of the earth. While being carried away as a prisoner by the *Turushka* monarch to his capital *Delhi*, *Pratāparudra* departed, by the decree of the Providence, to the world of the gods on the banks of the river *Samudbhavā*, i.e. *Narmadā* (ll. 15-28). When the sun, viz. *Pratāparudra*, set, the world was enveloped in the *Turushka* darkness. The evil (*adharma*), which he had up to that time kept under check, flourished under them, as the conditions were very favourable for its growth. The cruel wretches subjected the rich to torture for the sake of their wealth. Many of their victims died of terror at the very sight of their vicious countenances; the *Brahmanas* were compelled to abandon their religious practices; the images of the gods were overturned and broken; the *agrahāras* of the learned were confiscated; the cultivators were despoiled of the fruits of their labour, and their families were impoverished and ruined. None dared to lay claim to anything, whether it was a piece of property or one's own wife. To those despicable wretches wine was the ordinary drink, beef the staple food, and the slaying of the *Brahmanas* the favourite pastime. The land of *Tilīṅga*, left without a protector, suffered destruction from the *Yavanas* like a forest subjected to devastating wild fire (ll. 28-39). Then was born, as if an *āśva* of the god *Viṣṇu*, who took pity on the sufferings of the people, had descended from heaven, king *Prōla* of the *Magmāri* family of the fourth caste, who assumed the sovereignty of the earth. He destroyed the power of the *Yavanas*, who abandoned their forts and fled to unknown places unable to resist his might. The very people who suffered at the hands of the *Yavanas* sought protection under him, and turned against them

and put them to death. Having overcome the Yavanas in this fashion, he restored to Brāhmanas their ancient *agrahāras* confiscated by them, and revived the performance of the sacrifices, the smoke issuing from the firepits of which spreading over the countryside cleaned it of the pollution caused by the movements of those evil-doers. The agriculturists surrendered willingly a sixth of the produce of the soil to the king; and he set his hand to the task of repairing the damages caused by the Pārasikas. King Prōla established himself at Rākapalli on the Gōdāvarī at the foot of the Mālyavanta mountain; and having entrusted the administration to his younger brothers such as Kāpaya-nāyaka, he devoted himself to the performance of charitable and meritorious deeds. He granted many *agrahāras* and large sums of money to deserving scholars (II. 33-78). In the *gōtra* of the famous sage Bhāradvāja was born a Brāhmana scholar of the name of Annaya, son of Vennaya, and grandson of Annaya, devoted to the study of the *Ṛgveda*. He had two sons, Vennaya and Gaṇapaya, who were distinguished by their learning, lofty character, wealth and liberality. Considering that of the two brothers, the former was worthy of honour, Prōlaya-nāyaka requested him to accept the gift of an *agrahāra*. Vennaya who was accustomed to make gifts rather than take them, complied with the king's request somewhat reluctantly (II. 78-88). King Prōlaya granted to Vennaya on the occasion of a lunar eclipse the fertile village of Vilasa in Kōna-maṇḍala which lay on the bank of the Gōdāvarī as an *agrahāra*. Having divided it into one hundred and eight shares, Vennaya changed its name into Prōlavaram after king Prōlaya-nāyaka and gave it in turn to several learned Brāhmanas of good lineage and excellent character, proficient in the *śāstras* and the *śāstra*, with all the rights of possession, enjoyment, etc. (II. 88-105). There were in all 82 donces including the two deities Gaṇamōhara and Kēśava of the village. The names of the donces and the distribution of shares among them are given in a table in the sequel.

The charter under review throws a flood of light on the history of Āndhra in the years immediately following the Muslim conquest and the downfall of the Kākatīya dynasty. While describing the circumstances in which the gift registered in the charter came to be made, the political changes through which the country had just then passed are briefly recounted. The following points which are therein touched upon call for a few words of elucidation:—(1) The history of Pratāparudra, his enmity with Aḥammadu Suratrāpa of Delhi, his early victories over the Muhammadans, and his ultimate defeat, captivity and death; (2) the character of the Muslim rule; (3) the rise of the Musunūri family and the formation of the Confederacy of Āndhra Nijakas under the leadership of Prōlaya-nāyaka; (4) the conquest of Tilinga by Prōlaya-nāyaka and the re-establishment of the Hindu *dharma*; and (5) his benefactions, especially the gift of the village of Vilasa in Kōna-maṇḍala to the Brāhmana scholar Vennaya of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*.

The problem that deserves consideration first is the hostility between Pratāparudra and Aḥammadu Suratrāpa, the lord of the Turashkha, who is described as the *śaśa-kāla* (death) of kings and the destroyer of the remnants of the royal families that were left undestroyed by Jāma-dagnya (Pāndurāma). The identity of Aḥammadu Suratrāpa is not difficult to discover; for, his final victory over Pratāparudra whom he despatched to Delhi as a prisoner and the latter's death on the way to the imperial capital clearly show that he could have been none other than Muḥammad Bin Tughluq. Therefore, it is not unreasonable to assume that Aḥammadu is a mistake for Muḥammad due either to the remoteness of the scribe, or to the confusion in the mind of the composer of the inscription himself.¹ The statement that Sulṭān Muḥammad suffered defeat no less than seven times at the hands of Pratāparudra before he could ultimately vanquish him furnishes interesting information on the history of Muslim invasions of Tiling and demands careful examination. The Muslim histories of the period refer to a number of expeditions, which the

¹ A similar mistake is found in a Samarit work of a miscellaneous character called the *Pratāparudra-vijaya* composed in 1482 A. D. (Madras Government Or. Mus. Lib. S.3.2, D. No. 12033).

Sultān of Delhi despatched against Tilīng. According to Barani, Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Khiljī planned an invasion of Tilīng as early as 1291 A. D. 'Four or five months after the Sultān left Bantambhōr', says he, 'Ulugh Khān collected a large force with the intention of attacking Tilīng and Ma'abar, but his time was come, and the angel of destiny took him to the blessed city. His corpse was conveyed to Delhi and buried in his own house'.¹ The expedition to Tilīng did not obviously proceed. The idea was not, however, abandoned. Some two years later, 'at the time when the Sultān was engaged in the siege of Chitor, Malik Fakhr-ud-dīn Jūna, *deftak-i-Hazari* and Malik Jhānu of Karra, nephew of Nurat Khān, had been sent with all the forces of Hindustan against Arangal'. On their arrival there the rainy season began and proved such a hindrance that the army could do nothing and in the beginning of the winter returned, greatly reduced in numbers, to Hindustan.² The expedition thus ended in disaster. Although the Muslim historians attribute the failure to the outbreak of rains, it is not unlikely that they came into conflict with the Tilīngas and were worsted by them in the fight.

The failure of the expedition rankled in the mind of 'Alā-ud-dīn; and in 1309-10 A. D., he despatched another expedition under the famous Malik Nā'ib Kāfūr and Khwāja Hājl, the *'Ariz-i-Mamlūk*. This expedition, according to the unanimous testimony of Muslim historians, was a resounding success of Muslim arms. The details of it are far too well known to need description. The Muslim armies marched to Warangal by way of Dēvagiri without meeting serious opposition on the way; defeated the Kakatiya forces, laid siege to and captured the outside mud fort, and invested the inner stone fort. Pratāparudra sued for peace. Malik Nā'ib Kāfūr agreed to accede to his request on condition that he surrendered all his wealth, together with his elephants and horses, jewels and valuables and promised to send every year a certain amount of treasure and a certain number of elephants by way of tribute to Delhi. Pratāparudra who had no alternative accepted the conditions and Malik Nā'ib Kāfūr raised the siege, and marched away to Delhi laden with booty.³

Of the next invasion, which was sent from Dēvagiri in 1318 A. D. by Sultān Qutb-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh, two conflicting accounts have come down to us. The cause of the expedition was the failure of Pratāparudra to pay the annual tribute for some years. To collect the arrears of this tribute, the Sultān sent Khusrū Khān at the head of an army to Tilīng. According to Amir Khusrū, Pratāparudra offered resistance, but was defeated and had to purchase peace at a very heavy price. Amir Khusrū's account of Khusrū Khān's expedition to Tilīng reads like another version of Malik Nā'ib Kāfūr's invasion in 1310 A. D. The encounter with Pratāparudra's forces, their defeat, the investment and capture of the mud fort, the attack on the stone fort, and Pratāparudra's surrender of all his wealth besides elephants and horses, follow the same pattern.⁴ Isāmy, who also describes Khusrū Khān's expedition to Tilīng, narrates the events differently; he does not refer to hostilities. Pratāparudra, on the contrary, is said to have received Khusrū Khān with respect, paid the tribute due to the Sultān readily and sent him back to Dēvagiri well satisfied.⁵ Which of these two accounts is true is not easy to decide.

¹ Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 179.

² Ibid., p. 188. Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad makes a casual reference to this expedition. 'The force of the Sultān's army had, however, marched to the extreme south of the Dekan, to conquer Arangal' (*Tabaqat-i-Albārī*, Eng. trans., Vol. I, p. 173). Ferishta also states that owing to the absence of his army, which went on an expedition to Warangal, 'Alā-ud-dīn was in no position to face the Afghan invader Targhi on equal terms (Briggs, *Ferishta*, Vol. I, p. 254).

³ Ibid., p. 262-63.

⁴ A few variations, no doubt, occur. Pratāparudra is said to have ceded five districts of his kingdom to the Sultān; these were, however, given back excepting the fort of Badkhan (Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. III, pp. 268-69).

⁵ *Futūḥ-us-Salātīn* (Madras edn.), pp. 361-63.

Two more expeditions came during the time of the Tughluqs, who succeeded the Khaljis on the throne of Delhi. Both were despatched by Sultān Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq Shāh (1320-25 A. D.), under the command of his son Ulugh Khān (the later Muhammad bin Tughluq) in 1323 A. D. The first of these ended in disaster. Ulugh Khān suffered defeat, partly due to dissensions in his camp and the treachery of his officers, under the walls of Warangal, and was compelled to retreat at first to Dāvagiri and thence to Delhi. He returned, however, within four months at the head of a fresh and powerful army, and succeeded after a siege of six or seven months in capturing not only Warangal but also Pratāparadita, whom he sent to Delhi as a prisoner of war.

The Muslim historians thus enumerate five expeditions between 1303 and 1323 against Tiling, of which three were successful and the rest abortive. The Hindu records on the other hand refer to several Muslim expeditions—eight according to the present grant—of which all, excepting the very last, ended in the defeat of the Muslim armies and their expulsion from Tiling. Although these are said to have taken place in the reign of Pratāparadita, the exact time of their arrival and the circumstances in which they suffered defeat are not known. There is reason to believe that the Kākatiyas came into conflict with the Muslims long before 'Alā-ud-Dīn Khalji's attack on Dāvagiri in 1296 A. D. An epigraph in the temple of Chāyā Somanātha at Pānagalla in the Nalgonda District of Andhra Pradesh, dated 1267 A. D. describes the victories of Prince Śārngapādīdēva, the son of the Śānga king Singhaṇḍa and a subordinate of Mahamādādeva Maṇma-Rudradēva-vikārāja, i. e. the Kākatiya queen Rudrāmbā or Rudramadevi. Among his exploits enumerated in the inscription, his victory over the Muslims deserves particular mention. Śārngapādīdēva is spoken of in this record as the *Primordial Boar* who rescued the earth from the Turkish calamity.¹

The Muslims also seem to have descended upon the Deccan a little later from another quarter. In an epigraph at the Kallāvarādēva temple at Mahuvāga in the Bellary District dated Ś. 1304, Chitrabhāṇu (1282 A. D.), the Yādava king Rāmachandra, that is, Rāmadēva, the adversary of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khalji, is described as a *rescuer of earth* from the depredation of Turkish.²

The circumstances in which these Turkish invasions took place are not on record. Some of the expeditions sent by Balban against the Central Indian Hindu kingdoms probably penetrated into the Deccan, but being worsted in the fight by the Kākatiyas and the Yādavas they were compelled to retreat homewards.

The Muslim invasions of Tiling began in right earnest after Pratāparadita's accession in 1296 A. D. According to the present grant, which was issued within a decade of the Muslim conquest, the Muslims attacked Tiling no less than eight times. Pratāparadita is said to have defeated the Sultan of Delhi seven times, but was vanquished, owing to the misfortune of the earth, on the last occasion by that Turkish sovereign, and while being carried away as a prisoner to Delhi, died by the decree of Providence on the bank of the Sōmāśbhavā (Narmadā) river. This is not the only record that refers to the defeat of the Mahamādais. An inscription, noticed by the Mackenzie Surveyors in the fort of Warangal, refers to a victory of Manabhogadārāja and Layaḡayadēva over the Turakas in Sanyat 1362 (1304-05 A. D.).³ The proximity of the

¹ *Corp. Ins. Tel. Dist.*, p. 38, No. 34. As most of the chiefs mentioned in this inscription figure in Singhaṇḍa's inscriptions as the *free conquerors* by him (*Śaṅkh. Gaz.*, Vol. I, II, pp. 223-22), Śārngapādīdēva seems to have participated in his father's wars and took credit for his victories before he accepted service under the Kākatiyas. Although the Turkish, among the peoples of many other countries, are said, in very general terms, to have obeyed his commands, the Turkish invasion is not mentioned in any of his inscriptions. It is not therefore unlikely that the invasion took place after Śārngapādīdēva had entered the service of the Kākatiyas.

² *A. & Ep.*, No. 224 of 1918; *SII*, Vol. IX, Part I, No. 300.

³ *Arch. Mus.*, 10-3-30, p. 101.

The association of the Kakatiya and the Muslim forces in the war against the Pāṇḍya kingdom to restore Sundara-pāṇḍya to his ancestral throne points also in the same direction. Wassaf, it may be remembered, refers to the flight of Sundara-pāṇḍya to Delhi. 'Sundara Pandi, trembling and alarmed', says he, ' fled from his native country and took refuge under the protection of 'Alā-ud-dīn of Delhi.' Although no information is available from Muslim sources as to what happened afterwards, one of the inscriptions at Tirukkular in the Mannargudi Taluk of the Tanjore District, dated in the 25th regnal year of Jayavarman Śrīvallabha (1316 A.D.), alludes to the arrival of the Muhammadan forces in support of Sundara-pāṇḍya. It is stated that sometime before the date of the inscription, Rājārāja Sundara-pāṇḍya came with the Talakkar, when a certain chief called Okkōraṇaiyan died together with his brothers and followers obviously in a fight against them.¹ The Talakkars were not the only supporters of Sundara-pāṇḍya. A large Kakatiya force under Pratāparudra's famous general Mappidi-nayaka was at the same time operating on his behalf in the Tamil country. An inscription at Vpiddhāchalam in the South Arcot District dated in 13+1st year of Tribhuvanachakravartin Kōṇḍṛiṇṇaikaṇḍiyan Sundara-pāṇḍya-rādēva (1315 A.D.) registers the assignment of income from lands in some villages for conducting a service named after Mappidi-nayaka, the ruler of Vikramasimhapattana (Nellore) and one of the ministers of Kakatiya Pratāparudra-rādēva, in the temple of the god Vpiddhagiriśvara.² From this it is evident that Mappidi-nayaka, the minister of Kakatiya Pratāparudra-rādēva, was an ally of Sundara-pāṇḍya who caused the service to be instituted in the temple to honour him. Though the cause of Mappidi's presence in the Pāṇḍyan territory is not disclosed in the record, the Śrīraṅgam epigraph of Dēvari-nayaka, dated 1317 A.D. leaves no room for doubt that the Kakatiya armies came there to restore Sundara-pāṇḍya to his ancestral throne.³ If Rājārāja Sundara-pāṇḍya of the Tirukkular record is the same as Sundara-pāṇḍya of the inscription from Vpiddhāchalam cited above, it may be surmised that the Muhammadan and Kakatiya forces were both fighting in the Pāṇḍyan kingdom in and around 1315 A.D., and that they were both allies of Sundara-pāṇḍya. It is not unreasonable to believe that the Kakatiya monarch sent his armies to the south at the instance of Sultan 'Alā-ud-dīn Khalji to support the contingent of Muhammadan forces sent thither by the latter to restore Sundara-pāṇḍya to his kingdom. Therefore, it is not possible to accept without reserve the statement in the Vilasa grant and some other later records that Pratāparudra was invariably victorious over the Muslim armies on all occasions excepting the last.

Next, the present inscription throws some new light on the circumstances in which Pratāparudra met with his death. According to Shama-i-Shirāz⁴ Aḥlī, the Bāi of Tilig, whom Sultan Muhammad sent to Delhi, died upon the road.⁵ The correctness of the statement has, however, been questioned. On the authority of inscriptions, it has been said that Pratāparudra did not die on his way to Delhi; he was not only rescued and freed by some Nāyabās from captivity, but continued to rule his kingdom for some years after that. An inscription at Santamāgalūru in the Narasaraopet Taluk of the Guntur District dated 1326 A.D. mentions Pratāparudra as the ruler of the kingdom, and registers a gift for his merit by Kolani Rudradēva, one of his *maḥāpradhānis*. This furnishes, as pointed out by H. Krishna Sastri, a date 'four years later than the latest date given for Pratāparudra.'⁶ Coupled with the evidence of this record,

¹ Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 54.

² A.R.Ep., No. 643 of 1902; *SIT*, Vol. VIII, No. 247.

³ *Ibid.*, 72 of 1918.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 79 of 1928-29.

⁵ *History of India*, op. cit. Vol. III, p. 567.

⁶ A.R.Ep., No. 208 of 1915; *ibid.*, 1916, Part II, para. 53a.

the title *Rāya-bandī-vimochaka*, said to have been borne by Rāoberla Siṅgama I, one of the *Nāyakas* in the service of Pratāparudra, has given rise to the belief that he rescued the king from captivity and that the latter continued to rule his kingdom even after the fall of Warangal in 1323 A.D.¹ Now, the Santamāgalūru inscription is a solitary record unsupported by other evidence; and no trace of Pratāparudra's rule is found anywhere subsequent to his capture by Ulugh Khān. Moreover, the Muslim forces were still busy with the subjugation of the country and they would not have tolerated Pratāparudra's rule in any part of it. The setting up of an inscription at Santamāgalūru by Kolani Rudradēva in 1326 A.D. must be attributed to the feelings of loyalty to his old master and his irreconcilable hostility to the Mussalmans who had overthrown his authority. The title *Rāya-bandī-vimochaka* is of uncertain origin. There is no evidence to show that it was ever borne by Siṅgama I. None of his records has come down to us; and the *Velugotidāri Varādhāra* does not associate the title with his name. It occurs for the first time in an inscription of his son Anavōta I, dated 1369 A.D., at Ayyanavōla in the Warangal District.² Anavōta I was not a contemporary of Pratāparudra, and he could not have participated in that monarch's wars with the Muhammadans. Therefore, the origin of his title *Rāya-bandī-vimochaka* must be traced to some event which must have taken place in his (Anavōta's) own time.

The present inscription, which must have been issued within about a decade or so of the Muslim conquest of Tiling, not only confirms the evidence of Shams-i-Shirāzī that Pratāparudra died on his way to Delhi but also specifies the locality where his death had taken place as the bank of the river Sōmōdabhavā (verse 20). There is reason to believe that he did not suffer natural death, but put an end, unable to bear perhaps captivity, to his own existence. In the Kaluvachēru grant of the Reddī queen Anitallī dated 1423 A.D., exactly a century after the fall of Warangal, it is stated that Pratāparudra departed to the world of the gods by his own desire.³ This seems to suggest that he either committed suicide or was slain at his own instance by one of his own followers.

The statement that, on the death of Pratāparudra, the entire Āndhra country passed into the hands of the Muhammadans is corroborated by the evidence of other contemporary and nearly contemporary records. The Rajahmundry mosque inscription of Sālār 'Ulai bears testimony to the subjugation of the Gōdāvari delta.⁴ The *Futūḥ-us-Salṭīn* refers to the conquest of Kāhīga and the capture of the forts of Goaty (Anantapur District) and Kanti (Guntur District) in the Cuddapah District.⁵ A *shloka* verse in Telugu addressed to Saṅgama II (1356 A.D.), nephew of Harihara I and Bukka I of Vijayanagara, alludes to Muslim occupation of the Nellore District immediately after the rule of Mappūli-nāyaka (1323 A.D.).⁶ Although the Āndhra country was thus rapidly subjugated, it did not long remain under Muslim rule. This was mainly due to the oppressive character of their government which is vividly portrayed in the present inscription (vv. 22-27). Unlike other conquerors of India, the Mussalmans were not satisfied with the acquisition of mere political power. They descended on the Deccan not as mere conquerors in search of new countries but as crusading warriors to spread the true faith in the land of the infidels. To stamp out heathenism, and gather all the people within the fold of Islam, they prohibited, as

¹ M. Rama Rao, *Kāśīkṛtyas of Warangal*, pp. 97-99.

² *Velugotidāri Varādhāra*, Appendix No. 4.

³ *J. Tel. As.*, Vol. II, p. 106.

Tassam Pratāparudrā sva-sthānam ev-śchakṣyamaṇas yātanta
atka śā bhāra-Parmanamayī jātā-māhā mahāmāhā mahimā.

⁴ *A. A. Ep.*, No. 498 of 1928.

⁵ *Futūḥ-us-Salṭīn* (Madras edn.), pp. 402-03; also p. 51.

⁶ *Chakrapadmanābharjari* :—Mappūli nāyaka-śā madamāḥ Parakṣa.

stated in the inscription, the public exercise of Hindu religion, and subjected its followers to inhuman tyranny. The Hindus could not dress well, live well, and appear to be prosperous. Vexatious taxes were imposed on them; their seats of learning were destroyed; their temples were plundered and demolished; and the images of their gods were defaced and broken and used as building material for erecting prayer houses for the faithful. That this is not an exaggeration but genuine truth is proved by independent accounts of the condition of the Hindus in other parts of South India subjugated by the Mussalmans. Gangādēvi, the queen of Kumāra Kūṭapaṇa (1340-74 A.D.), presents in her *Madhurābhigayana*, a harrowing picture of devastation caused by the Muhammadans in the Tamil country. 'The temples in the land', says she 'have fallen into neglect as worship in them has been stopped. Within their walls the frightful howls of jackals have taken the place of the sweet reverberations of the *srīdāsa*. Like the Turushkas who know no limits, the Kāvēri has forgotten her ancient boundaries and brings frequent destruction with her floods. The sweet odour of the sacrificial smoke and the chant of the Vēdas have deserted the villages (*agrahāras*), which are now filled with the foul smell of the roasted flesh and the fierce noises of the ruffianly Turushkas. The suburban gardens of Madura present a most painful sight; many of their beautiful coconut palms have been cut down; and on every side are seen rows of stakes from which swing strings of human skulls strung together. The Tāmraparvī is flowing red with the blood of the slaughtered cows. The Vēda is forgotten and justice has gone into hiding; there is not left any trace of virtue or nobility in the land, and despair is writ large on the faces of the unfortunate Drāvidas.'¹

Unable to bear the grinding tyranny of the Mussalmans, which was set on foot to wipe out their race, religion and culture, the Āndhras as a people joined together and rose up in revolt. Nobles and common folk, if we can trust the evidence of the inscription under consideration, voluntarily flocked to the standard of Prōlaya-nāyaka to rid the country of the barbarous hordes of Islam, which by the decree of an evil fate descended on their native land. The Brāhmaṇas and the farmers of the soil paid, of their own free will, taxes to enable the leaders to carry on the struggle for freedom successfully. It was the first national movement in Indian history; and the Āndhras showed to the rest of India how a people could, by their united effort, expel the enemy and regain their lost freedom.

This was no easy task. Muḥammad bin Tughlaq was a powerful monarch, who was cruel and merciless in crushing his enemies. No Hindu ruler of the South, however strong and warlike, was able to resist the irresistible advance of his armies. It is noteworthy that in that deplorable state of utter helplessness, the Āndhras were able to organise themselves into a confederacy, strike a blow to gain independence, and successfully accomplish their purpose.

The information furnished by the grant under review about the Musunūri family is very meagre. It simply states that king Prōla of the Musunūri family was born in the fourth caste; he headed the movement to free the country from the Muslim yoke, and having successfully driven them out, he made Rēkapalli on the Gōdāvari at the foot of the Mālyavanta mountain his capital and entrusted the administration of the country to his younger brothers, such as Kāpaya-nāyaka, devoting himself entirely to the performance of charitable and meritorious deeds. Nothing is known from this grant about Prōlaya-nāyaka's history and career, except that he had many younger brothers, of whom Kāpaya-nāyaka was one. This dearth of information about his family is made up by the Prōlavaram grant of Kāpaya-nāyaka,² dated in the Śaka year 1267, expressed by the chronogram *gri-tarika-śāṁsa*, in the cyclic year Pārthiva. As he is also stated in the grant to have belonged to the Musunūri family and as the date of the grant is very near to

¹ K. A. N. Sastri, *The Pāṇḍya Kingdom*, pp. 242-43.

² *A. R. Ep.*, 1934-35, C. P. No. 3. *CL. JBOHS*, Vol. XX, pp. 260 ff.

the date of the fall of Warangal, there need be no doubt that he is identical with Kāpaya-nāyaka, Prōla's brother mentioned in the grant under review. Fortunately for us, the Prōlavaram grant furnishes a short pedigree of three generations of the Musunūri chiefs born in the fourth caste. Pōta, the earliest known member of the family, had four sons, namely, Pōcha, Dēva, Kāma and Rāja. The first three brothers had two sons each, namely, Prōla and Krapōta, Kāma and Mummadiśa, and Immaśūa and Dēva respectively; and Rāja, the last son of Pōta, had only one son by name Anavōta, otherwise known as Tōyyēti Anavōta, or Anavōta of Tōyyēru. From this it becomes clear that Prōla and Krapōta were the only sons of Pōcha, and that Kāma and others were, strictly speaking, Prōlaya-nāyaka's cousins (that is, his paternal uncle's sons and not his own brothers). Even the Prōlavaram grant does not furnish any information about Kāpaya-nāyaka's grandfather Pōta and his father and uncles, except giving the pedigree. Probably these members of the Musunūri family were ordinary *Nāyakas* of no great importance and played no part in the momentous history of the period during and after the reign of the last Kakatiya emperor, Pratāparadra. Prōla and his brothers, especially Kāpaya-nāyaka, seem to have been the only members of the family that came to limelight during the period of the Muslim occupation of the Andhra country immediately after the fall of Warangal by their deeds of valour, and untiring efforts to unite and inspire the people of the country and liberate it from the Muslim yoke. Except Kāpaya-nāyaka none of the other names of Prōlaya finds mention either in the grant under review or in the Prōlavaram grant of Kāpaya-nāyaka. Probably they were young and achieved nothing worthy of note during that troublous period, or it may be that some of them lost their lives during those days of anarchy, and the oppressive and autocratic rule of the Mussalmans. It is, however, certain that Kāpaya-nāyaka was the right hand man of Prōlaya-nāyaka, whom he actively supported and co-operated with in every way in waging war on the Mussalmans and expelling them from the Andhra country.

There is another record, the Kaluvachēru grant of Anitāla,¹ dated in Śaka 1345, (1423 A.D.), that should be taken into account here for a better understanding of the political conditions of the country immediately after the fall of Warangal, even though it is separated in time by nearly a century from the grant under review. It is stated in the introductory portion of the Kaluvachēru grant that after Pratāparadra of the Kakatiya dynasty, the lord of Trilinga (Telugu country), had gone to heaven by his own will, the whole land was occupied by the Muslims (Yamamogī jātī); Prōlaya-nāyaka then raised the country that was enveloped in the womb of the Yavanas (Yavan-śāra-śīha) just like Varāha, the boar incarnation of Viṣṇu, who raised the land submerged under water. After Prōlaya-nāyaka went as a guest to heaven at the command of Viṣṇūvara, the same grant further says, Kāpaya-nāyaka who was equal in splendour to the sun, ruled his kingdom, and that he whose feet were served by the seventy-five *Nāyakas*, protected the earth by the grace of Viṣṇūvara. King Kāpa is said to have regranted to Brāhmanas, the agrahāras taken over by the Turushkas, besides granting them some afresh. After the death of Kāpa, all the *Nāyakas* subordinate to him are said to have gone to their towns and protected their respective countries.

Prōlaya-nāyaka and Kāpaya mentioned thus in the introductory portion of the Kaluvachēru grant are, no doubt, respectively identical with the donors of the grant under review and the Prōlavaram grant, although their family name Musunūri does not find mention in the latter. The Kaluvachēru grant further makes it clear that after rescuing the Andhra country from the Muslim yoke, Prōla and after him Kāpa ruled it one after the other and that the seventy-five *Nāyakas*,

¹ *J. Ind. Ac.*, Vol. II, pp. 93-115; *Bharati*, Vol. XXI, Part I, pp. 533-57, Part II, pp. 81-78.

the survivors as well as the sons of those that perished in the struggle, acknowledged their supremacy and leadership and served them faithfully.

Let us see if we can spot out any of the *Nāyakas* that served Prōla and Kāpa and co-operated with them in liberating the country. With the fall of Warangal, the leadership of the coastal region passed from the hands of the kings of the Lunar and Solar dynasties into those of the *Nāyakas* of the Musunūri family of the fourth caste. Of the other *Nāyakas* of this period, we already know that Vēma was one. Most of the chiefs, ministers and commanders of the Kākatiya emperor, Pratāparudra, lost their lives in the last fatal siege of Warangal. A few, who had survived the disaster, are known to us from both inscriptions and literature. One of them was Kolani Rudradēva *alias* Pratāparudra, the *maḥāpradhāna* of Kākati Pratāparudra and son of *clannaya-mantri*. He was a contemporary of Anna-mantri and a great Sanskrit scholar and the author of *Bhājarudra-yam*, a work on grammar.¹ He was the grandson of Kolani Sōma-mantri, the minister of Kākati Gopapatidēva and the subjugator of the *śālagāḥas* of Kolamavīṇa or Sataśpati. It is known from the *Saṃvatsāraṇam*, a Telugu work on Śaiva theology, written by Gopapatidēva of the Kolani family, that Kolani Rudradēva had taken part in the expedition to Kāñchīpura (1315 A.D.) during the reign of Pratāparudra and defeated the five Pāṇḍya chiefs. The statement in the same work that he protected the stone fort of Warangal so as to win the commendation of Kākatiśa (i.e. Pratāparudra) and that he slew some Yavana chiefs, makes it clear that he had taken an active part in the wars with the Mussalmans. Yet it appears strange that none of his records prior to 1323 A.D. has come to light. An epigraph at Santamēgalūru² in the Quntur District dated in the cyclic year *Kālaya*, corresponding to Śaka 1249 (1326 A.D.) in the reign of Kākati Pratāparudra, registers a gift of land to the temple of Gōpāthā of that village by Kolani Rudradēva for the merit of that king on the occasion of a solar eclipse. Pratāparudra, as we know, was already dead by the date of this record. It has therefore to be presumed that Rudradēva, the donor of the record, shook off by that time the Muslim yoke and was free to make at his will a grant of land for the merit of his late master out of respect and devotion.

Another survivor was Anna-mantri of the Bendapūdi family, the *Gopasāhā* of Kākati Pratāparudra, who is described in the *Bhīmāvara Purāṇam* of Śrinātha as the veritable fire in annihilating the *Yavanas* and the establisher of the throne of the *adhyakṣa* of the Āndhra country.³ The term *adhyakṣa*, which means superior or president (and not king), no doubt refers to Prōlaya-nāyaka, and probably to Kāpaya-nāyaka also after him. This title suggests that it was through the successful efforts of Anna-mantri that the selection of the superior or the president of the confederacy of nobles of the Āndhra country was made possible and that the president so elected was made acceptable to all the chiefs, who combined together to liberate the country. The title is meaningless, if this is not its import. Thus, the title indicates, in unmistakable terms, the successful and prominent part played by Anna-mantri of the Bendapūdi family. The same work, *Bhīmāvara Purāṇam*, referred to above, informs us that Anna-mantri received the village of Ārīḍa, which was full of many crops grown by the supply of canal waters, as an *agrahāra* on the occasion of a solar eclipse. There must have been some significance for the special mention of Rudradēva's gift of this village to Anna-mantri. If this solar eclipse, on which the village was granted, was the same as that mentioned in Rudradēva's Santamēgalūru record, cited above, this grant must have been made to Anna-mantri soon after the successful culmination of the war of independence and the liberation of the coastal region, probably in appreciation of his services to

¹ *Bhājarudra-yam* : *Adiṭṭya-Kākatiya-Pratāparudra-pradhāna-utpattiḥ Madhava-clannaya-cōṇa-rachitā* Vāruṇa-syābhāṣyam.

² *J. A. Ep.*, No. 208 of 1915.

³ *Bhīmāvara Purāṇam*, I, 48. *Āndhra-śāhānāḍa-ādhyakṣa-siddhanta-utpattiḥ/tāpita-śāhānta*.

the cause of freedom. It is certain that it could not have been possible for Rudradēva to make this grant of a village as an *agrahāra* while the coastal country was under the iron grip of the Muslims. These two facts mentioned above, namely, the title borne by Anna-mantri and the grant of an *agrahāra* to him by Kalani Rudradēva, clearly suggest the important role played by these two aged Andhra statesmen in the national movement started for the liberation of the Andhra country.

Singaya-nāyaka, son of Era Dāchā-nāyaka of the Bācheṣṭa family, was another survivor of the disaster. His father Era Dāchā accompanied Muppiḍi-nāyaka in his expedition against the Pāṇḍyas to Kāñchīpura in 1315 A.D. He is said to have "constructed a *maṇḍala* with arrows and on the dials of the elephants made an offering of the pride of the Pāṇḍya king in the *lōma* fire of his valour and accepted the hand of the bride of victory."¹ His son Singaya also must have followed his father and taken part in the battle of Kāñchī. All his activities described in the Telugu work *Velugūṭṭiri Vamśāvaṇi* refer to the early post-Kākatīya period.²

Kānaya-nāyaka, the son of Gaṇapati-nāyaka and the grandson of Kēśami-nāyaka was another contemporary of Prōlaya-nāyaka and Kāpaya-nāyaka. Kēśami-nāyaka who is said to have won a victory against the Pāṇḍyas according to the Kūrukopda inscription of Mummaḍi-nāyaka,³ must have served Pratāparudra and taken part in the expedition against Kāñchī.

The *Vīrasāmānta* chiefs, Kāpaya-nāyaka and Prōlaya-nāyaka, also must have been the contemporaries of the Musunūri chiefs since the date of the Dōnepūdi record of Nāmaya-nāyaka, grandson of Kāpa and son of Prōla, is dated in Śaka 1259.⁴

Similarly the Uḍḍirājas of the Solar race, Veṅga-bhūpati, king of Vēṅgi, and his relations, the Telugu Chōḍa chiefs of Ēruva, Gaṅgādhara and his son Chōḍa Bhaktirāja, especially the latter, co-operated with the Musunūri chiefs in the war of independence.⁵

All the Nāyakas and chiefs mentioned above, besides many others whose names are not known to us, must have formed into a confederacy, acknowledged the leadership of Prōlaya-nāyaka and gathered under his banner to free the country from the foreign yoke. These confederates must have made the mountainous regions and forest areas on the banks of the Gōḍāvari and the Kṛishṇā their rendezvous to put into action their plans to free the country, first the coastal plain below the Ghats and then the upland country of Talaṅgāna above the Ghats.

The various measures concerted by Prōlaya-nāyaka and his associates to liberate the country from the Muslim yoke and how they accomplished their object are totally unknown to us. We know, however, for certain that Madhya-Āndhradēśa, as the coastal Andhra country was then called, very soon had regained its independence, almost within two or three years after its subjugation by the Muslims. Warangal fell in 1323 A.D.; but the whole of Talaṅgāna and Madhya-Āndhradēśa did not immediately come under the sway of the Muslims. There was strong opposition to the Muslim army. However, the coastal plain submitted to the arms of the conquering hordes within a year, that is, by the 10th September, 1324 A.D., the date of the construction

¹ A. B. Arch. Dept., Hyderabad, 1933-34, p. 29, App. C.

² *Velugūṭṭiri Vamśāvaṇi*, pp. 16-17.

³ A. B. Ep., No. 44 of 1912.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1906, App. A. No. 21; above, Vol. XIV, p. 81.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1946-47, App. A. No. 5.

of the big mosque at Rajahmundry by Sālār 'Ulwi, a servant of Ulugh Khān'.¹ By this date the conquest of the whole of the coastal region of the Āndhra country was complete. Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq's coins discovered in this part of the country, ranging in dates from A.H. 722 to 726² (i.e. from 1322 to 1326 A.D.) were current in that region. However, the year 1325 A.D., the date of the Mallavaram stone record of Vēnā Redḍi,³ marks the turning of the tide, and indicates the beginning, and 1328 A.D., the date of the Santamāgalūru record⁴ of Kolani Rudradēva, the completion of the re-conquest and the final liberation of the coastal region of the Āndhra country. A few inscriptions of the early post-Kākatiya period, of the Telugu-Chōḍas and the Redḍis, however, contain references to their victories over the Muslims in general, and of the particular Muslim chiefs and commanders, in the course of the war. The Pentapēḍu grant of Chōḍa Bhaktirāja⁵ is a very interesting record in this respect, as it furnishes some valuable information about Prālaya-nāyaka and a certain Vēṅga-bhūpati. From this we learn that subsequent to the death of the father of Chōḍa Bhaktirāja, who was then a boy, the Āndhra country (*anant-chakram-Āndhrām*) was conquered (*krīṭavā*) by the Yavanas (Muslims), when the valourous and righteous Prālaya-nāyaka, son of the heroic Pōchaya-nāyaka, together with his associate Vēṅgarāja left the Vēṅgi *vishaya* and repaired to a Vana-durga surrounded by hundreds of mountains. They both had reconquered the Āndhra country after putting an end to the entire Turuṣka horde in battle (*Saṃvare jantū-āccha-Turuṣka-turag-ātharau, pumar-āharatām-ēkām-Āndhrām māḍḍalam-aridhataḥ*). After killing all the Yavana commanders (*vīṣat-ākhila-Yavana-vāhini-nāthāḥ*), Vēṅga-bhūpati went to heaven (probably was killed in battle), as if to help Indra in battle. This Vēṅga-bhūpati, great-grandson of Brahmā, grandson of Dēva and son of Kāmarāja of the Lunar dynasty, was the maternal uncle of Kāma, alias Bhaktirāja, son of Guṅgarāja of the Solar dynasty. Consequent on the death of Vēṅga-bhūpati, probably without leaving an heir to his kingdom, Prālaya-nāyaka installed Bhaktirāja, while he was still a boy as the ruler of his maternal uncle's territory, which seems to have comprised Vēṅgi and its surrounding tracts. Thus Chōḍa Bhaktirāja who, according to the grant referred to above, owed his elevation to the support given to him by Prālaya-nāyaka, though a boy, killed the infantry and cavalry of the Yavana king (*Bhakti-bhūpālākā-*

¹ *Ep. Ind. Mus.*, 1923-1924, pp. 13-5.

² *A Forgotten Chapter of Andhra History*, p. 17.

³ *Nellore District Inscriptions*, Vol. III, O. 13. The Mallavaram record registers a grant of land to god Raghava of Chudalavada in the Ongole Taluk of the Guntur District in the Śaka year denoted by the chronogram *Saila* (7), *Vārḍhi* (4), and *Dyauṣṭa* (12), that is, 1247, in the month of Āśvīja on the occasion of a solar eclipse on Thursday (*Āśvījay-dvādaśī vāra-grant-bhūmihina Suragura-dīna*) by Vēnā-redḍi, one of Prālaya-nāyaka's subordinate associates, who is described in the record as "the very Agastya to the ocean, namely, Mūchchāsa (*Mūchchā-dvādaśī-Kalā-ādhāraḥ*). The equivalent English date is 7th October, 1325 A.D. The date Śaka 1277 given by Rutterworth and Venugopala Chetty in the *Nellore inscriptions* by assigning the value 7 to *Vārḍhi*, and the occasion as lunar eclipse (*Amāntāsa*) are both wrong, as pointed out by Mr. H. K. Narasimhaswami in the course of his article on the Kōḍūru grant of Anavāṭa Redḍi (above, Vol. XXV, p. 129 and n. 5). He takes *bhūmihina* as *amāntāsa* correctly but accepts the value seven given by the authors for the term *ādhāra*. Hence he finds the date irregular as there was no solar eclipse in the month of Āśvīja in Śaka 1277. So he writes, "The word *ādhāra* in the chronogram *saila-ādhāra-dvādaśī* as read by the authors (Rutterworth and Venugopala Chetty) mentioned above has therefore to be altered suitably by some such word as *varṣa* to give the numeral 6 in place of 7, and the chronogram equated with 1267." If corrected like this the date becomes regular as there was a solar eclipse in the month of Āśvīja on Thursday in Śaka 1267. But the numerical value generally given to *varṣa* is 4 and not 7. Then the Śaka date becomes 1247 and not 1277. In 1247 there was a solar eclipse in the month of Āśvīja on Monday, *Satidhara-dīna*, and not on Thursday, *Suragura-dīna*. The week day does not totally tally, if 1247 is taken. However this Śaka date which is given so clearly in the inscription may be accepted.

⁴ *A. R. Ep.*, 1915, No. 308.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1946-47, App. A, No. 2.

the *śālo-'pi samgrāma-ratna-sūhṛita-yatana-śālīpa-rubhaṭa-gṛhāṭa-ā(0paṣ)*, i.e. king of the Mosalmans.

Prōlaya-nāyaka, son of Pōchi-nāyaka, is, no doubt, identical with his namesake of the Musunūri family, the donor of the grant under review. The Pentapōṣu grant referred to above, not only confirms the account of the liberation of the coastal Andhra country furnished by the grant under review, but also reveals to us the names of two of his associates, Vēṅga and Bhaktirāja—the former his elder and the latter a younger contemporary—who played an important part in the war of independence, even though their achievements are unknown to us from that grant. It is probable that Pōchi-nāyaka, the father of Prōlaya-nāyaka, also lost his life during this memorable war. The unnamed *śama-durga* to which Prōla and Vēṅga repaired, may be safely identified with Rēcapalli, the capital of Prōlaya-nāyaka, situated near the Mālyavanta mountain mentioned in the present grant. Nothing more is known about either Vēṅga-bhōpeti or his ancestors.

Some more information about the achievements of Chōḍa Bhaktirāja such as the defeat of Boggara and other Muhammadan warriors in the battle near Gūlapōṣu, his conquest of the demonic forces of Daharū-khānu and others near Pedakondāpuri may be gleaned from the undated Rajahmundry Museum plates¹ of his son, Annadēva-chōḍa.

As has already been stated, the Kalavachōru grant of Avitallī² also attests to the fact of the liberation of the Trilinga country by Prōlaya-nāyaka and of Kāpaya-nāyaka's rule over it. This grant mentions Vēma of the Panta community, as one of the seventy-five Nāyakas that served Kāpaya-nāyaka. He was the son of Pōḍaya-reḍḍi and the founder of the Redḍi kingdom of Konjavijū. Vēma was thus a contemporary and loyal associate of the Musunūri chief, Kāpaya-nāyaka, and probably of his cousin and predecessor, Prōlaya-nāyaka. His Mallavāra stone record,³ dated in Śaka 1247 (October 7, 1325 A.D.), describes him as the very Agastya to the ocean, namely, Mīchēcha (*Mīchēṭa-āḍḍa-Kuṇḍāḍḍhaṇa*), and imitates the region of his activities during the period of this war. As he is stated to have re-granted the *agrahāras* to Brāhmanas which were formerly taken away by the Moslims, after rescuing them from the enemy, on the banks of the three important rivers, the Gaṇṭanī, the Kṛishṇā, and the Brāhmakundī or Kuṇḍiprabhā, i.e. the Guṇḍlakunḍā, he must have participated in the war against the Muhammadans in the region through which these rivers flow. Vēma's victory over the Yavanas, i.e. Muhammadans, the protection by him of Maḍhy-Āndhra-dēśa, i.e. the Middle Andhra country, and the patronage of Brāhmanas, are also referred to by his court poet Yaṣṛi-Praggada in his *Harimūchāśa*.⁴ He loyally co-operated with the Musunūri chiefs, Prōla and Kāpa, during the early post-Kikatīya period and contributed to the success of the war of independence. It seems strange that the Kalavachōru grant mentions Vēma as the subordinate of Kāpaya-nāyaka and not of Prōlaya-nāyaka, though his contemporaneity with the latter is indubitable. This was probably due to the fact that the administration of the country was left in the hands of Kāpaya-nāyaka by his cousin Prōla, after the conquest of the country, as has been stated in the grant under review.

This record registers, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse, the grant of Vilasa, the best of the fertile villages of the Kōna-maṇḍala on the banks of the Gōḍāvari, as an *agrahāra* to Vennaya, the elder brother of Gaṇapay-śrīya and son of Annaya, grandson of Vennaya and great-grandson of Annaya of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* and *Yajur-śāla*. The donee is described in high sounding terms as a learned scholar of note and a well-to-do person of charitable disposition. Several *yāgyājñas* of blameless conduct, who had performed many sacrifices with the money given by him, are said to have shone like the flags of fame, etc. When Prōlaya-nāyaka,

¹ Above, Vol. XXVI, No. 2.

² *J. Ind. L.*, Vol. II, pp. 93-112; *Pāṇini*, Vol. XXI, Part I, pp. 553 ff.; Part II, pp. 61 ff.

³ *Nellore District Inscriptions*, Vol. III, Orisā 72.

⁴ *Harimūchāśa*, Part I, 5,330; Part II, 2,1.

finding Vennaya to be a *dānapātra* (i.e., a person worthy of a gift), implored him to receive the gift of a village, he accepted it out of consideration for him, in spite of his aversion to do so. After having received Vilasa as an *agrahāra*, he, along with his brother, re-granted it to a number of Brāhmanas, having divided it into one hundred and eight shares. There were eighty donees in all including the two deities, Gautamēvara and Kōṣava of the village. The list of donees with their names of *gotras*, *śikṣā* and the number of shares given to each is appended hereto.

This *agrahāra* was pre-eminently granted to the Bhāradvāja-gōtrins, who received more than fifty four shares in the village. With the exception of a few, most of the donees were Yajur-vidins who were proficient in the sacrificial lore, besides being poets, commentators, *Val-śikṣāpāṭas* and *śikṣāgṛas* and experts in *śāstras* and *śāstras*. The titles given to many of the recipients indicate the high level of their scholarship and skill in the various sciences and arts. It is unusual to find so many scholars of repute among the donees mentioned in the grants of the late medieval period. It is yet strange and unfortunate that not even one of the works of these reputed scholars, who were not only proficient in *gṛantha*, *pythāsi*, grammar, logic, *śāstras*, *śāstras* and *śikṣā* but were also scholars and poets, has come to light. It is for future research to unearth their works. It is interesting to find two donees of the Parāśara-gōtri and Yajur-śikṣā who were experts in the *gṛantha*. The mention of the *gṛantha* in the grant under review shows that even *pūrva-mīmāṃsā* was studied in the coastal Andhra country as late as the fourteenth century.

It is also worth noting that the donees, with the exception of a few, were experts in the ritual of sacrifices. This is significant as indicating the revival of Vēdism and Vēdic sacrifices in the early post-Kakatiya period in the coastal region, subsequently to the attainment of independence and the re-establishment of Hindu monarchy. The establishers of independence voluntarily undertook the task of purifying the places in Andhra (*Andhra-praśāsta*) defiled by the sinful feet of the Muhammadans, by the continuous performance of Vēdic sacrifices by Brāhmanas, which were stopped during the Muhammad rule (*śrīrāṣṭra-praśāsta-praśāsta-praśāsta-praśāsta-praśāsta-praśāsta-praśāsta-praśāsta*). This revival of sacrifices and Vēdism gave a re-orientation to the then existing religion of the country by giving it a strong Vēdic tinge, and had a profound influence on the Vaishyava cult of the South.

Of the places mentioned in the grant, viz., Tilaga-dēsa, Kōṣa-maṇḍala, Dhili, Bhadrānagara, Rākapalli and the gift village Vilasa and its boundaries, Tilaga-dēsa is the Telugu country. Its extent confirmed in more or less to the present Andhra State. The terms Tilaga and Andhra became synonymous even by the middle of the thirteenth century and both terms were applied indiscriminately to denote the whole country dominated by the Telugu speaking people. Kōṣa-maṇḍala, same as Kōṣa-dēsa, Kōṣa-rāṣṭra or Kōṣa-śāla, is the country ruled by the feudal chiefs of the Haihaya dynasty in the 13th and 15th centuries of the Christian era. It is no doubt the *Śrīrāṣṭra-praśāsta-praśāsta* of the Nandīpūmādi grant¹ and probably the *Śrīrāṣṭra-praśāsta-praśāsta* of the Pithapuram pillar inscription of the Velāṁḍi king, Pithapuram.² The identification of the *Śrīrāṣṭra-praśāsta-praśāsta* with the territory between the rivers Gōdāvarī and the Kṛishṇā³ by Hultzsch, the editor of the inscription, is of course, erroneous. According to the late Mr. J. Ramayya Pantulu who re-edited the Nandīpūmādi grant in the Journal of the Telugu Academy,⁴ the terms *śrīrāṣṭra-praśāsta-praśāsta* is nothing but a Sanskritisation of *śrīrāṣṭra-praśāsta-praśāsta* of the Nandīpūmādi grant, and the rivers that enclose this territory, are the Gautami, the main one of the seven-branches of the Gōdāvarī, and the Vamatōyāni, another of its branches. So this *śrīrāṣṭra-praśāsta-praśāsta* in his opinion, corresponds to the present Amalapur Taluk. This Kōṣa-śāla or Kōṣa-dēsa

¹ Abers, Vol. IV, pp. 309, ff.

² Ibid., Vol. IV, pp. 30 and 32.

³ Ibid., p. 30.

⁴ Vol. I, pp. 45 ff.

finds mention in the Nāgarpura grant of Anavēna-veḍḍi,¹ and in the Tattaramūḍi plates of Kāṭayavēma.² This territorial division retains its name even today and the whole territory between the Vanishtha and the Guntur branches of the Godavari is known as Kōna-dina as the present day. Philli is the well-known city of that name, the capital of the Indian Republic, which was the capital of the Slave kings, the Pāṭhāns and the Tāḡlūqs in the medieval period. Ekamūḍa-nagara is the present Warangal, the headquarters of the district of the same name in the Andhra State. Rēcapalli is identical with the village of the same name in the Bhadrachalam Taluk of the East Godavari District. Of the villages mentioned in the grant only Vīṣa, the village granted and its boundary village of Śirupalle and Māḡgām are identifiable. They are in the Amalapur Taluk. Śirupalle is the present Śirupalle, and Māḡgām, the present village of Magam. Vīṣa, which is a few miles distant from Amalapuram, retains its old name to the present day. The rest of the boundary villages are not to be found now.

It is stated that the grant was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse; but neither the Śaka-year or the cyclic year nor the month in which the lunar eclipse occurred is specified. Hence the precise date of the grant cannot be definitely ascertained. However, the period in which it was given, can be approximately calculated. The grant was certainly subsequent to 1325 A.D. (Śaka 1247), the earliest date known for the establishment of Hindu independence in the coastal region. It is unfortunate that none of the records of Prōḷaya-nāyaka with the exception of this grant has come to light. In this respect his brother, Kāṭaya-nāyaka was really more fortunate. Besides his Prōḷavarera grant³ already adverted to, dated in Śaka 1307, Pārthiva, there are two of his lithic records, the Gaṇapēṣavara inscription⁴ dated in Śaka 1263, Vyāsa, and the Pillalamarri inscription⁵ dated in Śaka 1279, Himaśakhi. Of these, his Prōḷavarera grant is the earliest as is evident from its date. But the country of Tiling, in fact, the whole of Southern Hyderabad to the south of Warangal, was already in the possession of the Hindus by 1339 A.D., the date of the Bādāmi record of Harihara I,⁶ the founder of the kingdom of Vijayanagara. Hence, Kāṭaya-nāyaka was surely in possession of Warangal before 1339 A.D. He conquered it probably by about 1336-37 A.D. from the Muslims.⁷ As the Muslim historians mention Kāṭa, Kāṭa-nand, or Kāṭa-Nāyand, who is no other than Prōḷaya-nāyaka's brother Kāṭa Nāḡa or Kāṭaya-nāyaka, as the leader of the rebellion of the Hindus of Warangal in Telangana, it seems likely that his brother Prōḷaya-nāyaka was already dead by that time. If not so, he must himself have been mentioned as the leader of the rebellion. If this supposition is accepted, the record under review must have been granted between 1325 and 1336-37 A.D., possibly about 1330 A.D.

The editors of the present record take this opportunity of expressing their gratitude to Sri N. Lakshminarayana Rao, for lending for consultation the lapidaries of the following unpublished inscriptions: (1) the Śrīśailam epigraph of Kāṭaya-veḍḍi, (2) the Mallavarera inscriptions of Prōḷaya Vāmā-veḍḍi, and (3) the Pantiāpāḡu grant of Chōḍa Bhaktirāja. They also offer thanks to Dr. V. Raghavan, Professor of Sanskrit, University of Madras for revising the Romanised text of the inscription.

¹ Above, Vol. III, p. 2.

² Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 326.

³ *J.BORS*, Vol. XX, pp. 260 ff.

⁴ *SIJ*, Vol. IV, No. 656.

⁵ *Crop. Ins. Tel. Edn.*, p. 113, No. 40.

⁶ *Iod. Asi.* Vol. X, pp. 62 ff.

⁷ *Iod. Cull.*, Vol. V, p. 264; *A Forgotten Chapter of Andhra History*, p. 69. *The Early Muslim Expansion in South India*, p. 205.

List of Donees

Serial Number	Name of the Donee	Sakha	Gotra	No. of Shava
1	Daksh-bhatta	Yajna	Kapi	2
2	Mallikarjuna	"	"	1
3	Pada-Bhavana-bhatta	"	Shringaya	12½
4	Pada-Budhaya-bhatta	"	"	
5	Budha	"	"	
6	Pina-Bhavana-bhatta	"	"	12½
7	Pina-Budhaya	"	"	
8	Mallaya	"	"	1
9	Chamakata Dharmaya	"	"	1
10	Samayaya	"	"	1
11	Nanchi-bhatta	"	"	1
12	Kishora	"	"	1
13	Jakhaya	"	"	1
14	Bhaktara	"	"	1
15	Pannaya	"	"	1
16	Gaddepalli Peddi-bhatta	"	"	1
17	Talithi Vittaya	"	"	1
18	" Appala	"	"	1
19	" Yajama	"	"	1
20	Gunnaya	"	"	1
21	Srikantla	"	"	1½
22	Aditya	"	"	1½
23	Pannamanna	"	"	1
24	Nageswami	"	"	1
25	Songaya	"	"	1
26	Singaya	"	"	1
27	Nisimha-bhatta	"	"	1
28	Pudaya	Uk	"	1
29	Sundya-bhatta	Yajna	Samudraya	1
30	Kishora	"	"	1
31	Potappaya	"	"	2
32	Sugamaya	"	"	2

Serial Number	Name of the Donor	Sākhā	Śāstra	No. of Shāras
23	Rāmaya	Yajus	Kanodinya	1
34	Madahyappala	"	"	1
25	Madahyappala	"	"	1
36	Somappaya	"	"	1
37	Annaya	"	"	1
38	Nāriyaya	"	"	1
39	Malla-bhatta	"	"	1
40	Sundagiri	"	"	2
41	Gōvinda	"	Kādyapa	1
42	Nāgaya	"	"	1
43	Bolli-bhatta	"	"	1
44	Rāmaya	"	"	1
45	Sūraya	"	"	1
46	Narahari	"	"	1
47	Gannaya	"	"	1
48	Sūri-bhatta	"	"	1
49	Kāmaya	Bik	"	1
50	Krapita	"	"	1
51	Etukuri-Appala-bhatta	Yajus	Harita	1
52	Palimnābha	"	"	1
53	Vallabha	"	"	1
54	Tīvrikrama	"	"	1
55	Ananta-bhatta	Bik	"	1
56	Rāmaya	"	"	1
57	Ivara	Yajus	Parāyana	1
58	Ivara	"	"	1
59	Vēlumpalli Pōchanārya	Bik	Vāthola	2
60	Nā[ri]yanappaya	"	"	1
61	Vannaya	"	Vāthola	1
62	Gangayūrya	Yajus	"	1
63	Pannaya	Bik	Kaulika	1
64	Chittaya	Yajus	Gautama	1
65	Vaikuntha-bhatta	"	Ārēya	1

Serial Number	Name of the Donor	Śakha	Gotra	No. of Shares
66	Rāmāyachhatta	Yajur	Ītīya	1
67	Appāya-bhāṭṭa	"	Śivama	2
68	Amṛta	"	"	2
69	Pōṭi-bhāṭṭa	"	"	1
70	Tippaya	"	"	1
71	Vīrāḥara	"	"	1
72	Chakka-bhāṭṭa Mallikāḥṭṭi	"	"	2½
73	" Mallayapēḍḍaya	"	"	1½
74	Bollaya	"	Mātrīya	1
75	Kāḥara	"	"	1
76	Vīṇaya	"	Gārya	1
77	Tampajapalli Pōchana	"	Sāṇḍīya	1
78	Mūṇaya	"	"	1
79	Kāḥara (grd)	"	"	1
80	Gantamōṇṇa (do.)	"	"	1

(108)

TEXT

[Matras : Verses 1, 40, 43 Śāṇḍīlāmārūṭa ; verses 2, 3, 5-6, 12-13, 16-18, 21, 26, 35, 36, 39, 42, 47, 49, 53, 60, 61, 63, 64, 73-108 Anuṣṭubh ; verses 4, 7-11, 14-15, 19-20, 22-24, 27, 29, 31-32, 36-38, 41, 43-44, 48, 50-52, 56-58, 62, 65-71 Upajit ; verses 25, 54, 55 Āryā ; verse 28 Praharahit ; verses 30, 57 Jambuvijā ; verse 34 Upagiti ; verse 46 Rathodhātā.]

First Plate

- 1 Avighnam-satu | Yāṁ prēmā Śāṁsuṇīnī Gajamukhā gāḥhā samālingitā-chāpālvāch-chhāṇināḥ kalā[tā]
- 2 kara-tālō-ādāya mūrḍhā sīhīkōṇ(tām) | nīkshīpā-stara-damta-sūnī samabhiṣṭ-satīlakāḥya damta-divaya[b ka]
- 3 [yāṇaḥ vitanōtu sō śāṇī-kālā Vighnōṣṇarab sō-'pi vab || [1*] Puṣṭiḥ kṛishīkṭa vab pōtrī purāṇāḥ [Pu]-
- 4 rishōttamāḥ [||] yad-damshīrā-baṇīṇāmkāya vāṇḍhā lāchchhāṇīyatō || [2*] Upātta-satvō(tivō) bhagavā[n-ā]
- 5 dau Nārāyaṇō vibhūḥ | sdrāḥhīd-amsyāṇ viśvam-umollān-nayan-āmbujāḥ || [3*] Tataḥ par[tō]

- 6 ra[ra]jā guṇena brāhmin-upāśrīya saumh Mahāśah | akalpayat-pūrvavad-ēva lōkēn-
au[s]vān.
- 7 kṛp-ārdra[kṛta]-chitta-vṛttih || [4*] Samudra-dvīpa-sarvārā Hām-śchala-nanōharā | sarv-
chām-ajj
- 8 lōkānām madhya(dhya)kāl-ēyam vāsanīda(dha)tī || [5*] Tasyāś-cha ratna-pachhāyāḥ sarvasyā
madhya-varttinām(am) | Jātū[hā].
- 9 dvīpam vidut-ēśam lavat-ambudhī-vēshatitāt(am) || [6*] Dvīpē-pi tasmīn-Navadhā vibhakti
Himāchālā¹ d-śa kalāpam-ē-aa-
- 10 madhāt(dram) | bhāgam bhūva Bhāmatavasthām-āhuh pīlāśatī karmāgi kṛtām yatra || [7*]
Bhāshā-²am.
- 11 māchāra-bhīdā vibhinna(r)-dēśan-anākal-śubodhā vibhakti | varāś-cha tasmīn-kaumanīya-
vāsa-Tilūga-nāmā
- 12 sa chakṣeti dēśah || [8*] Mahardhi(eddhī)-ramyāgi purāgi naḍyab purā-śakā ramyatarā
naḍdhitāḥ | vanā³ny-a.
- 13 savyānami(ny-ajitālā-tatākā durgāy-adhīśhyāgi oha⁴ aṣṭi yatra || [9*] Eyaṁ-viśāh-
ambudhī-mēkhalān tā-
- 14 m-ajjapala dharma-naya-kramāga | Sām-āra-vadīyā narapāla-varyyāḥ purāga-middhāḥ
pūthūta-
- 15 bhāśah || [10*]

Second Plate. First Side

- 16 tātēśa tēśu⁵ kṣatīpālāśah⁶ kṣatīvarāḥ Kākatī-ratnā-jātāḥ | kālā Kalan mahipatī
varitāmāś Ti-
- 17 lūgam-śchāyā śāśaur-arvuh(rvim) || [11*] Tāhām-Ēkalā-nāma-nagarī pīthīśkṣatāḥ-
pām | Iśhvākā-
- 18 va(pā)m-Ayōhīy-ēva ramy-ābhāt-kula-vāsa-bhūḥ || [12*] Kālā-kramāt prayātēśa tēśv-
anāpa parā-
- 19 kramah | Prātāparatāś ajjantīḥ pālayāśāma mēdīnām(am) || [13*] Sarvā-pi dāna-pravagā
manūḥyā
- 20 dvīpātayā rajā-parā-samastāḥ | kālā-ud-śatī kṛta-kālā-chīnā yasmīn-malīnā śāśā
- 21 Vīra-Rudrā || [14*] Yasti(pu)ṇ-nabhīnāśantī āśan-ēkikāḥ prājāḥ prajā⁷-pālana-karmā-śakāḥ
| n-śamāśahur-ādya(n-na)-
- 22 rajāśa-mukhyān-Vayāti-Nābhīga-Bhagrat-ādyaḥ || [15*] Ath-aivam āśatā tēna Tu(ru*)-
śhāśā-
- 23 m-āśhīśvarah | Alahamādu-Sratrāgā mahād-vaīram amāśharat || [16*] Bhūpāla-aya-Kā-

¹ The letter ā is inserted between śa and śa.

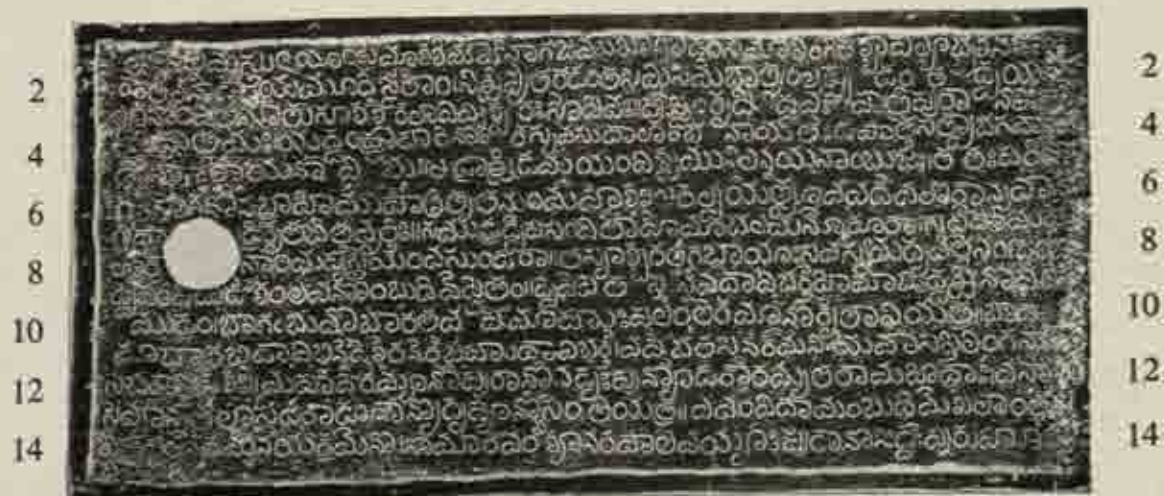
² Chā is inserted below the line between the letters ei and am with the mark of a cross above the line to indicate its place.

³ Tāha is inserted below the line with a curved line underneath and a cross mark above the line between the letters ān and kāl to indicate its place.

⁴ Between pā and ā in *Aravipāla*, a letter which looks like it is missed.

⁵ Prājā in *prajāpālana* is inserted below with a cross above it to mark its place.

VILASA GRANT OF PROLAYA-NAYAKA



ii, a



Scale : One-half

ii, b.

30	...	30
32	...	32
34	...	34
36	...	36
38	...	38
40	...	40

iii, a.

42	...	42
44	...	44
46	...	46
48	...	48
50	...	50
52	...	52

- 24 lēna yēna nikkēchatān gatāh | Jāmadagnyēna Rāmēna hata-kēhā mahābhūṭah || [17*] Vi-
śābhāṣa-bhāṣa-
25 s=ś=pi Vira-Rudrah prātāpavān | ajayat=sapta-kṛtvas-tam¹ nava-lakṣh-āva-sādhanaṁ
(nam) || [18*] Nīti-prasastō-
26 'pi bal-ādhiṭō='pi sahāya-yuktō='pi cha Vira-Rudrah² | bhāgya-khatēr-mānusha-mamḍa-
lasya Turusika-ba(bha)ṛta-
27 va(hur=va)śatām-ayāśt || [19*] Sa nīyamānō nagarīm svakīyām Dhīlīh prayatnād-Yavan-
śavarēṇa | Sōmō-
28 dībhavāyāh saritah³ prātīrō daivād-ayāśt-tridāś-ādhibhāṣaṁ(sam) || [20] Prātāparudra-
tigmānān lōk-āhṭara-ti-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 29 rōhitā || Turushk-āchūṭha-tamirēṇa samākṛāṣṭah mahālalāh(lam) || [21*] Prātāparudrēṇa
paratā parō-
30 etō ripūn=adhamō Yavanān gatō nu | nō chēd-gatō='emin Yavanaia=sah-aiva katham nir-
ābādha-sukham
31 [aj]mābhē || [22*] Kēchid-dhanādhyāh paribādhyamānā dhanāya⁴ pāpāir-vividhair-upāyāh
| kēchin=nirīkṣhy-aiva cha Pāmāṭō-
32 n paryyatyaṇa prāga-nabhasvatō='nyō || [23*] Dvijātayas= tyājita-karma-bandhā bhagnāś-
cha dēva-pratimā=sa-
33 māstāh | vidvad-varishṭhāh-chira-kāla-bhuktā=śarvō='py-apāhārīṣat-āgrahārāh || [24*] Āttē
karsheṇ-lābhō pā-
34 pair-Yavanaia=balātkārāt | dīn-ādina-kuṣumbhāh kṛishṇalā nālam-āpamāh || [25*] Dhana-
dār-ā-
35 [dikē] nṛgāh kasmīnśchid=api vastuni | sv-āyattatā-matir=n-ābhūd-bhūvi tasyāh mah-
āpa-
36 [di] || [26*] [Pēyā] surā gō-piāṭam cha bhūṭ(bhū)jyam līlā-vihāṭō dvija-ghāṭanaṁ cha | āśrū-
tam=śāṭ=Yavan-ā-
37 dhamānām katham nu jivēd-bhūvi jīva-lōkah || [27*] Ittham tair-Yavana-bhāṣāh pra-
bādhyamānaṁ Taihagam dha-
38 rapī-talam sur-āri-kalpāh(lpāh) | trāta(tā)maḥ kam=api hṛd-āpy-avindamānaṁ satitēpō
vanam=iva dāva-vahni-
39 [ushtam](shṭam) || [28*] Anantaratō śrīprātī yāvanām tām-ālōkyā phlām=amukachpatā-
mah | arś-ūvatī-
40 rṇō bhagavān-iv-ādyaḥ Prōla-kabittō vasmadhām bibharti || [29*] Pūṁsah pa(pu)ṇḍasya
padāṭ=ndīrṇuṇḍi(rṇam) va-

Third Plate, First Side

- 41 rṇuṇḍi(rṇam) yam-ā[huh] Kalikāla-varyam(ryam) | tatra prasastō Musunūri-vamōṣ ya]-janma-
dhāma [prathā]-

¹ Śikā originally engraved has been erased and corrected into śka.

² The length mark of śva has been cancelled by a cross mark circumscribed by a circle.

³ Saritā is inscribed below the line with the mark of a cross above.

⁴ Dhana² is engraved below the line with a cross mark above the line to show its place.

42. 16 prithivya[m]([vyām]) [] [30*] Sa Prōla-bhūpē Mīmanūri-vamāyasa-tathā-vidham Yāva-
mam-ādhipatyam (tyam) |
- 43 viāv-ōpa[ivyāna viāpimkha]6(6)na vyantinasad¹ bāko-balēna viraḥ || [31*] Nām-ōya tōchām
Yavan-ādha-
- 44 mānān māttrah kim-ucchakāṣa-karna-kārī | dhā yad-ucchārāṣa māttrata-² tē dumaṣi
satitya-
- 45 jya koṭ6=[py]=abhūvan || [32*] Vāḥ prajā-samabādhyanta Yavani-³ tām-anūjamaḥ⁴ |
pradhavanta-
- 46 m tam⁵-ōv-ōgar-mi[dā]gh-ā(ṣ*)tā ira bradhā(ḍam) || [33*] Yā pōḍitā-Turoshkair-anāntam
mā-
- 47 mudi ghōam(rata) | 16 tām-ōva nūjaghur-balām-āstrayam mahat-khyām (tum) [34*]
lītham pa-
- 48 rāya prabalaṁ papam⁶cham Yāvamam bal | naṣṭam-āpadi kaṣṭāyāṁ dharmam punar-
avṛtita || [35*]
- 49 Apāhritāḥ-tair-atipāpa-chāraiḥ prattān purāṇair-manujōndra-varyyāḥ | anekasab⁷
pūrva-
- 50 ha(ma)lūmōbhyaḥ Prōla-kahit⁸55⁹-dadat-āgrahārām || [36*] Kṛitva pravṛttān virāṣa-pra-
sūgāt ya-
- 51 jhān haviṛ-dhūma-paracharābhīḥ | Turush[ka]-samahārāṣa-jāta-pāpān-ānūllāṣa pradāṣa-a-
52 naghān-akūṣhīt || [37*] Kṛishvalāka-ch-ōpi kṛish(b)h(ōḥ) phalānām yath-ādītam
bhāgam-ādah prabhīḥ(tā)-

Third Plate, Second Side

- 53 b | tapasvīmaś-ahastham-ira prabhāṣam prithi-bhujē¹⁰-smāi tapasaḥ phallānāb(nām) ||
[38*] Yād- yat-kṛitam Pārāṣ-
- 54 kail¹¹r- vyatyastam dharaṇāḥ | tat-tat-sarvam yathā-pūrvam vyarīnabād-ayam bal ||
[39*] lītha-
- 55 m Prōla-mahidha]rōpa balinā sarvamaś-ō¹² yam chikrāt-kaṣṭāyā Yavan-ōndra-ghō-
- 56 ra-nikṛitā-samāśchya haṣṭe dhritā | saṁtusthā sukṛit-ōpachāra-vidhibhir-viśmṛitya pūrvā(n*)-
57 nīpāt(s)-samāpā bhāvam-ananyagaḥ vitanatē saṁstṛitya-saṁdarsitam(ram) || [40*] Tasya-
Eti tasyān bhuvī tē-
- 58 jadhānt mahābhritō Mālyavata-samipē | Gōdāvarī-prānta-bhuvī prasaṁtām
- 59 yāḥ Rākapall-ti vadanti dīyāḥ || [41*] Dāna-bhōg-ōpayagly¹³(y*)jāhi(ṣ*)-sarrābhīr-vasu-
bhūṛ-
- 60 bhīḥ | y-āṭichakrāma nagerīma¹⁴m-Alakāḥ ch-Āmarā¹⁵vattib(tā) [42*] Muktāphalair-
vidrūma-bhāṇga-jāla-

¹ Read Yantinasad-² dumaṣam.

² The letter sa has been partly mutilated by the cutting of the ring hole and therefore looks like s.

³ Prayam in perspective is written below the line with a cross mark above.

⁴ Ka in anūjamaḥ is written similarly below the line with a cross mark above.

⁵ The āṣṭa is redundant.

⁶ The letter ma is redundant.

⁷ The letter tē is engraved below the line with a cross mark above.

- 83 m patiś=cha | saubhrātra-saukhy-ānubhavāya bhūmim samprāptavamītv=iva yau vi-
 84 bhāṣāḥ || [56*] Jyēṣṭhas=tayōr*]-Vennaya-añri-varyyaḥ prastāta-vidyā-vimay-ābhiraṁaḥ |
 viśā-
 85 [rihi]r-yyaḥ ka(ku)mud-āvadāṣair-yyaśōbhiraśāśa-surabhikarōti || [57*] Yat-pāda-pamkāru-

Fifth Plate, First Side

- 86 ha-pārīva-namra-kahitāvara-ārāpi-lalāṣa-lagnā | brāhmi lipir-bhūgyavad=āpū(sphu)radbhira-
 nakh-āṣaṇa-[jā]-
 87 hie-suvachotvam=iti || [58*] Yat=asti Vidyā na cha tatra Lakshmir-yatr=asti Lakshmir-na
 cha tatra Vidyā | Vi-
 88 dyā cha Lakshmiś=cha¹ vihāya vairam yasmim=abhā tā vasataḥ prahṛiṣṭā || [59*] Bhūgād-
 anantaram dā-
 89 nam prasiddham prithivītāḥ | tyaktvā bhūgaṁ vitarāṇam yasmim=eva vijimbhatē || [60]
 Yad-dā-
 90 na-lakshmi-samprāpti-budhyā(ddhyā) svar-lōka-dhēnavaḥ | ūrdhva-pādāśa-charaṇt=iva
 chiraṁ ghō-
 91 rataram tapaḥ || [61*] Yasmād=avāptair-bahubhis-suvatpāir-anārat-ānubhita-yāga-
 92 tatitrah | vihānti bhūman vimala-prachārā yaśaḥ-patākā iva yāyājū-
 93 kīḥ || [62*] Viprēhiyō vidhivād-dhēnūḥ pradatvōha(tt=ōbha)yatō²mukhīḥ | yaḥ karōti
 nijān kṛtān-nirmalā-
 94 m sarvatōmukhīn(khīm) || [63*] Yan-nirīṣṭ-āgrahārēḥu pratīṣṭhanti bhūsurāḥ |
 pada-vākya-pramā-
 95 ōjāśa dharmā-ataṁbhā iv=ōchchhritāḥ || [64*] Kṛtēḥu dānēḥu mahatē yēna viśvāsa-
 vibhrājita-māna-
 96 sēna | chirāya dāna-pratipādakāni prayānti śāstrāṇi yath-ārta(rīṣa)-bhāvam(vam) ||
 [65*] Nīśhitya-
 97 tam Prōla-nipō-tipātrāḥ samprārta(rīṣa)yad-grāma-varam grahitum³ | prati-grahāt
 a'ō-pi nirvīta-chētā-

Fifth Plate, Second Side

- 98 a-tat-pakṣhapātēna kathamchid=aiśchhat || [66*] Tatō=nu-(ō)dāvari tushṭa-chētā grahō
 vidhōḥ prādīśad=agrahā-
 99 raṁ (ram) | Kōp-āvanī-maṁda(yā)la-sārahūtam grāmam sa tasmā Vilas-ābhīdhānam-
 (nam) || [67*] Vibhānti yasyā-
 100 tipachōj(i)līmāni kahētrāṇi śāl-ikānu-vapō(n-ō)chitāni | ārāma-bhūgāśa-cha bhujāṅga-
 vallī-rarābh-ā-
 101 mra-pūgi-panas-ādī-ramyāḥ || [68*] Tam=agrahārāṁ pratigrihya tasmāt Prōla-kahitāśad-
 aṭha Vennayā-

¹ After ś=cha the letter śi was engraved and scored off with a cross.

² The letter ā is engraved below the line.

³ The letter pu is engraved below the line. Read "ram."

- 102 ryyah | sah-ānujō-ditsata bhūsurēbhyah pradattayō tasya dhan-ārjanah hi || 69* |
Anōka-śāstr-ārpa-
- 103 va-karpa-dhārān Vōd-ādhyāsan lahi(sahlam)ghana-jūmghikān sah | prasiddha-śi-ācharaṇ-
ābhijātyān-a
- 104 yō(yū)thayād-vipravarāṇś-chirēṇa || 70* | Aśvaryya-bhōgair-yyutam-śah(a)-sankhyais-
tam-śahkay-
- 105 tvā nripatēś-cha nāmnā | aśt-ōttarēṇa pravibhajya bhāgais-śatēna aś-śāt-śannatir-
-dvijōbhyah || 71* |
- 106 Aś-ātra bhāgināti nāma-śākṣ-ōdir-gōtra-vargatāh | pravarnyatē samśōṇa bhāga-
śankhyā cha
- 107 bhāginām(nām) || 72* | Sarvē-pi bhāginō-śanti prāthamyam guṇavattimāh | tath-āpi
krama-vpittivād-vā-
- 108 chō mē n-ātra mūdhatā || 73* | Śrī || Upādhyāyō Dēchi-bhāttah pada-vākya-pramāṇa-vit |
Mallikōchi-
- 109 c-manahī cha Yājusau Kapi-gōtra-jan || 74* | Pada-Bhāvana-bhāttas-cha Pāṇinīś-śabda-
śāsanō | śudhāś-śulikīś-āpāra-gath-

Sixth Plate, First Side

- 110 bhātra-gaṇit-ārpaṇah || 75* | Pada-Śi(Śi)ddhaya-bhāttas-cha jyōtir-dīśhta-jagad-vidhah |
kalit-ākṣha-vāg-jālah prājñō Bha-
- 111 dra-budh-āgrah | || 76* | Pina-Bhāvana-bhāttas-cha vāgmī nripati-vallābhah | jyōtiś-
śāstram mahad-yasya tīrtiya-
- 112 m-iva bēchanam(nam) | || 77* | Vidvaj-jana-mata-prājñas-sabh-ārhaṇ Pina-Śi(Śi)ddhayaḥ |
Mallayāt-Chōmakūr-ōpapadō
- 113 Dāmaya-kōvidaḥ | || 78* | Jyōtir-vit-Sōmay-āryyaś-cha Manohi-bhāttas-cha Kōśavah |
Jakkay-ādhyā-
- 114 pakō dhīmān Bhāskarah Pinnayas-śudhīh || 79* | Gaḍḍapallī Peddī-bhāttas-śabda-
śāstra-Patanjaliḥ | Taittirī-ō-
- 115 papad-ōpētā Vēthay-Appala-Yajñamāh || 80* | Adhyāpakā(ka)ś-Chennay-ākhyas-
śatat-ādhyā-
- 116 paṇ-ōttarah | Śrīkaniśha-pada-samśōvī Śrīkaniśha-vibudh-āgrah || 81* | Ādityas-satyam
-ādityō pra-
- 117 hvah prasiddha-tamō-pahah | Pammappalūr-Nāgasvāmī manahī Śingayāv-ubhan || 82* |
Nṛsim-
- 118 ka-bhātt-ōpādhyāḥ kavir-vēdānta-pāragah | Yājusā śmha śkas-tu Pedday-ādhyāpa-
- 119 k-ōttamah || 83* | Śhaḍ-vimśati-dvijā śō Bhāradvāja-kul-ōdbhavah | Sōmāyaś-bhātt-
ō[pā]dhyāyus-[Śm]ṛiti-
- 120 jñah Kōśavas-śudhīh | * | || 84* | Pōtappay-ādhyāpakāś-cha dharma-śāstra-kṛta-śramah |
Śi(Śi)ngappay-ādhyāpa-
- 121 kaś-cha śahya-śankarāmīś-śgamah || 85* | Rāmay-ādhyāpakō Maṣahy-Appalū-Sōmappa-
yō-unayah | Nārī-

* The letter ga is written below the line, with a cross mark above to indicate its place.

* There is a fiscal design between the dandas.

Sixth Plate, Second Side

- 122 yaṁ-ādhyāpakas-cha Mallu-bhaṭṭas-cha Yājushāḥ || 86* | Vidyān Sindhagiris-cha dvādaśa
Kaupṭhaya-gōtrajāḥ |
- 123 Gāvind-ādhyāpakas-ādḥur-Nāgay-ādhyāpakō-parah || 87* | Boli-bhaṭṭas-cha-āgamēshu
pauḍhō ganita-
- 124 marnu-vit | Rāmāyō Ganita-brahma-bīrudas-Sūryas sūdhīḥ || 88* | Adhyāpakō Nara-
hari-cha¹ Ganna-
- 125 yō-ādhyāpak-ōtamaḥ | Sūri-bhaṭṭas-cha Ya(Yā)jushī sūcā (ta) ārchau ta Kāmayaḥ
|| 89* | Erapōt-ādhyā-
- 126 pakat-cha dāsa Kāsyapa-gōtrajāḥ | Elkurū Appal-bhaṭṭas Padmanābhas-cha Vallabhaḥ
|| 90* | Trivikrama-sūdhīr-ārya
- 127 ga-tamira-vid-Yājushā-imō | Anashta-bhaṭṭō Vedānta-śabda-sūtra-kṛta-śramaḥ || 91* |
Kāmāyō-
- 128 'ādhyāpakas-cha-ārchau Hāritāś-śhaḍ-imō dvijāḥ | Yajur²-āmbudhī-pāra-jñau Guru-
tānta-viśāradau || 94*
- 129 Sūdhīyār-Īvarāv-ētau dvau Parāśara-gōtrajau | Velu[m*]palli Pōchan-āryya[ḥ] svāśhina³-
Yajur-ā-
- 130 gamah || 93* | Nārā⁴yaṇa(pō)-ppayās-cha-ārchahō(rehchau) dvau Vādhūla-kul-
ōdhavau | ā-śūgō Bahvrichi nishgā-
- 131 15 Vādō Vennaya-samjākaḥ || 94* | Gaṅgay-āryyō Yajur-sūro dvau Vāśaktha-kul-ōdhā-
vau |
- 132 Pannuay⁵-ādhyāpakas-cha-ārcha śkaḥ Kauśika-gōtrajāḥ || 95* | Yajur-nigama-nirvōdha
Chippayō-Gau-
- 133 tam-ānvayaḥ | Kupa⁶-dvi-vidha-Mīmāṃsā-tirpa-Vyākaraṇ-āmbudhīḥ || 96* | Vāikunṭha-
bhaṭṭ-ōpādhyāyāḥ

Seventh Plate, First Side

- 134 kavir-ādhvāra-tachtra-vit | Rāmāya-bhaṭṭas-cha Yaju[ḥ*]-khyātāv-Ātrōya-gōtrajau |
|| 97* | Appāya-bhaṭṭ-ōpā-
- 135 dhīyō jyōtiḥ⁷-jūḥ-namta-kōvidah | śabda-śasana-vit-Pōti-bhaṭṭas-Tippaya-samjā[ḥ]-
kaḥ || 98* | Vaiyāṅka-ma-
- 136 ta-pauḍhaḥ su(su)dhīr-Viśvēśvar-ābhīdhaḥ | Chukka-bott-ādhi(di)kan Mallikūchi⁸-
Mallāya-Peddayau || 99* | Sūdhīyan

¹ Read *Narāharī-Ganna*: cha is superfluous.

² The letter *dh* is written below the line with a cross mark above to indicate its place.

³ *Ja* is written above the line with a tiny cross mark below.

⁴ The letters *am* are written below the line.

⁵ Read *Panna* or *Panna*.

⁶ Read *Upila*.

⁸ *Ch* is written below the line.

- 137 Yājunhā viprās=apta Śrīvatas-gōtmajāḥ | Bollay-ādhyāpakō dhīmān=Kāśavā-cha
Yajur-vidau || 100*] Manre-
- 138 yōtanu(yan tau) Gārgya-gōtrō Yājunhō Vissayas-andhā | Taragālapaly-abhijanah Pōchan-
ādhyāpak-ōttamah || 101*]
- 139 Ma(M)rayas=cha Yajur=sa(sū)rau dvau Śāndilya¹-kaś-ōdhavau | Peda-Bhāvaka-
bhattas=cha Peda-Sūdhaya-Bhadrayau || 102*]
- 140 Sa-pād-ārdhā-dvādaś-ānāśa-trayas=saṁbhūya sōdarāḥ | tan-[mā]tra-bhāgakan dvau cha
Pina-Bhāvana-Śi(Si)ddha-
- 141 yau || 103*] Chakka-bott-ādikō Mallikōchis=s-ārdha-dvi-bhāgakaḥ | Appāya-bhatt-
ōpādhyāyan(yō) jyōti-
- 142 s-jōḥ²-māṭṭa-kōvidah || 104*] Sa Dēchi-bhatt-ōpadhyāyō Vidvān Simhagirih parah |
ādhyāpakāy=ubhau Pōta-
- 143 ppaya-Śi(Si)ṁgappayan dvijau || 105*] Vēlu(m*)palli- Pōchan-āryya iti sapta-dvi-bhā-
gakaḥ | Mallāyapeddi-Śrikamṣh-Ādi-
- 144 tyās=s-ārdh-aika-bhāgakaḥ || 106*] Maṁcheyappalū-Sūngayan cha Pedday-ādhyāpakō-py-
amī | Paṁch-ārdha-bhāgakaḥ vi-
- 145 prās=ādhās=tv-ēk-aika-bhāginah || 107*] Ēk-aika-bhāgakan dōvau Gantamēvara-
Kāśavan | āditi=svam=abhavan prastigraha-
- 146 yujō dvijāḥ || 108*] Sa-grāma-dāvā(va)-bhāgās=ta jātā-oh=āhāt-ōta(eta)ram ātatā(tam) ||
Attha āmī-nirṇayaḥ | tā-
- 147 pupu-sīma Vrid(dh)ā-Gōdāvari dātēdi bhaṁḍi-pēvunan=unḍi kro(ppu)dh-gāruva sīma-
gānu imhika yāgnēyānaku

*Seventh Plate, Second Side**

- 148 ..m=va(chehi Cheru)ēāḥ sīmagānu vachchi aṁṭṭaṁ chāyane Māmiḍi³-kubṭa tūrupunam-
gānu tō
- 149 [m]aḥḥa tūrupu-kara sīmagānu paḍuva-nui (yi) mōchanu adi [āgnē]ya sīma | dakṣiṇa-di-
[ku]ku [paḍu]-
- 150 mata Bhīmavarapu-pāṭi upu[n]gāli sīma ||*] aṁḍun=unḍi uttarānaku veḷi Vāyavū(vyā)-
nanu [n]-
- 151 vuḇu-bāḍe- paṁṭan=unḍi īlān⁴nyānaku veḷanu mūmḍu-vaṁkalanu mana
- 152 ūri mōlapalli paḍumaṭi pedda-rāvi sīma ||*] aṁḍun=unḍi īlān⁴nya⁴ tīrānaku
- 153 veḷi vaṁgala-kāḥ dakṣiṇapu pedda-chintan=unḍi īlānya tīrānanu

* The *asa=dra* is engraved above the line.

* The writing on the plate especially from line 100 onwards is very indifferently engraved, probably by a different scribe.

* The letter *ḍi* is written below the line.

* The *asa=dra* is redundant.

- 154 vadupala-kāli dāhṭi Śirupalle-tōṃṭa tōṃpu-kara śma-gānu Viddha-Gau-
 155 tam dāhṭi kākā'nya śrōṇaku veḷi Śirupalle-tōṃṭa dakṣiṇapu-kara-mūṇḍi rā-
 156 vi śma-gānu tīrāṇanu īlāṇny'āṇanu Ōḷṭi-kāluva-gaṇṇu-mūṇḍi^a rāvi-mūṇḍi k-tirā-
 157 nūṇḍi Ōḷṭi-uttarapu-gaṇṇu śma-gānu mūṇḍi-ūḷa-muttala-Māṇḍapu puṇṭa
 158 mōpukoni dakṣiṇāṇanu Viddha-Guātami mōvanu || i vi śma-saṇḍibulu ||^b
 159 Prāṇāṇi vālu ||^c]

^a The *vaṇḍu* is redundant.

^b The letter *di* is written below the line.

TWO PANDYA INSCRIPTIONS FROM DINDIGUL—PLATE I



(from a Photograph)

No. 31—TWO PANDYA INSCRIPTIONS FROM DINDIGUL

(2 Plates)

H. K. NARAHNARAYAN AND K. G. KRISHNAN, COOTACAMUND

The two epigraphs edited below come from the villages Rāmanāthapuram and Perumbullī in the Dindigul Taluk of the Madurai District, Madras. Rāmanāthapuram is about 6 miles due east of Dindigul, a railway station on the Tiruchirappalli-Madurai line of the Southern Railway and Perumbullī is about 9 miles due north east of Rāmanāthapuram. The Rāmanāthapuram record was copied as early as the year 1906¹ and the Perumbullī inscription recently during the collection tour in February 1956.² Both the epigraphs are engraved on boulders which show on their engraved faces clear signs of having been dressed for the purpose. The Rāmanāthapuram record with bold deep-cut characters is remarkably well preserved while the Perumbullī epigraph which is comparatively less deeply engraved and is on the flat top of a boulder is exposed to the effects of the weather, which has resulted in some damage to the writing in certain crucial passages of the text. Nevertheless, the main theme of the record can be substantially reconstructed. The two epigraphs together furnish certain interesting details which help us to understand some important chronological sequences in the early Pāṇḍya history that were hitherto only conjectured. Both the epigraphs are written in simple chaste Tamil, a feature that is characteristic of the early lithic records of this dynasty. Palaeographically both the epigraphs may be assigned to about the middle of the 9th century. However, a close comparison of their alphabet would show that the Rāmanāthapuram inscription could be assigned to a period at least about three decades earlier than the Perumbullī record. This, it will be seen, conforms perfectly with the conclusions arrived at in the sequel.

The Rāmanāthapuram inscription consists of 11 lines which occupy a rectangular space 3'-4" × 2'-1" of the boulder. Crude sketches of a fish, a bow and a lamp-stand are engraved on the proper right side of the inscription while on the proper left only a lamp-stand is depicted opposite the one on the right side. The fish is no doubt the emblem of the Pāṇḍyas. The bow by its side, the emblem of the Chēras, apparently signifies the Pāṇḍya overlordship over the Chēras.

As for its contents, the epigraph records that Parāntaka-Pallivēṇḍan of the Nakkam-Puṭṭan who accompanied king Māraṇ-Jaḍaiyan on an expedition to Iḍavai in the Chōḷa country, constructed a tank called Puṭṭan-ēra after his own name, (providing it) with revetment and the main outlet. But some work having still remained over, Puṭṭa-Nakkan completed it. That (i.e., the main) work was done by the stone-mason Vaḍugaḍ-Kēṭṭan. His son having completed the remaining work, Puṭṭa-Nakkan gave the latter as *āṇai* two pieces of land irrigated by the village tank in the two divisions of Puṭṭa-*nēṇḍu*, each sowable with a *paḍakkā* of paddy.³

The Perumbullī record (in 18 lines) commences with the mention of a place by name Koḷumbūr and of the chief Pallivēṇḍan who probably fell fighting, apparently in an encounter at this place.

¹ A. R. Ep., No. 800 of 1908.

² *Ibid.*, No. 220 of 1956-58.

³ The passage has been construed in another way also. It is said that "Nakkam-Puṭṭan granted to him as *āṇai*, land in the two divisions of the Puṭṭa (for Puṭṭa-*nēṇḍu* and *paḍakkā* paddy per field watered through the channel from the headworks of this tank." *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, Vol. II, No. 1090.

Pallivēḷān's son, Parāntaka-Ppallivēḷān is stated to have served in the campaign at Idavai. The latter's son, Andavēḷān Kurumbar-Ādittan Pulla-Nakkaṇ served Mahārāja Kō-chChadaiya-Mārar. He was associated with the king in the campaigns at Viḷḷam, Idavai and Tirukkuḍamūḷḷu. Pulla-Nakkaṇ's son was Pallivēḷān Nakkaṇ-Pullaṇ whose activities are then described in greater detail. In this connection are mentioned Sinhalatāja, Śālagrāma, a Varaguna-mahārāja who is described to have killed a huge elephant whose name appears to be Ayirāraṇam and lastly Sennilam. Pallivēḷān Nakkaṇ-Pullaṇ is stated to have led nineteen elephants to the battle field at the last mentioned place. Unfortunately the portion of the inscription describing the events connected with these places and persons is so damaged that it is difficult to make out an accurate picture of the events. The record then recounts how the king honoured Nakkaṇ-Pullaṇ highly by bestowing on him gifts for his services and conferring on him the title *Kumaraṇ*. Then Nakkaṇ-Pullaṇ and his son are stated to have made a gift of land to a person whose name ends with Tirumalai. The wording of the concluding part which again is badly damaged, seems to be couched somewhat on the same lines as the Rāmanāthapuram epigraph and probably contained the details of the extent of land granted to the donee.

To begin with the donor of the Perumbullī inscription and his son, it will be apparent that Pallivēḷān Nakkaṇ-Pullaṇ served with distinction Varaguna-mahārāja. Leaving for a later discussion the services rendered by this chief to the king, we may attempt to establish the identity of this Varaguna-mahārāja. Nakkaṇ-Pullaṇ's father, Andavēḷān Kurumbar-Ādittan Pulla-Nakkaṇ served under Kō-Chchadaiya-Mārar.² If the kings Kō-Chchadaiya-Mārar and Varaguna mahārāja were related as father and son, as they indeed appear to, then Śadaiya-Mārar may be identified with Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha who, according to the Sinnamānur Plates of Rājasiṅga³ was the father of Varaguna II. The fact that the Viḷḷam and Kuḍamūḷḷu campaigns of Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha mentioned in this charter and those of Pulla-Nakkaṇ in which he is said to have served Śadaiya-Mārar in the Perumbullī record are identical establishes the identity suggested above. The Perumbullī inscription mentions, in addition, another campaign, namely that of Idavai. The Sinnamānur plates, it may be noted, do not mention this campaign.

The predecessor of Andavēḷān was Parāntaka-Ppallivēḷān. The Perumbullī inscription mentions him merely by his title while the Rāmanāthapuram record gives, in addition, his name as Nakkaṇ-Pullaṇ. The former epigraph refers to his expedition to Idavai while the latter specifies that he accompanied king Mārāṇ-Jadaiyaṇ on an expedition to Idavai in the Chōḷa country, obviously the same as the Idavai of the Perumbullī inscription. The Idavai campaign of Nakkaṇ-Pullaṇ alias Parāntaka-Ppallivēḷān with Mārāṇ-Jadaiyaṇ was in all probability different from that of his son Pulla-Nakkaṇ with Śadaiya-Mārar. Mārāṇ-Jadaiyaṇ, the overlord of Parāntaka-Ppallivēḷān Nakkaṇ-Pullaṇ may easily be identified with Varaguna (I), the father and predecessor of Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha, the grandfather of Varaguna II and Parāntaka Viranūrayaṇa Śadaiyaṇ all of whom are mentioned in the larger Sinnamānur plates.⁴

Parāntaka-Ppallivēḷān's father is referred to merely as Pallivēḷān. This was perhaps only his title similar to that of his son or grandson. Probably his name was Pulla-Nakkaṇ, judging from that of his grandson. Pallivēḷān is associated with the name of Kulumbūr but the details

² This probably indicates the number of the conventional divisions of a regiment in the army.

³ A certain Andanāttu-vēḷān figures in four inscriptions of Mārāṇ-Jadaiyaṇ alias Varaguna-Mahārāja from Lalgudi (above, Vol. XX, p. 22), Tiruvellāṅṅai (*A. R. Ep.*, No. 84 of 1910), Tiruvittāppallī (*A. R. Ep.*, No. 412 of 1914) and Javanthāthapuram (above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 42) respectively, all of which are dated in the same year viz. 4-9th year of the Pāṇḍya king. Obviously the vēḷān who figures in all these records in the same capacity must be one and the same person. But whether he is identical with Andavēḷān Kurumbar-Ādittan Pulla-Nakkaṇ of the Perumbullī record is not certain.

⁴ *SIJ*, Vol. III, p. 451, ll. 20-22.

writing on the rock here has peeled off.¹ However, the events of the period as could be gleaned from the Ceylonese Chronicle² and the contemporary sources enable us to have a fair idea of the relationship that must have prevailed between the Pāṇḍya, Śiṃhaja and the Pallava kings of the period and therefore of the nature of Nakkam-Pallan's act in question. The Ceylonese chronicle *Cūḷavāṇṇa*³ while recounting the contemporary events says that as a reprisal to the Pāṇḍya king's invasion and plunder of Ceylon during the reign of Śēna I and in response to an appeal from 'a prince of the Pāṇḍya family'⁴ reported to have been ill-treated by the reigning king, Śēna II sent a commander with enormous forces, who not only recaptured all the treasures but also enthroned the prince after defeating the Pāṇḍya king who died of the wound received in the battle. The above account has been construed by scholars in different ways. One view holds that the Pāṇḍya prince referred to in the Chronicle was Ugra Pāṇḍya and that Varaguṇa II was the ruling king.⁵ Another view identifies the Pāṇḍya prince with Mayā-Pāṇḍya and the ruling king with Śrīmāra-Śrīvallabha.⁶ There is also a view, recently expressed, which identifies the Pāṇḍya prince with Varaguṇa II himself and the contemporary Pāṇḍya king with Varaguṇa's father Śrīmāra-Śrīvallabha.⁷ Yet another view presupposes the existence of a prince otherwise unknown, who was installed on the Pāṇḍya throne by the Śiṃhaja king after the latter defeated Śrīmāra.⁸ The wording of the record, mutilated as it is, in respect of the relationship that prevailed between the Pāṇḍya and the Śiṃhaja kings,⁹ seems to lend support to the late Mr. Venkayya's view that it might have been Varaguṇa II who sought and obtained the Śiṃhaja king's help.¹⁰ However, the inscription does not give us any clue as to the circumstances that necessitated Varaguṇa to seek the help of the Śiṃhaja king, if ever he did so. He was no pretender to the Pāṇḍya throne but was its legitimate heir, being the elder of the two sons of his father and predecessor Śrīmāra, nor is there any indication in the copper-plate charters or other records of the family that there was ever a dissension either between the father and the sons or among the brothers themselves, to postulate that the aggrieved prince who sought the help of the Śiṃhaja to regain his throne might have been Varaguṇa. We are not in a position to visualize a situation when Varaguṇa, the legal heir to the Pāṇḍya throne was overlooked and ill-treated by the king and therefore sought the help of his father's erstwhile enemy to regain his throne.¹¹ Who then was the Pāṇḍya prince who was supported by the Śiṃhaja king? What was Varaguṇa's position with reference to the

¹ The actual reading of the text as can be made out on the stone reads, *Śiṃhaja-śiṃja . . . [śiṃ] śiṃja-śiṃja* (l. 7-8). This, put in apposition with the phrase *paṇḍya-pāṇḍya-śiṃja* (ll. 11-12) points to both these acts as those of Nakkam-Pallan, the one in respect of the Śiṃhaja king and the other in respect of his kinsman Varaguṇa-śiṃja. Were the former also a friendly act like the latter, the relationship between the Śiṃhaja and the Pāṇḍya monarchs could not obviously have been otherwise than friendly. But the improbability of this has been shown below by a discussion of the events of the period.

² *Cūḷavāṇṇa*, Chapters L and LI, Geiger's translation, pp. 128 ff.

³ The expression *Pāṇḍya-pāṇḍya-śiṃja* in the text of the Chronicle is capable of yielding the meaning 'a prince of the Pāṇḍya royal family' or 'a son of the Pāṇḍya king'.

⁴ *Historical Sketches of Ancient Ceylon*, pp. 140-41. This view does not fit in with any column of the Ceylonese Chronicle proposed so far.

⁵ *The Pāṇḍya Kingdom*, p. 72. The author has since changed his views for reasons not stated. He makes Varaguṇa II, a pretender to the throne for which there is no warrant; vide *History of India*, Part I, p. 222; *History of South India*, p. 154.

⁶ This view has failed to take into account the statement in the *Cūḷavāṇṇa* that the prince who was supported by the Ceylonese was ill-treated by the Pāṇḍya king. There is no evidence whatsoever that Varaguṇa was ever ill-treated by his father, the ruling king. All these views were expressed by Mr. Venkayya; *A. R. Ep.* 1902, p. 56; *id. Ep. Seg.*, Vol. V, pp. 103-3.

⁷ *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, pp. xxx-xxviii (see also p. xxxiii, fn. 1).

⁸ See note 1 above.

⁹ *A. R. Ep.*, 1902, p. 56.

¹⁰ *Cūḷavāṇṇa* (Geiger), Part I, p. 150.

contemporary rulers? That Varaguna was a contemporary of Nripatunga is proved by the Tiruvadi inscription¹ dated in the 18th year of the reign of the Pallava king. The Bahur Plates² dated in the 8th year of Nripatunga refer to the aid rendered by the Pallava king to a Pāṇḍya. The passage *yaṭ-prasādij-jil sūṭ Pāṇḍyaṇa enmarṭ parṭ* of the record suggests that the Pāṇḍya could have been no other than the one who figures in the Tiruvadi inscription, i.e. Varaguna II and that the Pallava by whose favour the other (i.e. Pāṇḍya) obtained an army formerly was his ally.³ What could have been the occasion for the Pallava to have gone to the aid of the Pāṇḍya? In all probability it was the occasion of the Ceylonese intrusion on behalf of the 'ill-treated' Pāṇḍya prince who sought their aid. Nakkam-Puṭṭan claims to have led a contingent of elephants to Seṅgilaṁ to the succour of his liege Varaguna-mahārāja. The record is silent about the source of this reinforcement. Could it have been the favour of the Pallava? Granting that the arguments advanced above are admissible, the event that appears to have culminated in Varaguna-mahārāja regaining his throne may be reconstructed thus: an unknown Pāṇḍya prince, obviously a pretender appealed to the Sinhala king Sēna II for help; the Singhalese army, under its commander met the Pāṇḍya king Śrināra in battle, wounded him and having set up the Pāṇḍya prince on the throne, was marching back to its country. At this juncture Varaguna-mahārāja, the legitimate heir, aided by Pallava Nripatunga with a contingent of elephants led by Nakkam-Puṭṭan, routed the pretender as well as the Singhalese⁴ and regained the throne. It appears thus that this might be the event recorded in the Perumbull epigraph and therefore the act of Nakkam-Puṭṭan towards the Sinhalarāja in the context of the situation discussed could hardly have been friendly. Indeed it could not have been otherwise in view of the continued loyal relationship that existed between the members of this family and the Pāṇḍya kings for four generations.

Among the places mentioned in the records viz. Kuḷumbūr, Iḍavai, Viḷḷam, Tirukkudamōḷku, Śālagrāmam, Seṅgilaṁ, and Paḷḷi-nāḍu, the identity of Kuḷumbūr or Seṅgilaṁ is still unknown. Seṅgilaṁ is one of the places where the Pāṇḍyas are known to have fought with their foes on more than one occasion. Māra-varman, the father of Kō-chChadayan Nayadhiraj fought here against an unnamed enemy.⁵ Parāntakan Vira Nārāyaṇa Śaḍayan, the successor of Varaguna II is also known to have shown his prowess in archery in the battle-field of Seṅgilaṁ.⁶

As for Iḍavai two different identifications have been proposed so far. One of them identifies the place with Iḍavai in Maṇṇi-nāḍu on the basis of an inscription of a later date which gives also the other name of the village as Śōḷāntaka-chaturvēdunaṅgalam.⁷ The other identifies it with Iḍaiyāṭṭamaṅgalam in the Lalgudi Taluk, Tiruchirappalli District on the basis of nearly contemporary inscriptions copied from the region.⁸ Both the identifications have got their own merits

¹ S. I. J., Vol. XII, No. 71; J. R. Ep., 1922, p. 1071.

² Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 10 ff.; S. I. J., Vol. II, p. 313 ff.

³ The absence of any records of Nripatunga dated between his 26th (above, Vol. IV, p. 180 f.) and 41st (J. R. Ep., 1943-44, No. 138) regnal years, the pretensions of Aparāṇṭa's inscriptions ranging upto his 18th regnal year within parts of the Chingleput and the Chittoor Districts, and Varaguna's encounter with Aparāṇṭa at Śrīpuramhiyam, and the uncertainty of the latter's relationship with the members of the main line, all these factors seem to point to Varaguna's sustained friendship with Nripatunga.

⁴ It is natural that the Chōḷas would keep silent over the reverses of its armies on this occasion as well as over the fate of the Pāṇḍya prince. Could the former be Ugra-pāṇḍya?

⁵ Above, Vol. XVII, p. 306, line 30.

⁶ S. I. J., Vol. III, p. 453, ll. 117-118.

⁷ J. R. Ep., 1941, No. 42 See III, Vol. XIV, No. 37.

⁸ Above, XXVIII, p. 41.

and drawbacks. There are numerous places called Idavāṭṭi, Idavāṭṭimaṅgalam, Idavāṭṭūr, Idavāṭ in Tanjore District and Idavāṭ and Idavāṭtaṅkuḍi in Tiruchirappalli District, all of which are situated along the border land lying between the traditional (sometimes shifting) frontiers of the Chōḷa and the Pāṇḍya countries. Until all these places are explored, it is very difficult to locate Idavai beyond doubt for, the names of each one of these villages can be shortened to the identical form of Idavai. Vijinam has been identified with a fishing village of the same name in South Travancore.¹ Tirukkudamūḷku is the well-known name of Kumbakōṣam in Tanjore District. The epithet Appavāṭṭu applied to Puḷḷa-Nakkaṇ is evidently a shortened form of Appavāṭṭu-vēḷḷu and means the vēḷḷu of Appa-nāḍu. An idea of the spread of this territorial division may be had from inscriptions² copied from the area around Virupākṣi, Periyakōṭṭai, Tēvattūr and Porulūr in the Palani Taluk, Madurai District which refer to these places as situated in Appa-nāḍu. Other places that are known to be included in Appa-nāḍu from inscriptions copied outside this area are Perumagalūr, Chellūr, Tirumāḍavaṅṭūr, Kuvalaiyaṅganallūr alias Mēyūr Tiruppattūr, Perumūr and Tirattinurtti.³

Sāḷagrāmam may be identified with Sāḷagrāmam of the Paramagudi Taluk in Ramanathapuram District in view of the fact that this village lies on the route which an army from Ceylon would have to take on its march towards or retreat from the Pāṇḍya capital. It may be noted here that the god of the place is called Varaguna-Īvara in the inscriptions of Śadaiya Māraṇ and Vira-Pāṇḍya.⁴ The village is called Sāḷagrāmam in three inscriptions.

The Ramanāthapuram inscription records that the gift lands lay in the two divisions (*āḷṟu*) of Paḷḷi-nāḍu. The village Perumballī, referred to as Perumballī in another inscription⁵ as a rock lying on the bank of a large lake at the outskirts of the village perhaps lent the name Paḷḷi-nāḍu to the tract around it.

Ramanāthapuram Inscription

TEXT

- 1 Śri Kō Māraṇ-Jaḍaiyaṇḍu Sāḷa-nāṭṭi-Idavai yā-
- 2 tirai seyda Parāntaka-Ppaḷḷivēḷḷu-āṇa Nak-
- 3 kam-Puḷḷuṇ-ṇaṇ-pēṇṇ-Puḷḷuṇ-ēri-ṇṇu
- 4 kuḷam-ākki-kkaṇ-kōḍi-kkumūḷi-ṇeyvāṭṭu-kkuraṇ-
- 5 ppaṇi nūṇṇadu mūṇṇu-pperaṭṭāṇ Puḷḷa-Na-

¹ S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 130, note 7 and p. 456.

² A. R. Ep., 1916, Nos. 678, 400; 1907, No. 56; above, XXV, p. 40; A. R. Ep., 1907, Nos. 502 and 507.

³ Above, XXVIII, pp. 85 ff. As one of the two inscriptions refer to a farm grant of Sāḷagrāmam to god Varagunavarā by Perumāṇḍiṇai Śivalivēḍavāṇ, i.e. Śrīmaṇ Śivalabha, it is rightly inferred that the god was named after Varaguna I, the father of Śrīmaṇ Śivalabha.

⁴ A. R. Ep., 1955-57, App. B, No. 144. The inscription engraved in characters of the 9th or 10th century reads:—

⁵ Perumballī-ppernāḷḷuṇ-tiḷai

⁶ yāḷḷai-ṇṇu . . . Virāṭṭiḷaṇṇu po . . .

TWO PANDYA INSCRIPTIONS FROM DINDIGUL—PLATE II
 RAMANATHAPURAM INSCRIPTION



Scale : Three-twentieths

2

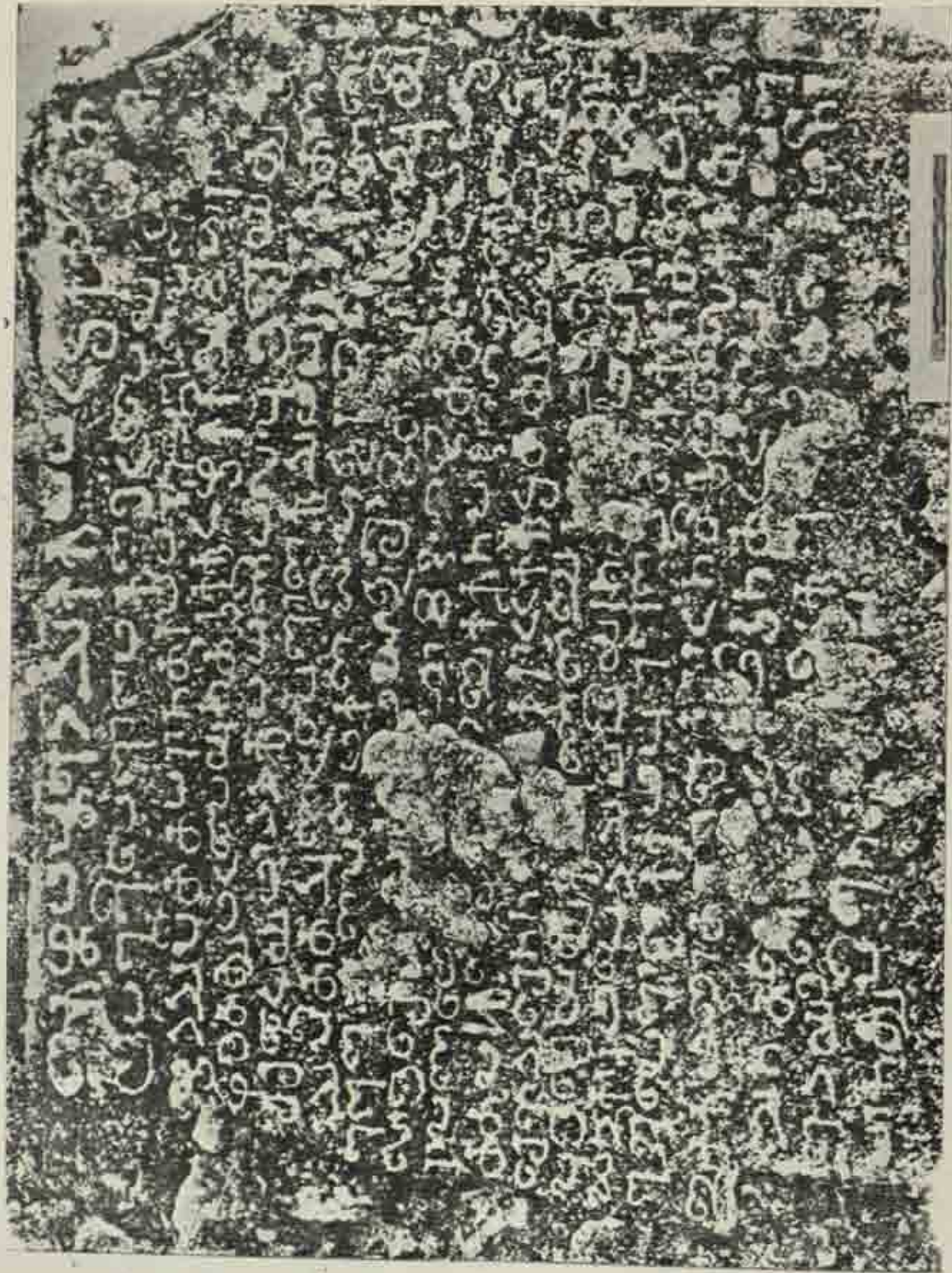
4

6

8

10

PERUMBULLI INSCRIPTION



Scale: Seven-ninths

2
4
6
8
10
12
14
16
18

2
4
6
8
10
12
14
16
18

- 6 kkanṇa(na)du ſeyda tachohaṇ Vaḍugaṇ-Kūtraṇ [i*] a-
 7 vaṇ magan kuṭai-ppaṇi murravikka Polḷa-Na-
 8 kkaṇ avanukku-kkūṇiy-āga attina būmi-Ppa(Pa)-
 9 [i-nāṭṭ]-irupḍu kūṇilum ūr-kū(ku)ḷattu-kkū-
 10 talaī-nīr-paḍu-kāḷ-oraṇ-vayaḷ paḍak-
 11 ku nai [i*]

Perumbulli Inscription

TEXT

- 1 Śrī [i*] Kuḷumbūr-ōṇṇukku-ppattū-kkā . . . ta
 2 Paḷḷivēḷṇ magan Idavai yāṭ[irai] *
 3 murravitta Parāntaka-Ppaḷḷivēḷṇ-avan {magan Vi}-
 4 [iṇattum-Idavaiyu(yiḷu)u-Tirukkuḍamukkū-mahār(ā)ja(= Kō)]*
 5 Chchadaiya-Māraṇku-ppaṇi palavuṇ-jeydu {mu}*
 6 gṛuvitta Andavēḷṇ-Kuṇṇambar-Ādittan-[Pu]-
 7 [ḷa-ḷa(Na)[kka]*u-avan magan Sīṃhalarāja . . . [ai e(i)-
 8 lāṇ-jey(du) . . . in Sāḷagrāmat[ru] . . . Aṇ-
 9 rāvaṇam-e(nnu-ma)[hāmadar(da) i gajāt-tiṇḍi-ppaḍu-
 10 tta Varaguṇa mahārāja] *nukku navā-dāsa-gaja(m) koṇḍu
 11 āṇṇu Śann[ḷattu]*-kkāṭṭi-kkuḷuttu-ppaṇi pala-
 12 vuḷ-jeydu Ku(mara)u-ēṇṇu(n) . . . mattoḍu sanmāna-
 13 aṇṇācam perru-ppiyar na . . . mahāhu-[v]ḷṇa Pa-
 14 [ḷivēḷṇ-Nakkaṇ-Puḷḷaṇ-ṇaṇṇaṇ-taṇ maga-

* This Grantha letter is engraved in an ornate fashion against the space at the beginning of both the lines 1 and 2.

* The letters indicated in brackets are conjecturally restored. They are not clear on the impressions.

15 pakkum Jāta . . . ēe . . . ājan Tirumalaikku-ittā-

16 gun-ta[n magacu*]m-irund-attina [hūmi] ve[-

17 la[ryi[n] . . . du kalam-ida[n [kī]] nīr-

18 parandu vi[la[ai]]nda [vayai]*

* The letters indicated in brackets are conjecturally restored.

No. 32—RAJGHAT INSCRIPTION OF BHIMADEVA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

Some years ago, old impressions of a large number of Indian inscriptions were received back from Germany for examination in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India. While examining these estampages, I found amongst them two unsatisfactory impressions of a badly preserved stone inscription with 'Rajghat, Benares' written on both of them. A letter bearing the date, 23rd January 1884, was found pinned with the impressions. It was written by a gentleman of Banaras apparently to the address of the then Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. The two impressions were sent to the Society for study under cover of this letter. It is gathered from the letter that the inscribed stone had been in use as a *Chabūtārā* (i.e. a mat or platform) in a small house apparently in the *Rājghāt* area of Banaras and that, on the demolition of the house for the construction of the Rajghat Road, it was acquired by the writer who was ready to send the stone to Calcutta if the Secretary of the Society so desired. Unfortunately no information is available as to whether the Asiatic Society of Bengal acquired the stone and made any attempt to study the inscription either from the original or from the impressions received. I published a small note on the epigraph in the *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Vol. XI, Part 2, 1934, pp. 92 ff., in the hope that some information might be available as regards the whereabouts of the inscribed stone. But no light has as yet come from any quarter. In the letter referred to above, the name of the signatory looks like Hamschandra, but it has been suggested to me that he was probably none other than the well-known Bharatendu Hariachandra of Banaras.

The internal evidence of the inscription suggests that the stone was originally embedded in the wall of a Śiva temple on the bank of the Ganges in the *Rājghāt* area of Banaras. The writing covers an area about 18½ inches in length and 8½ inches in height. There are only ten lines, the last of which covers a little less than half the length of the other lines. The letters are between ¼" and ½" in breadth and about ¼" in height.

The characters belong to the *Dēvanāgarī* alphabet of about the twelfth or thirteenth century A.D. and generally resemble those of the epigraphs of the *Gāhaḍavālas* of Banaras and Kanauj. As will be seen from our discussions below, however, the inscription does not appear to be much earlier than the middle of the twelfth century. The language is Sanskrit and, excepting a small *samashāra* passage at the beginning, the whole of the inscription is written in verse. Indeed it contains a small *prafatī* in seven stanzas in different metres. The orthography of the record exhibits a tendency to use *anvāra* instead of class marks, although final *m* has often been used at the end of the first or second half of stanzas. There is no date in the inscription either in the *Vikrama Samvat* which was in popular use in the age and area in question or in the regnal reckoning of any ruler. The record does not mention any king by name, though the hero of the *prafatī* is stated to have been a minister of the king of the country of *Gauḍa* or *Gauḍa-Varāṇḍra* in the western and northern regions of Bengal.

The inscription begins with a *Siddham* symbol followed by the passage *namaḥ Śivāya*. Then follow the seven stanzas of the *prafatī*.

Verse 1 introduces a person who was a member of the council of the hereditary ministers (*manī-āmdīya-sādhū*) of the king of Gauḍa, whose name is not mentioned. The name of the officer is doubtful, but seems to be Maṅgadēva. He is further stated to have been the *Mahāśāhīnīgrahīṇa* (i.e. minister for war and peace) of his master. Verse 2 speaks of the said officer's son whose name was Chāṅgadēva. He is stated to have received the title 'Rājaka of the Kingdom' which, as the epigraph says, was very difficult to obtain. There is little doubt that, like his father, Chāṅgadēva was also a servant of the Gauḍa king who honoured him with the said title: but the king is not even referred to in the stanza.

Verse 3 introduces Bhīmadēva who was the son of Chāṅgadēva and the hero of the poem. Like his grandfather, Bhīmadēva is described as the *Mahāśāhīnīgrahīṇa* of the lord of the Gauḍa country. Verse 4 praises the military exploits and liberality of Bhīmadēva in a vague way. In the first half of the stanza, the poet says that one of the battle-fields, where Bhīmadēva destroyed his enemies' elephant force and which was bristling with arrows, narrated, as it were, the story of his valour and that, because it disliked its reputation (i.e. another battle fought on itself), it failed to appreciate fully his great prowess which was exhibited in battles elsewhere. According to the second half of the verse, in bestowing gifts to the numerous supplicants, Bhīmadēva used the waters of the rivers so profusely that those rivers completely dried up while new streams began to flow on the dry earth. The next stanza (verse 5) refers to one of his significant achievements. It is stated that he saved the kingdom of Gauḍa-Varāṇḍra after it had been immersed in the waters of the ocean that was the force of the king of the Bāyāri lineage and the king of Kālīnga. In this connection, the condition of the Gauḍa-Varāṇḍra kingdom, apparently under the rule of Bhīmadēva's master, is compared with that of an old vessel in the state of sinking in waters. Verse 6 refers to the object of the eulogy which is to record the construction of a temple of the god Bhava (i.e. Śiva) by Bhīmadēva on the bank of the *Arumukta-nadi*. The purpose of Bhīmadēva in building the temple is stated to have been to cause wonder in the minds even of his enemies. The last stanza (verse 7) says that the top of the temple was adorned with a golden jar resembling *ādya-kācha*, probably meaning the jewel called *ayakācha*.

The inscription raises certain interesting problems. The first of these relates to the date of the record and the second to the identity of Bhīmadēva's master, i.e. the king of Gauḍa or the Gauḍa-Varāṇḍra kingdom, whom he served as the minister for war and peace. The third problem refers to the circumstances leading to the construction of the temple at Banarni by Bhīmadēva far away from the kingdom of Gauḍa or Gauḍa-Varāṇḍra and the fourth to the invasion (probably a joint invasion) of the Gauḍa-Varāṇḍra kingdom by the forces of a king of the Bāyāri dynasty and a king of Kālīnga, from which Bhīmadēva claims to have saved it. The fifth problem is the identity of the two enemies of Gauḍa-Varāṇḍra.

As to the date of the record, the palaeography does not appear to suggest a period earlier than the twelfth century. The form of the initial vowel *i* in our inscription has resemblance with the fourth stage in its final formation as illustrated by Ojha in his charta showing the development of the Devanagari and Bengali alphabets¹ as well as with its form in his illustrations from two inscriptions² of 1204 and 1273 A.D. respectively. R. D. Banerji traced the earliest occurrence of a somewhat similar form of *i* in the Bodhgaya inscriptions of Aśokaśalla, which belong to the thirteenth century.³ But we know that the Gauḍa-Varāṇḍra country in the western and northern

¹ See Ojha, *Palaeography of India* (Hindū), Plates LXXXII and LXXXIII.

² *Ibid.*, Plate XXVII.

³ *The Origin of the Bengali Script*, p. 89. The letter as found in these inscriptions (above, Vol. XII, Plates between pp. 28 and 29) appears to be somewhat more developed than its form in the inscription under study. As regards the development of the Bengali form of the letter *i*, see also lines 3 and 31 of the Maṅganpura plate of Viśvaśaradī (JAS, *Lectures*, Vol. XX, 1904, Plate between pp. 216 and 217).

area of Bengal was conquered by the Turkish Muslims about the beginning of the thirteenth century while it appears that the Gauda-Varāṇḍra ruler served by Bhimadēva and his father and grandfather belonged to an indigenous royal family flourishing in the area in question before the Muslim conquest. It is extremely doubtful if the Muslim conquerors of the country thought it wise to appoint ministers from among the newly conquered people shortly after their conquest. Moreover the Muslim conquerors of India would have scarcely tolerated the construction of a Śiva temple by their subject, which is stated to have been built to inspire wonder and admiration in the minds of Bhimadēva's enemies. It may of course be suggested that the names of the masters of Bhimadēva and his ancestors have not been mentioned in the inscription because they were servants of foreign rulers. But the above considerations lead us to think that the record was engraved before the Muslim conquest of Eastern India though probably not much earlier than the middle of the twelfth century.

The second and third problems are very difficult to tackle. For the middle of the twelfth century, the description 'lord of Gauda (or Gauda-Varāṇḍra)' seems to suit the ruler of the Pāla dynasty. The Pālas originally held sway over the major part of Bengal and Bihar and they are known to have enjoyed the title *Gaṇḍādhara*. With the establishment of the Varman dynasty at Vikramapura in the present Dacca District in the latter half of the eleventh century South-eastern Bengal (called *Vaṭṭa*) was permanently lost to the Pāla empire and, shortly after the middle of the twelfth century, Vijayasena, founder of the Sena dynasty of Bīḍha in South-East Bengal, occupied practically the whole of Bengal including its western and northern parts. Henceforth Pāla rule was confined to the southern areas of Bihar. The Pāla king Madanapāla was ousted from Gauda-Varāṇḍra (i.e. the western and northern regions of Bengal) shortly after the date of his Maṇḍali plate issued from Rāmlaṭi (a city probably situated near modern Gaur in the Malda District) in the king's eighth regnal year corresponding to c. 1151 A.D.¹ But the Pāla kings were called *Gaṇḍādhara* even when Gauda no longer formed a part of their dominions.² Madanapāla ruled in the period c. 1144-62 A.D. and is known to have recovered the western part of Bihar which had been lost to the Gāhādavāla king Qāyindachandra (1115-55 A.D.) who had his capital at the city of Banaras.³ The Patna-Munghyr region was under Gāhādavāla occupation from about 1121 to 1146 A.D. but appears to have been reoccupied by Madanapāla about 1146 A.D. It is not impossible that the Pāla king Madanapāla, who had some success against the Gāhādavālas of Banaras, was Bhimadēva's master. Bhimadēva's presence at Banaras may thus relate to a temporary occupation of Banaras by the Pāla king. Unfortunately there is no indication in the record of Pāla success against the king of the Banaras region. But the reference to the *śūmbe* may suggest that Bhimadēva did not visit Banaras in a private capacity as pilgrim or was not settled at the holy place after retirement.

In connection with the construction of the Śiva temple at Banaras by Bhimadēva, minister of the king of Gauda or Gauda-Varāṇḍra, we have also to think of the possibility of the work being done by him without visiting the place. We have instances of kings and queens making grants in favour of distant temples, far away from their dominions in some cases, without moving from their capital and of even ordinary people securing the merit of pilgrimage to holy places through proxies without personally visiting them.⁴ It was therefore not altogether impossible for Bhimadēva to have

¹ *INQ.* Vol. XXX, pp. 207-08.

² See *JBES*, Vol. XLII, Part 2, 1965, pp. 1 ff.

³ *JAS.* Letters, Vol. XVII, p. 29; above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 142.

⁴ See above, Vol. XXX, p. 22 and note; Vol. XXXI, p. 101 and note 2. For ordinary people performing pilgrimages to distant holy places by proxy, see P. Sreenivasachar, *A Corpus of Inscriptions in the Trilingua Districts*, Nos. 60-61 (pp. 142, 152).

built a temple at the great *tiṭha* of Banarā without himself visiting the place. Since Bhīmadēva's presence at Banarā is not easily explainable in the present state of insufficient information, this is probably a better solution of the problem. The absence of any mention of the king of Gauḍa in the inscription may go in support of this alternative. The want of a date in the Vikrama Saṁvat may suggest that the record was drafted in the home province of Bhīmadēva and that of one in the regnal reckoning of Bhīmadēva's master may have been due to the fact that the document was meant for an area which was outside his dominions although the latter system of dating was popular in Eastern India in the early medieval period.

The fourth and fifth problems are also difficult to solve. In the first half of the twelfth century A.D. the mighty Gaṅga king Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A.D.) extended his dominions up to the river Hooghly and he is also stated to have been a friend of the Śēna king Vijayasēna who sometime afterwards overthrew Pāla rule from the western and northern parts of Bengal.¹ Thus he may have come into hostile contact with the Pālas. But it has to be admitted that there is no reference to war between Chōḍagaṅga and his Pāla contemporary in the records of the Gaṅgas. The allusion to the invasion of the Gauḍa-Varāṇḍra country by the king of Kallūga no doubt reminds us of the claim of Gaṅga Narasiṃha I (c. 1238-63 A.D.) to have defeated the Yavanas (Muslims) of Rāḍhā and Varāṇḍri and the account, in Minhāj-uddīn's *Tabaqāt-i-Nagari*, of the invasion of Lakhanavati (the capital of the Muslim kingdom in Bengal comprising Rāi, i.e. Rāḍhā, and Barind, i.e. Varāṇḍra or Varāṇḍri), situated near modern Gaur in the Malda District, by the forces of the Rāi of Jājūgar (i.e. Gaṅga Narasiṃha I) on the 13th of the month of Shawāl in the Hijri year 642, corresponding to the 14th March 1245 A.D., under Sāmantarāya, the general and son-in-law of the Gaṅga monarch.² But it is difficult to think that Bhīmadēva was a servant of Malik Tughril Tughān Khān (1236-45 A.D.) of Bengal as in that case it will have to be believed that his grandfather was appointed as minister for war and peace by the Muslims almost immediately after the establishment of the Muslim kingdom in Bengal. The reference to the council of the hereditary ministers of the Gauḍa king of which Bhīmadēva's grandfather was a member seems to suggest a long-standing kingdom and possibly not a newly founded one.

The identification of the king of the Rāyāri dynasty is equally uncertain. The only person named Rāyāri known to the student of East Indian history is of course king Rāyāridēva Trailōkyasiṃha who was the grandfather of Vallabhadēva Śivallabha of an inscription of Śaka 1107 (1185 A.D.).³ Whether the expression *Rāyāri-tanīsa-naraiṇḍha* indicates Rāyāridēva's son Udayakarna Nibhāṅkasīṃha cannot be determined, although the inscription referred to above describes Rāyāridēva, son of Bhāskaraḍēva, as *Bhāskara-tanīsa-rāja-tiṭha*. The inscription, however, does not refer to any struggle of Udayakarna Nibhāṅkasīṃha with the king of Gauḍa, though his father Rāyāridēva Trailōkyasiṃha is stated to have come into conflict with the forces of the Vaṅga country. This dynasty probably ruled over the Sylhet region between Bengal and Assam.

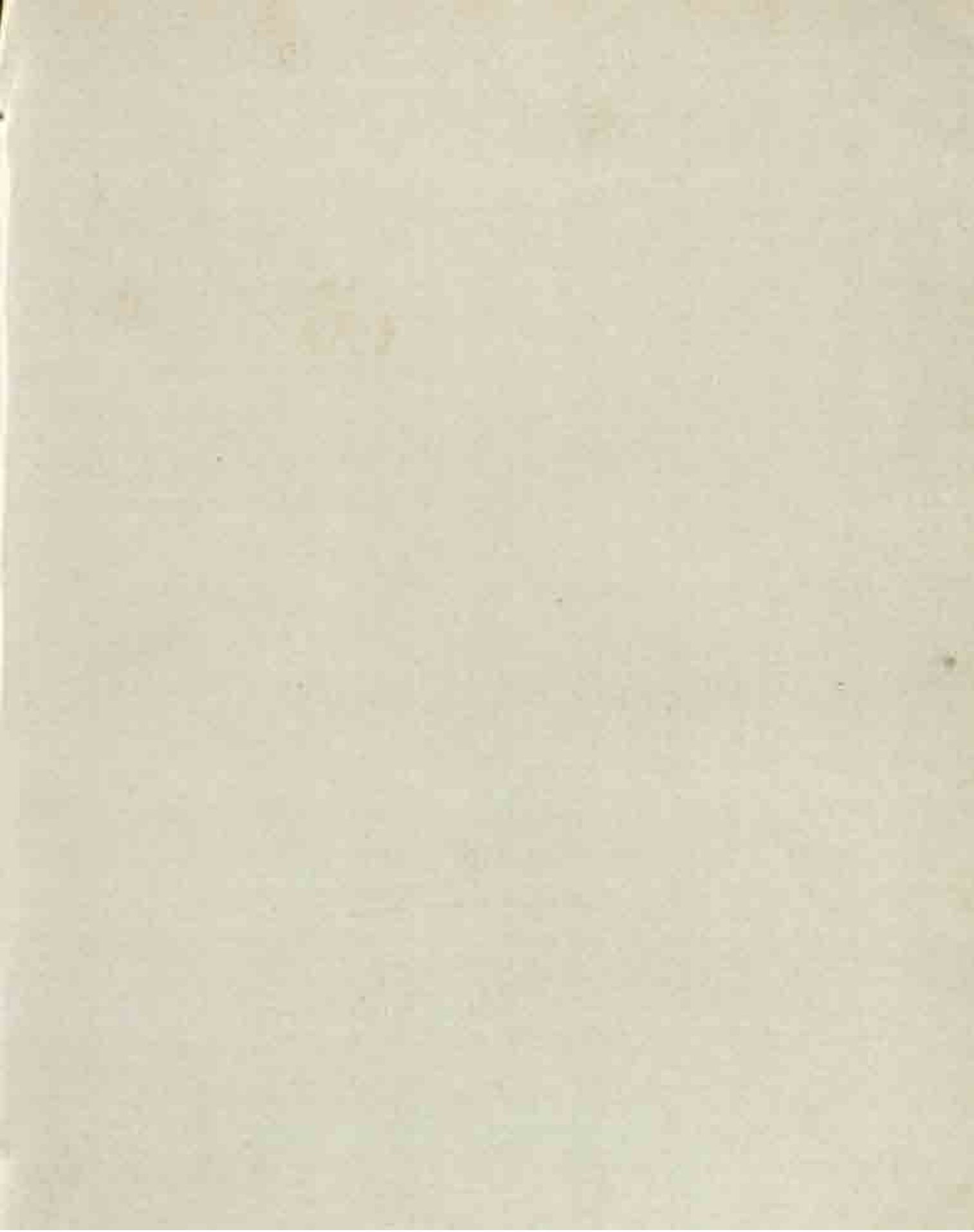
The geographical names mentioned in the inscription are Gauḍa or Gauḍa-Varāṇḍra and Avimukta-nadi. Varāṇḍra or Varāṇḍri (Barind of the Muslim writers) was the name of North Bengal. The earliest reference to Varāṇḍra or Varāṇḍri-maṇḍala is found in Saṅkhyākaranaṇḍin's *Rāmacharita*⁴ composed about the end of the eleventh century. But Gauḍa is an ancient

¹ *JER*, Vol. XI, Part 2, 1954, p. 84.

² See above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 116-17. Cf. Ray, *DHST*, Vol. I, pp. 480; *History of Bengal*, Dacca University, Vol. II, pp. 49 ff.

³ Above, Vol. V, pp. 181 ff.

⁴ See I, 20; III, 20; IV, 2; *Kaṇḍaprakāśa*, verse 1.



RAJGHAT INSCRIPTION OF BHIMADEVA

[illegible]

(from a Photograph)

name used to indicate not only a city and the country around it but also East India in general.¹ In our inscription, it is used in the sense of a territory in the western areas of Bengal. Gauda was originally the name of the land between the Padma and Burdwan. Generally speaking therefore Gauda and Rājha (Rāi of the Muslim writers) were identical although the latter was originally the name of the land on both the banks of the river Ajay in South-West Bengal. This land as well as its chief city was often also called Rājghā. Avimukta was a well-known holy place in the city of Banaras.² It was apparently the name of the Rājghā region of Banaras and the Avimukta-nadi was no doubt the Ganges at Rājghā.

TEXT³

[Metres : verses 1, 3, 5 *Āryā* ; verse 2 *Ghā* ; verse 4 *Śārdūlamukhīṭa* ; verse 5 *Vasantatilaka* ; verse 7 *Amashpuṭh*]

- 1 [Buddham]⁴ ||⁵ [na]mah Śivāya || Gauda-mahābhūmī-maṇi-śmātya-sa[bbhā]yāśa saṁ[bbhā]-
[t-ārīr-abbhū] || dēva tva[Maṅga]⁶ ||⁷
- 2 dēvaḥ kṣitīpa-mahāśāṇḍhivigrahikāḥ || [1*] Śrī-Chaṅga⁸ dēvam-ajana[ya]d-ayam-atha
tanayam pra[si]ddha-naya-vinaya-
- 3 m | prāpa durāpāś Rā[na]ka-pada[vin]-a[laghā]yāśa sa rāj[ya]śya || [2*] [Tasya] tanūjāḥ
śrīmān-udapadyata bhūmadēva i-
- 4 ti viditāḥ | sa cha Gauḍ-āvanī[śrī]-ajam mahāś[ā]ṇḍhivigrahikāḥ || [3*] Bhīma-śrī-dvīpa-
nirj[ā]t-ā[ś]māyad-āhu-⁹
- 5 stōm-ān-rōmāṇcha-bhūmī-yuddh-ōrv[ā] kathitām dvīp-akṣi-chakīṭā prāptā na yaś-vikramam
| dānāy-ānīśam-n[ā]j[ā]t-ā[ś]māy[ā]n-
- 6 saritō yēna sthālō yūṣitā-tat-pratyāharatā [sa]r[ā]t[ā]-ku[ā]-tālā[d-ā]līsitā dhūlayāḥ
|| [4*] Rāyāri-varāṇa-caratā-
- 7 tha-Kaṭi[mā]¹⁰ga-rāja-mukhy-śrī-vīra-va[ha]la-rūṣidhi-madhya-[guptaś[ā]m]¹¹ || [yā]n-ōda-
dhāri gura-Gauḍa-Varān[dra]¹²-rājya[ś]m majjāt-pa-¹³
- 8 rātana-valītra-chari[tra]-chā[ri] || [5*] Vipula-śīlāmāya[n]-adam-ayam-Avimukta-[na]dī¹⁴-
lālāṭa-tala-tīlakam | Bhava-[līla]-

¹ Cf. *IBQ*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 123 ff.

² Often it is identified with Banaras. For this holy place, see the *Matiga Purāṇa*, Chapters 181-83. Excavations at Rājghāṭ have yielded coins of the Śiva temple at Avimukta with such legends as *Avimukta*, *Avimukta-jaya*, *Avimukta-vijaya* and *Avimukta-kṣatṛaka*. Cf. *JNSI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 170 ff.

³ From impressions.

⁴ Expressed by symbol.

⁵ Originally I was inclined to read this name differently. But the most probable reading of the damaged letters now appears to me to be *maṅga*. The first letter does not appear to be *m*.

⁶ These *ḍanda*s, which were inserted to cover up a little space at the end of the line, are none the less.

⁷ Originally I was inclined to read the name as *Vaṅga*; but the first letter looks more like *ā* than *v*.

⁸ The *ḍanda* is redundant (cf. note 6 above).

⁹ The reading may also be *hapaṇa*.

¹⁰ The reading is possibly not *śardūla*.

¹¹ These superfluous *ḍanda*s have a cancellation mark (cf. note 6 above).

¹² The reading may possibly also be *śāp* meaning 'the bank of a river'.

- 9 [va]na[m] mahad-arachaya-d=ari-ahaya-chōtaś-ehamatkṛitayō || [6²] [Sarva]-sēvyā[m]-ida[m]
nyāya[tō]-dhi-dēvakulāyatō | Ādi. |¹
- 10 tva-[kā]cha-[pra]tyaya-gāṅgēya-kalāśa-dhvaJam || [7²]

¹ This unnecessary *śanda* bears a cancellation mark (cf. p. 281, note above).

No. 33—HOWRAGHAT PLATES OF BALAVARMAN III OF KAMARUPA, YEAR 5

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTAAMUND

About the middle of September 1956, I received a circular issued by the Director of Historical and Antiquarian Studies in Assam on the discovery of a new copper-plate grant of king Balavarman of the Mlechchha or Sālastambha dynasty of Kāmarūpa or Prāgyōtisha. The inscription was originally in the possession of Mr. Prakash Chandra Acharya of Uttar Barbil, Howraghat, Mikir Hills, from whom it was secured by Mr. Ganesh Chandra Phukan, Deputy Commissioner, United Mikir and North Cachar Hills, through a gentleman named M. M. Chakravarti. The Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies of the Government of Assam obtained the plates through the courtesy of Mr. Rupnath Brahma, one of the Ministers of the Assam Cabinet. It was stated in the circular that Dr. Pratap Chandra Chaudhury, Deputy Director of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, was engaged in deciphering the inscription. Dr. Chaudhury has since published the inscription in the *Assam Sahitya Sabha Patrikā*, Vol. XV, No. 3, pp. 187-84.

On receipt of the circular, I contacted Dr. Chaudhury and tried to secure the plates on a few weeks' loan for study. Unfortunately the attempt was a failure. My endeavour to secure a set of inked impressions of the inscription also ended equally in a failure. But, thanks to Dr. Chaudhury, in March 1957, I received from him a set of photographs of the inscribed faces of the plates together with one showing the set of the plates hanging from the ring bearing the seal. The photographs were taken after having rubbed chalk over the letters of the writing on the plates. In December 1957, I visited Guwahati. Dr. Chaudhury then kindly allowed me to prepare inked impressions of the plates.

The set consists of three copper plates each measuring about 10" in length and 6½" in height. They are strung on a copper ring, the ends of which are soldered beneath a bronze seal, its counter-sunk surface being divided into two parts by a thick demarcating line. The upper one of these two parts bears the figure of an elephant in front; while the following legend in three lines occupies the space beneath the line of demarcation:

1. Syaati śrīmaṇ-Prāgyōtish-ādhip-ā[va]-
2. yō mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Va[sa]-
3. [a]varmadēvaḥ [i]ṣṭi

The seal closely resembles that attached to the Nongong plates¹ of the same ruler who issued the charter under study. Similar seals are also found with the copper-plate grants of other rulers of the Kāmarūpa or Prāgyōtisha country. Of the three plates of the set, the second bears writing on both the obverse and the reverse, the other two plates being inscribed only on the inner side. Of the four inscribed faces, the first three contain fourteen lines of writing each, while the fourth contains only twelve lines. The engraving of the letters is neat and careful; but the preservation of the writing is not quite satisfactory. Some letters here and there are damaged while most letters in the last line on the inner side of Plate I are more or less completely rubbed off.

¹ *JASB*, Vol. LXVI, Part I, 1907, pp. 232 ff., Plates XXXV-XXXVII. The seal is illustrated in Plate XXXVII. See also P. N. Bhattacharya, *Kāmarūpaśāstrā*, pp. 71 ff., containing illustration of the inscriptions on Plate I only.

The characters belong to the Gaudīya or East Indian alphabet of the ninth or tenth century A.D. As regards **palaeography, orthography, language and style**, the inscription closely resembles the Nowgong plates referred to above. With reference to palaeography, it may be pointed out that the difference between *ḍ* and *ṛ* is slight and that the two letters are sometimes indistinguishable. The inscription employs both the Devanāgarī and Bengali types of *anusvara*; the former indicated by a dot or globular mark above the consonant and the latter by a globular mark above a curved or slanting stroke placed at the right side of the consonant; but it is interesting to note that the latter has been almost invariably used only when final *m* is required by the language. This fact seems to support the suggestion¹ that the Bengali type of *anusvara* developed out of the older sign of final *m*. In our transcript of the inscription, the Bengali type of *anusvara* has therefore been regarded as a final *m*. Final *ṣ* occurs many times in the inscription and final *n* thrice in lines 28, 38 and 39. *B* is indicated by the sign for *v*. Of the initial vowels, the epigraph uses *a* in lines 4, 14, 22, 25, 26, 28, 31, 44 (twice) and 45; *i* in lines 5, 12 and 15; *u* in lines 11 and 54 (twice), and *ri* in line 45. The sign of *avagraha* is once used unnecessarily in line 11. The *daṇḍa* used to indicate the end of the first half of a stanza and the left member of the double *daṇḍa* employed at the end of a verse have in many cases a protrusion about the middle towards the left.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and it is written in a mixture of prose and verse. The introductory part in lines 1-36 contains 25 stanzas followed by a description of the donor of the grant in prose. Lines 36-43 contain the donor's order addressed to his subordinates and others in respect of the grant made. This section is also in prose. But the following section in lines 44-51 contains a detailed description of the family of the Brāhmaṇa donee and refers to the grant that was made by the king in his favour. This is followed in the concluding section of the record in lines 52-54 by a description of the boundaries of the gift land in prose. The first two of the sections, referred to above, in lines 1-36 are identical with the corresponding parts of the Nowgong plates (lines 1-35) with slight orthographical differences. Another difference is the unnecessary repetition of verse 2 in the present record. There are some passages in the first section in verse, which are undecipherable in either of the two records but can be restored in one with the help of the other. Considerable influence of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa* is noticed in many of the stanzas. Some of the parallel passages have been quoted in the notes on the text of the epigraph.

The orthography of the inscription is characterised by the occasional use of the class nasal in the place of *anusvara* (cf., however, words like *raṣṭraṇa* in line 10) and reduplication of consonants like *g*, *v*, *t*, *m* and *s* in conjunction with *r*. Final *m* has often been wrongly conjoined with the following *s* and *ṣ* has been used for *ś* in several cases. Among other words wrongly spelt, we may notice *taṣṭik* for *taṣṭin* in line 9, *cāchhatṭaṣṭ* for *chhatṭaṣṭ* in line 21, *puṣṭā* for *puṣṭān* in line 28, *śiṅghāṣṭa* for *śiṅghāṣṭa* in line 29, *yajūṣṭi* for *yajūṣṭi* in line 45, etc. As regards orthographical differences between the Nowgong plates and the present epigraph, attention may be drawn to such expressions as *śiṅghāṣṭ* (line 27) and *śiṅghāṣṭ* *pu* (line 28) spelt in the other epigraph as *śiṅghāṣṭ* and *śiṅghāṣṭ* *pu* respectively although we have *caṣṭa-guṣṭā* (line 13-14) and *śiṅghāṣṭ* (line 45) in the present record also.

The date of the charter is quoted in line 51 (verse 30) as the fifth regnal year of king Balavarman without any other details; but the occasion of the grant is stated to have been the Śākā-*Ātithāna* festival which takes place on Bhādrapada-sudi 12. The period of Balavarman's reign cannot be definitely determined, although the Tampur inscription² of his great-grandfather is dated in the Gupta year 510 corresponding to 829 A.D., and, allotting a century per generation

¹ See JAS, Letters, Vol. XVII, 1951, pp. 84-85.

² Kāśmirīpālāśrī, pp. 183-84.

approximately, we may suggest that the year 904 A.D. fell in Balavarman's reign. Thus Balavarman's rule may be roughly assigned to the period 885-910 A.D. and the present inscription to a date about the end of the ninth century.

The inscription begins with a *Siddham* symbol which is followed by two *stambha* stanzas. Verse 1 prays that the lustre of Rudra (Śiva) may be for the peace of the earth, while verse 2 asks that the waters of the *Laubhitya*, called a *cūrīdā* or sea,¹ may destroy the sin of men. Verse 3 introduces Naraka who was the son (born of the goddess Earth) of Upendra (Viṣṇu) in his Boar-incarnation and was a friend of the demons. Verses 4-6 describe the career of Naraka. It is stated that he carried away Aditi's ear-rings and discredited Mahendra (i.e. her son, the king of the gods) thereby, that he made his abode at the city of Prāgyōtisha in Kāmarūpa, and that he was killed by Muṣiri (Viṣṇu) with the discus in a battle that was fought at his capital, i.e. Prāgyōtishapura (Sōritapura according to the Purāṇas). Verses 7-8 state how Naraka was succeeded on the throne by his son Bhagadatta whose successor was his younger brother Vajradatta.

Verse 9 introduces Śālastambha who is stated to have belonged to the dynasty of Naraka, Bhagadatta and Vajradatta, and to have become king after a number of rulers of the said family had passed away. In this connection, it is interesting to note that verses 9-10 of the copper-plate grants² of Ratnapāla of the third dynasty (i.e. the Brahmapāla family) of the rulers of Kāmarūpa or Prāgyōtisha offer a different and apparently more reliable account of the pedigree of Śālastambha. According to these, Śālastambha, who was a Mlecchha king or a ruler of the Mlecchhas (*Mlecchhādhipati*), obtained the kingdom of the kings of the Nāraka dynasty as a matter of chance (*vidhi-chalana-vasāt*) and that, Tyāgamha the twentyfourth king of Śālastambha's line having died without leaving an heir, the subjects (*prajāpatis*) thought that a member of the Bhauma (i.e. Nāraka) dynasty alone was suitable to them and therefore made Brahmapāla their king. This seems to suggest that Śālastambha was really a ruling chief, probably of Tibeto-Burman origin, under the latest ruler of the Bhauma-Nāraka dynasty of Kāmarūpa and that he succeeded in occupying his master's throne under circumstances which are difficult to determine without further light on the subject. It is clear, however, that Śālastambha's descendants claimed descent from Naraka; but the claim may have been based either on mere fiction or on a matrimonial relation Śālastambha might have contracted with the rulers of the Bhauma-Nāraka family.

Verse 10 of our inscription says that, amongst the descendants of Śālastambha, Harjara became king after others like Pālaka and Vijaya had passed away. The names of all the rulers of the Śālastambha family, especially those who flourished between Śālastambha and Harjara or Harjaravarman, cannot be determined. We have seen how the charters of Ratnapāla, who belonged to the third or Brahmapāla dynasty of Prāgyōtisha rulers, ascribe 21 kings to the dynasty of Śālastambha. Of these, they mention by name only Śālastambha (the founder of the line), Tyāgamha (the last king of the family) and Vighnastambha who was one of the rulers flourishing between Śālastambha and Tyāgamha. The damaged and fragmentary copper-plate grant³ of Harjaravarman (second quarter of the ninth century) from Haiyungthal, appears to have quoted the names of most of his predecessors beginning from Śālastambha, although the section cannot be fully and satisfactorily deciphered. According to the reading and interpretation of the said section offered by Pandit P. N. Bhattacharya,⁴ Śālastambha was succeeded by his son Vijaya who was followed successively by Pālaka, Kumāra, Vajradatta, Harjaravarman, Balavarman

¹ See above, Vol. XXIX, p. 151 and note 3.

² See *Kāmarūpaśāstrosāvalī*, p. 94.

³ Ibid. pp. 44 ff. Only the middle plate of a set, which originally consisted at least of three plates, has been discovered so far. The preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 51-52.

(son of Harshavarman) and the son of the younger of the two brothers named Chakra and Arathi. Bhattacharya also suggested that Arathi (son of Arathi) was succeeded by Prilambha (father of Harjavarman), the name of both of whom were read in the Texpur plates of Vanamālayarman (son of Harjavarman), Prilambha being represented there as the successor of Śrīharsha (i.e. Harshavarman) of the Śālastambha dynasty. But as we have suggested elsewhere,² Vanamālayarman's charters really speak of Śālastambha as the successor of Śrīharsha and of his younger brother Arathi as the father and predecessor of Harjavarman. We have also suggested that Chakra was possibly another name of Śālastambha and that the name of Harshavarman's son Balavarman is omitted in Vanamālayarman's record probably because he was succeeded by Śālastambha after a short rule. It seems that Balavarman, son of Harshavarman, was overthrown by Śālastambha and that the usurper and his descendants did not recognise his claim to the throne. Thus we have the following names of the rulers of the Śālastambha dynasty from Śālastambha to Harjavarman: (1) Śālastambha, (2) Vijaya, son of Śālastambha, (3) Pālaka, (4) Kumāra, (5) Vajraditya, (6) Śrīharsha or Harshavarman, (7) Balavarman, son of Harshavarman, (8) Chakra after Śālastambha, (9) Arathi and (10) Harjavarman, son of Arathi. It is difficult to determine whether some other kings of the family also ruled between Śālastambha and Harjavarman and whether their names are either omitted from or undecipherable in the Haiyungthal plate.

Verses 12-25 of the inscription under study describe the three kings Vanamāla (verses 12-14), Jayamāla alias Virabāhu (verses 15-18) and Balavarman (verses 19-25), the donor of the charter, as respectively the son, grandson and great grandson of Harjara. It is stated in verses 16-17 that Vanamāla, who was a devotee of the god Mahāśivara or Śiva and built numerous palatial structures beautified with paintings, starved himself to death after having bestowed the white umbrella adorned with two śy-whisks (i.e. the insignia of royalty) on his son Jayamāla (called Virabāhu in verse 18), while verse 18 states that Virabāhu (i.e. Jayamāla) married Amṛtā (who gave birth to the donor of the grant under study) some time after his accession to the throne. Verse 21 shows that Jayamāla Virabāhu installed his son Balavarman on the throne when in course of time he was incapable of carrying on the administration owing to the attack of an incurable disease. Verse 25 says that Balavarman's ancestral *śaśana* or capital stood on the *lanhitya*.

King Balavarman of Kāmarūpa, who issued the charter under study, was the second king of that name in the Śālastambha family. Since, however, there was another Balavarman (about the beginning of the fifth century) in the Bhauṇa-Nāraka dynasty of Kāmarūpa³ and Śālastambha is represented in the records of his successors, even if wrongly, as a descendant of Nāraka, Balavarman, donor of the present grant, may be designated as Balavarman III. The king of the same name, who was the son of Śrīharsha or Harshavarman, may be called Balavarman II, while Balavarman of the Bhauṇa-Nāraka dynasty may be regarded as Balavarman I.

The names of the three monarchs mentioned in verses 12 ff., when added to the list of the ten rulers from Śālastambha to Harjavarman, would give us only thirteen kings of the Śālastambha dynasty. Only two other rulers of this family, viz. Vighnastambha and Tyāgasambha, are known from Ratnapāla's charters referred to above. Thus we know the names of fifteen out of the twentyone rulers of the dynasty. Since Tyāgasambha's successor Brahmapāla seems to have ruled about the beginning of the eleventh century, most of the six rulers, whose names are missing, appear to have ruled in the period of about a century intervening between Balavarman III (about the close of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century) and Tyāgasambha (beginning

¹ Ibid., pp. 64 ff.

² *Ahore*, Vol. XXIX, p. 142 and note 4.

³ Ibid. Vol. XXX, p. 66.

of the eleventh century). But a few of them may have also ruled between Śīlastambha and Harjataratman. The name of Vigrahasambha resembles that of Śīlastambha and no other ruler of the family is known to have borne a name ending in the word *sambha*. He may therefore have been a son or grandson of Śīlastambha and should probably be placed earlier in the genealogy.

The object of the charter is to record the grant of a piece of land, yielding two thousand measures (probably called *Dhupa*) of paddy, made by *Paramāśvara Parivāḍhaḥṣāraka Mahāgajādharīya Balavarmanadēva* when he was staying at *Haḍappēvara*. As we have shown elsewhere,¹ the real name of the capital of the Śīlastambha kings was *Haḍappēvara* and not *Hāṭṭappēvara* as is generally believed. The piece of land was singled out from the locality called *Bappadēva-pātaka* which was situated in the *vishaya* or district of *Vārāṣē-pattana*. The royal order in respect of the grant was addressed to the people of the countryside together with the *Brāhmanas* and the employees of the officers of the district as well as to the king's subordinates and officers. The list includes the *rājans* (ruling chiefs), *rājīs* (queens of the ruling chiefs), *śāstas* (smaller chiefs) and officers as well as to the *rājānukas* (minor chiefs or landholders), *rājaputras* (sons of the chiefs) and *rāja-sallakhas* (courtiers), who might be associated with the administration of the area in question at any time. It is interesting to note that the words *rājānuka* and *rājānaka* are both used in this section of the record, even though actually *rājānaka* appears to be a modification of *rājānuka* (also spelt *rājānaka* and *rājānaka*). There was probably some difference in the meaning of the two words as used in early medieval Assam. The land was granted together with the *vāṭa* (homestead land), *lōḍāra* (low land), *śhāṭa* (high land), *jala* (waters), *gū-pachāra* (pasture land) and *avātara* (probably, mounds) as well as with the income from *kaṭibandha* (entrapping elephants), *saṅkibandha* (anchoring boats) and *chandrādāra* (watching thieves). It was given as it stood within its demarcated boundaries together with the space above it and was exempted from all troubles associated with the *daṇḍapāṭa* (police tax), *vyavahāra* (extra cess or tax on temporary tenants) and *utkṣhāpa* (feats or troubles) arising from other causes, and also from the grazing of elephants, horses, camels, cows, buffaloes, goats and sheep.

The donee was the *Brāhmana* *Syāmadvēva-bhaṭṭa*. It is stated (cf. verses 26 ff.) that there was a learned *Brāhmana* named *Garga* who belonged to the *Aupamanyava* *gotra* and the *Kātya* *śākhā* of the *Yajurveda*. His son was *Gaḥṇasūthira* who was the father of *Syāmadvēva*, the donee of the charter. The name of the donee's mother was *Garudhavarikā*. Verse 29 states that the king made the grant for the merit of his parents in the fifth year of his reign. The occasion of the grant was the *abḍa-pūjā* performed in connection with the *Sākra-dhāvā* festival. The passage *tathā-āmanah* (i.e. 'also of his own') in this stanza may be taken with *pusyāya* or with *abḍa-pūjā*. *Sākra-dhāvā* means the raising of the banner (*dhāvā*) of *Śakra* or *Indra*, which is a festival observed on the 12th day of the bright half of the month of *Bhādra*² although in early times it may have been held on the 8th of the bright half of the month of *Pravāṣṭapada* (*Bhādra*) and *Āsvina*.³ The real significance of the expression *abḍa-pūjā*, literally 'worship of the year or cloud', in this connection is not clear. It may, however, refer either to the anniversary of king Balavarman's birth or accession to the throne, or merely to the 'annual worship' of the *Śakra-dhāvā*.

The boundaries of the gift land as enumerated in lines 52-54 are: the *stūpa* or mound belonging to *Vaikaṅka* in the east; a *Sālmāli* tree in the south-east; a *Tripatraka* tree in the south;

¹ Cf. above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 150-51.

² Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v. *Śakra*.

³ *Sabdatatvapadma*, s.v. *Sakra-dhāvā*. Cf. *Pravāṣṭapada* in *asthānam* *śākhāyā* *śākhāyā* *śākhāyā* *śākhāyā* | *Śakra-dhāvā* *śākhāyā* *śākhāyā* *śākhāyā* *śākhāyā* |

a Kadamba tree in the south-west; a Vāṭasa tree standing on the border of a piece of cultivated land in the west; an Āśvattha tree standing on a *śāpa* belonging to Nīla in the north-west; a Jambū tree in the north; and a Suvarṇadāru tree in the north-east.

Among the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, we have Lauhitya-vāridhī, Kāmarūpa, Prāgyōtishapura, Hadappāvara-kataka on the Lauhitya, Vāriś-pattana-vishaya and Bappadēva-pūṭaka. Lauhitya is another name of the river Brahmaputra. Prāgyōtishapura, capital of the Kāmarūpa country, is supposed by scholars to have been situated near the site of the present town of Gauhati on the Brahmaputra. Kāmarūpa, also called Prāgyōtishka, was the country around Gauhati. In the seventh century A.D. it extended up to the Karatōyā in the west,* although neither the course of the Karatōyā nor the other boundaries of the country in the early medieval period can be determined. The traditions recorded in late medieval works like the *Vijayanttra* can scarcely be regarded as throwing sufficient light on the point. Verse 25 of our record speaks of king Balavarman's ancestral *kaṭaka* (i.e. capital) which is stated to have been situated on the Lauhitya or Brahmaputra. The name of the city is given as Hadappāvara-kataka in the prose passage immediately following. This city has been identified with Dah Parbatya near Tezpur, headquarters of the Darrang District of Assam. The gift land was situated in the locality called Bappadēva-pūṭaka which belonged to the district called Vāriś-pattana. The location of these places cannot be determined with any amount of certainty, although the name of Vāriś-pattana reminds us of that of the Barua range of hills about 50 miles to the south-west of Silchar.

TEXT

[Metres: verses 1-4, 9-10, 14, 17, 21-25 *Āryā*; verses 5-6, 12, 15 *Upajāti* (*Indramajrā* and *Upāndramajrā*); verse 7 *Indravajrā*; verse 11 *Apasobhāṇḍasika*; verses 8, 13, 19-20, 30 *Gīti*; verses 16, 18 *Anuśṭubh*; verses 26-28 *Vaiśaṇṭha*; verse 29 *Upajāti* (*Vaiśaṇṭha* and *Indravajrā*).]

1. Sādhām^a svasti | Bhavatu bhava-timira-bhūṭarāḥ tējō saudra[m] prāśāntayē jagataḥ |
pativartitātē samāgrām [ka*]p-ānta-ni-
2. āvaśānā^b yat || [1*] Sura-kari-mada-chandrakṛtām. sāliṣā Lauhitya-vāridhī^c-amalam |
Kailāsa-kataka-mṛiga-mada-
3. vāśitam-āpaharata-daritam-vaḥ^d || [2*] Sura-kari-mada-chandrakṛtām sāliṣā Lauhitya-
vāridhī^c-amalam | Kailāsa-ka-
4. taku-mṛiga-mada-vāśitam-āpaharatu daritam-vaḥ^d || Pralaya-payōdhan- māgnām-udḍha-
ratō vacanmālin-Upānditaya |
5. Saraka iti śūmra-śāid-asura-suhṛit-kṛdā-rūpa-bhṛitah || [3*] Tīrthōkya-vijaya-tunga[m*]

^a Hsiao-tung entered the Kāmarūpa country from the west after having crossed the Karatōyā or Karatōyā (cf. Watters, *On Yüan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, pp. 188 ff.).

^b Cf. *The Sāliṣa Pīṭha*, p. 13, note 1; cf. p. 17, note 2.

^c From a set of photographs and impressions.

^d Expressed by symbol.

^e The *śāśana* [ka*]p-ānta-ni-matā could not be read on the Nowgong plates. The root-mark of *at* is also not clear there.

^f Read *daritam* *vaḥ*.

^g The following stanza is a repetition of verse 2. This was due to an oversight either of the scribe or of the engraver.

[illegible]

Scale : Nine-tenths

- 20 ay-śakhaśaṁ bhramanti yalāśaḥ kund-āśaḥ sama-prabhāṣi || [15*] Sa śrīmān Vana-
mūlō-pi rājā [rā]¹
- 21 rājiva-lōchana[h*] | avēksha(khya) vinay-ōpātāḥ tanūjam prāpta-yauvanam || [16*]
Chokha(Chha)ttam śaladhara-
- 22 dhavalam: chāmara-yugal-śuvitāś* pralāy-āśaḥ | anālana-vidhinā vīra-tējaḥ mā-
- 23 lōkavarō lha[h*] || [17*] Prāpta-rājyēna tēn-ōjha rājū śrī Viravā(bā)hunā | kalēna
kānyā vayasā² Amvā(mhā) nām-ātmanah
- 24 samā || [18*] Tēn-ōdāpūdi tasyām-uragāv-iva pāvaka[h*] prayōga-vidā | Va(Ba)-
lavarmm-ōti pra-
- 25 śhitah śrīmat-tanayah samagra-guṇa-yuktah || [19*] Axita-sarōruha-śala-śala-nibha-
nayana[h*] pūna-bandharah su-bhu-
- 26 ja[h] | abhinava-dīnakara-kara-hata-vidalita-nava-nahna-kānti-sach-śhāya[h*] y || [20*]
Gacchhati tithimati kē-
- 27 tē na kadāchhi-karmmapāḥ vi[rā*]ka-vaśāḥ | rājā raj-ābhūbhūpō laṅghita-bhikṣajā rāṣa-
madibhaḥ || [21*] Nīśātam sāmā-
- 28 [rah] jala-lara-līlān-cha jīvitam [pūmaś* | vīgaṇayya Viravā(bā)hu[h*] kuttavyam-achin-
tayach-śhōṣam(śham) || [22*] Atha panyā-hani

Second Plate, Second Side

- 29 upāpāṭi-tanaya-tam-odagra-vigrahaṁ vidhivat | kṣaṇi-kṣāṇa-madiraṁ singhā(hā)mana-
maṇḍitān-anayaḥ || [23*]
30 Ta(d-ana)ntaram-adbhutamya prāṇam tad-rāṇam āyam-iva vahniḥ | Va(Ba)lavarm-āpi
dīpā prōcchhā(ta)ḥ-ita-sakala-ripu-tim-
31 rah || [24*] Abhaya-jaya-karī-kumbha-ekhalit-ūrmūr-anala-vācchhā-tasya | Lauhityasya
samip tad-ā(va)ṇitā-
32 maham kṛtām || [25*] Tatra kṛnati Haḍappōśvara-nāmanī kṛtāḥ kṛta-vaatir-utkhāt-
āḥ-kāṭa-mārici-ni-
33 chaya-mōhakitōna vā(hā)kūṇā | * [v]jita-sakala-dik-chakravālō dhīraḥ pradhaṇō bhīruḥ
paśani dīkṣitō ti-
34 pūṇo upādutaḥ gurukṣa | satyavāg-śrīsamvā(śamvā)di kṛtv-śaikarāṇa-śhūla-lakṣhō
35 mūtā-pūṭi-[pā*]d-ānūhyāna-dhaura-kāmaśah(śah) | paramōśvaram paramabhāṭṭārakō ma-
36 hārāḍdhivājah śrī-Va(Ba)lavarmmadēvaḥ kṛtā || * || Vārāṇś-pattana-

³ This subject is redundant.

* See *Requiescat*, III, 16: *ad hoc est transponitur huiusmodi testis problemum adhibendumque tunc salutare*.

* Sundia has not been observed here. Cf. ibid., VI, 76: *Aethya leucogaster* vagans sordida pinnicula fuscata.

^a Percent germination.

* This mark of punctuation and others in the following two lines are transcribed

*There is a final design here to indicate the separation of the foregoing introductory part from the main portion that follows.

[illegible]

Scale : Nine-tenths

- 37 viśhay-āntahpāti-Va(Ba)ppadēva-pātakād-apaśishya-dhānya-īvi-sahasr-ōpattika-bhū-
man
- 38 yathā-yatham samupasthita-Vrā(Brā)hmag-ādi-vishaya-karaga-vyavantā(hā)rika-pramukha-
jānapadān-rāja-rā-
- 39 jāt-tāpat-ādhikāpīśa anyān-āpi-rājana-kā-rājaputra-rājavalabha-prabh[ri]tin yathā-kā-
- 40 bhāvinō-pi-sarvān-mānān-pūrvvakān samādīśati | viditam-astu bhavatām bhūmir-iyas
vā-
- 41 [etu] kōdāra-utkala-jala-gōprachār-āvakar-ādy-upētā yathā-samitā āva-dha-ōddhā-[pa]-
- 42 [ryanā] ha[ri]va[ha]n[dha]-nauk[āva(ba)udha]-chaatōd[dha]ra[ā] | dāḍapā-ōparikara-
nānā-nimit[ti]-ōi[kh]ōta[na]-

Third Plate

- 13 haaty-a[iv-śastra]-gō-mahish-āy-āvika-prachāra-prabh[ri]tinām vinivārita-sarvva-phā śāsanī
kritya [111]
- 14 Abhūd-aśōcha-śruti-śāstra-vin-dhukhaib kṛit dvijēndrō bhṛīśam-Aupamaanyavā | a[iv]jāpa
Hāyō raja-
- 45 śhām nivāsa-bhūa-sur-ālayam yā khala Gargga-samjñakā [11 26*] Rishō m sāmāni yajñashī
[jūnshi] tasya ya[h] papā-
- 46 thā sūktāni cha karmma-paddhā¹tib. vivāda śāstrāṇi kṛit-ādhyarasa-antō Gabhiśhābhīrō nāma
va(ba)bhūva dha-
- 47 māmajah [127*] [K]ul-ōdhāva śhūa-lat-ēva pāvani Vamshtha-bhārya[ty-ō]va pati-vintā hi
yā śach-iva Garbhō-
- 48 svarikā Śatakratōh prīy-ābhavat-tasya dhat-ōva dhairyata [128*] Avāpta-panyah śru-
- 49 ²ti-śāstra-pātagah priyamva(yadva)dah pāpma-yatō vasu-pradāh | hitāya tābhyaśh-janitō
dviya-
- 50 nmanām(nārt) hi Śyāmādōca[ś]-tamjō mahā-śapāh [129*] Pitrōh panyāy-śama Bha[ti]āya ta-
- 51 th-ātmanō-vidā(bda)-pājāpām | Śakti-śhāhō vidhikā³ bhṛīśam dattā paśchama-varshā
mayā rā-

¹ There are traces of a fossil dagger between the double slashes to indicate the separation of the foregoing part in prose from the following section in verse.

² A superscript *ti* sign was incised above this *śāstra*; but it seems to exhibit a cancellation mark.

³ Four *śāstras* were engraved before the beginning of this line, the second and third of them being partially cut off by the engraver. They appear to read Ślokaśh, although such a passage does not appear to have been omitted from the text of the record. For similar marginal writing in some other early medieval records from Assam, see above, Vol. XXIX, p. 146.

⁴ This mark of punctuation is redundant.

- 52 jyā¹ || [30*] sāl(sī)mā [1*] pūrvvēṇa Vaikāśika-stūpaḥ | pūrvva-dakṣiṇēṇa sāmali-vṛkṣaḥ
| dakṣiṇēṇa tripatraṇa-vṛkṣaḥ |
- 53 dakṣiṇa-paśchimēṇa kadamva(nila)-vṛkṣaḥ | paśchimēṇa kaśṭhā-āl-stha-vṛkṣaḥ |
paśchim-ōttarēṇa Nīlī-
- 54 stūpa-sth-āvatīṣṭha-vṛkṣaḥ | uttarēṇa jāmṛṭ(māṭṭ) vṛkṣaḥ | uttara-pūrvvēṇa suvarṇa-
dāru-vṛkṣaḥ-ch-āi ||²

¹ Omīṭ either *magā* or *śāṅgī* for the sake of the metre. If the words *vidhāt śhrīṣṭa* are omitted, the metre of the stanza would be *āryā*.

² There is a floral design between the double leader to indicate the end of the writing.

No. 34—MUDHOL PLATES OF PUGAVARMAN

(I. Plate)

P. B. DESAI, DHARWAR

In May 1949, this set of copper-plates was received for examination in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India from Shri R. S. Panchamukhi, the then Director of Kannada Research, Dharwar. The plates were originally in the possession of a shepherd belonging to a village in the present Mudhol Taluk of the Bijapur District. They were handed over to Shri V. C. Garwad, District Judge at Mudhol, who passed them on to Shri Panchamukhi in 1943. Shri Panchamukhi has edited the inscription on the plates in his *Progress of Kannada Research in Bombay Province, 1941-48*, pp. 12 and 69 ff. and plate IV. The epigraph is briefly noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy for 1949-50*, p. 2 and registered as No. 7 of Appendix A.¹ I edit the record here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The set comprises two copper-plates held together by a circular ring with seal. The rims of the plates are not raised. The first plate is engraved on the inner side only, while the second on both the sides. The plates measure each $5\frac{1}{2}$ " in length, $2\frac{1}{16}$ " in breadth and $\frac{1}{16}$ " in thickness. The ring which is $2\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter passes through a circular hole, $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. The ends of the ring are soldered into the bottom of a thick oval seal having a rim. The seal which measures $\frac{1}{2}$ " by $\frac{1}{2}$ " contains in the sunken surface a standing human figure with its right hand raised.² The ring and the seal together weigh 9 tolas and the whole set weighs 25 tolas.

The epigraph is on the whole in a fair state of preservation, although a few letters in lines 1, 7 and 8 are damaged. It contains 12 lines of writing, which are distributed evenly on the three inscribed faces of the plates. Line 8 continues about half the distance, the remaining space being left blank probably due to its narrowness. No punctuation marks are used anywhere in the writing. Some letters are omitted through oversight while engraving, as in lines 1, 6 and 11. The writing contains a few other scribal errors.

The characters belong to the southern class of alphabet with archaic traits, having in a majority of instances small hollow boxheads. They may be compared for general resemblance with some records of the early Kadamba family.³ The initial vowels *a* and *ai* are met with in lines 10 and 7 respectively. Medial *i* and *ī* are not distinguished, both represented by a circle at the top of the letter. *Jihvāmālīnā* occurs once in *brahmapuṣṭakṛmā* in line 2.

¹ The inscription has also been noticed by Dr. D. C. Sircar in *Prof. P. Sundarām Pillai Com. Vol.*, 1957, pp. 56-57.

² Shri Panchamukhi has tried to identify this figure, not without difficulty, as the deity Hanumān (*Prog. of Kan. Res.*, op. cit., p. 69). But his arguments are far from convincing. Although it is very difficult to ascertain the identity of the figure on account of its badly worn out condition, one may possibly suggest that originally it may have been intended to represent the god Vāṛāhīdeva in whom favour the charter purports to record a gift.

³ For example, the Banavasi plates of Kṛṣṇavarman II (*above*, Vol. VI, Plate facing p. 18) and the Halebi plates of Harivarman (*ibid.*, Vol. VI, Plate facing p. 32).

In regard to **orthography** the consonant following *r* is doubled as in *Pāṇavarmanā* (line 6) and *bahubhir-eva** (line 10). An exception may be noted in *garbhā* (lines 3-4). *Anuvāra* is changed to class nasal in *sandhi* in the expression *uktāṇ-cha* (line 10).

The **language** is Sanskrit and the composition excepting one verse each at the beginning and at the end is in prose.

The inscription commences with the expression *svasti*. This is followed by a verse in praise of the lotus-feet of Brahmā, i.e., the Creator, which are described as worthy of being worshipped by the pious persons, brilliant like the shining gold and capable of causing the good as well as bad things of the three worlds. This verse is new and not found in other records.

Next is introduced the victorious prince **Pāṇavarman**, the first son of **Śrī-Prithivivallabha-mahārāja** who performed the *Hiranyaparbhā-mahādāna* and the *Agnishtāma*, *Agnichayana*, *Vājapeya* and *Aśvamedha* sacrifices. Pāṇavarman is said also to have borne the appellation *Rajashūdra*. This expression is defective and its correct form may be suggested as *Rajanthātri*† which means 'firm in battle'. It is comparable with the name *Yadhisūdhira*.

The object of the epigraph is to register a second‡ gift, apparently of land, in the village of [Ma]kājaka to the deity Vārāhidēva by Pāṇavarman for securing good results in this world as well as in the next. The gift land was divided into thirty-three shates, to be enjoyed, apparently by different beneficiaries whose names, however, are not specified. The charter concludes with the usual verse extolling the merit of a pious gift.

Not many inscriptions are available for reconstructing the early history of the Chālukya house of Badāmi. For the reign of Pulakāśin I, we have the Bādāmi inscription,§ dated 543 A.D., which has placed the history of this family on a firm chronological footing. His successor Kirtivarman is represented through only two charters of his reign bearing identical dates,¶ The present inscription which may be assigned to this dim period of Chālukya history makes a welcome addition to our knowledge.

It must be admitted at the outset that there are some difficulties in ascertaining the family to which the issuer of the present charter belonged. But a critical examination of it shows that the difficulties are only superficial. A prominent feature that impresses upon our mind on a perusal of the document is its unconventional nature. The invocation is unusual. The following *prastāva* does not contain the name of the family to which Pāṇavarman belonged, as one naturally expects. The other familiar expressions in the Chālukya *prastāva* referring to the *Mātavya gātra*, the Seven Mothers, etc., are also conspicuous by their absence. All these objections, however, are set at rest if we critically examine the description of the king whose son issued the present grant.

* Śrī Pancharaṅgī's restoration of this epithet as *śaṅkhādhara*, i.e. 'one who fought [as] battles', seems to be incorrect. Further, his suggestion on the basis of this restoration that Pāṇavarman may be identical with Kirtivarman is unconvincing. See *op. cit.*, pp. 12 and 76.

† This shows that there already existed a gift for the deity made either by this prince or by his predecessor. It was not the renewal of an old grant as assumed by Śrī Pancharaṅgī.

‡ Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 4 ff.

§ The two records are the Vaishnava cave inscription at Bādāmi and the Gofachi plates. See *Ins. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 246, and above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 59 ff.

This was Śrīprithivīvallabha-mahārāja. As Vallabha, Śrīvallabha, Prithivīvallabha and Śrīprithivīvallabha are all identical, being recognized specially as Western Chālukya appellations and the title *Mahārāja* conveying the status of a paramount sovereign is almost invariably and for the first time applied to Pulakēśin I in all the formal charters of the family,¹ we are fully justified in identifying Śrīprithivīvallabha of our charter with Pulakēśin I. This identification is further strengthened by his description as the performer of *Aśvamedha*, *Agnisthoma*, *Agnicayana* and other sacrifices; for, Pulakēśin I, as known from many records of the family, performed all these sacrifices and a few more.² The mention of *Aśvamedha* in this connection is an overwhelming evidence in favour of this identification, since, except for a few Kadamba rulers whose consideration is out of question in the present context, no other monarch in this part of the country is ever credited with such a supreme achievement.

This much about the positive side of the question.

In regard to its negative side, it has to be noted that the non-mention of certain ideas and expressions in the *prastuti* can in no way be cited as contrary evidence. As I have shown elsewhere,³ the Chālukya *prastuti* was still in the formative stage at this time and not yet standardized. The conventional *prastuti* of the Chālukya house is met with for the first time in the charters of Pulakēśin II, commencing with the Hyderabad grant.

Now who is this Pūgavarman? He was not known previously and is introduced for the first time by the present charter. His description as *agra-sūna* shows that he was the first and the eldest son of Pulakēśin I. As he is not endowed with royal titles we have to surmise that he was governing the province as his father's deputy and issued the charter in this capacity. This leads to another surmise that Pulakēśin I was ruling at this time. If the identification of [Ma]l[kō]taka suggested in the sequel is correct, Pūgavarman's authority might have extended over the present Gulbarga District.

It is well-known that Pulakēśin I had two more sons, the elder of whom, viz. Kirtivarman, succeeded his father on the Chālukya throne. In his Godachi plates, Kirtivarman is referred to as his father's favourite son. In the Mahākūṭa inscription of Mangalīśa who succeeded Kirtivarman, it is said that Pulakēśin I had two sons and that Kirtivarman was the senior. These statements do not preclude the possibility of the existence of yet another son being the youngest. This possibility is borne out by the present record. The fact that Pulakēśin I was succeeded by Kirtivarman can be explained on the assumption of Pūgavarman's demise before his father.⁴

Assuming that Pulakēśin I started his independent rule a few years prior to the date of the Bādāmi inscription, we may place the commencement of his reign roughly about 535 A.D.⁵ His

¹ Cf. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, 345 and note 1; above, Vol. XXVII, p. 6.

² *Bomb. Gaz.*, op. cit., p. 244; above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 8-9, and n. 1. As in the Bādāmi inscription of S. 403, the present record also describes the king as *Hiranyaprabhāsambhāta*, i.e. one who performed the *Hiranyaprabha-mahādāna*.

³ Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 69 and n. 10. Some scholars are not prepared to assign the present charter to the Chālukya family (A.R.Ep., 1949-50, p. 2). The arguments against this view are set forth in the above discussion.

⁴ It is unnecessary to suggest the identity of Pūgavarman with Kirtivarman, as they connote two distinct names. Contra. Panchanabhi, op. cit., p. 70.

⁵ Cf. *The Classical Age*, p. 231.

reign ended about 567 A.D. With an approximate margin of a few years before the last date, it may be suggested that the present charter was issued by Pāṇavarman about 560 A.D. From his description as *Raṅgathāyī*, i.e. 'firm in battle', it may be gathered that Pāṇavarman assisted his father in the wars which the latter had to wage for the establishment of the Chālukya kingdom.

The name of the deity Vārāhidēva which means 'lord of Vārāhi,' i.e. god Varāha, is interesting.¹ The roundabout way of naming the god may possibly be explained on the ground that the goddess Vārāhi, who was one of the Seven Mothers, was held in high reverence and enjoyed an independent status, not being considered merely a female counterpart of Varāha. It is well known that the Chālukyas considered themselves specially favoured by the Seven Mothers and their partiality to Varāha or the Boar-incarnation of Viṣṇu is evidenced by their acceptance of the figure of this god for their family emblem. This affords the earliest instance of the devotion to the god Varāha in the Chālukya family.

There is only one place-name mentioned in the record and it is Maḷakōṭaka. This village seems to be identical with the present Maḷkhēḍ in the Gulbarga District, Mysore State. Maḷkhēḍ became the renowned capital of the Rāshtrakūṭas of the Deccan during later centuries and it is mentioned in their records in the Sanskritised form Mānyakhēḍa. It is referred to as Mānyakhēḍa in a record² of 993 A.D. In the inscriptions of the locality as well as of the villages near about Maḷkhēḍ, ranging from the 11th to the 16th centuries, the place is spoken of as Maḷikōḍa and Maḷeyakhēḍa.³ If the above identification is correct, this would be the earliest allusion to the place, indicating its existence at least from the sixth century.

It would be interesting to review here the contents of an early stone inscription which may similarly be attributed to the Chālukya house of Bādāmi. The epigraph⁴ is incised on a boulder to the left of the images of Durgā and Gaṇēśa near the fourth gate of the fort at Gooty in the Anantapur District, Andhra State. The characters are archaic Kannada of about the sixth or seventh century, the language being an admixture of faulty Sanskrit and old Kannada. It reads as follows:

- 1 Śrī-śaḷakā-gaṇa-saḷya
- 2 Śrī-Vaḷlabha-yuvarājā-
- 3 na Kāśyapa-varaḷēṇa kārī-
- 4 pithā Bhaṭṭaraki
- 5 [pra]mā-rūpēṇa keyadaṇu
- 6 [śrī]-paḍime⁵ [||⁶]

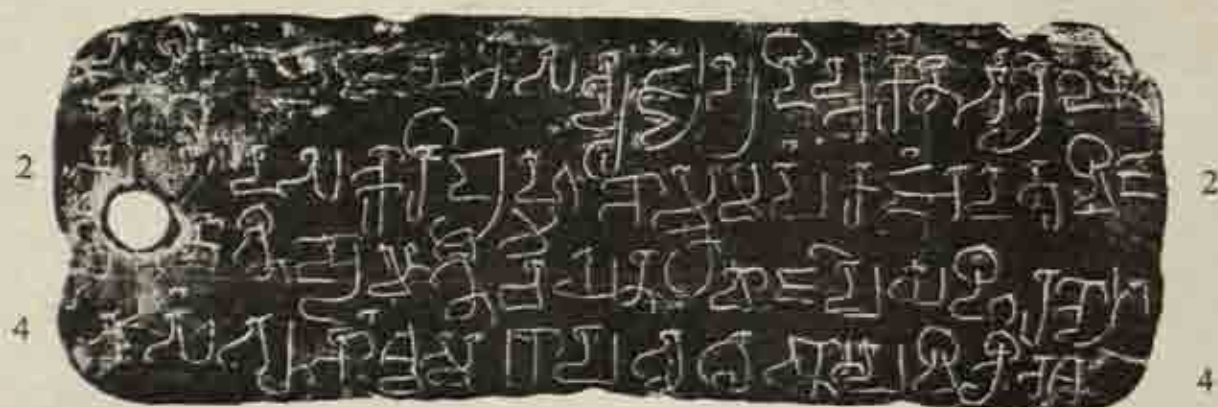
¹ This reminds us of such names of the gods as Lakṣmīdēva, Umāsthā, etc.

² B. K. Coll., No. 170 of 1923-24.

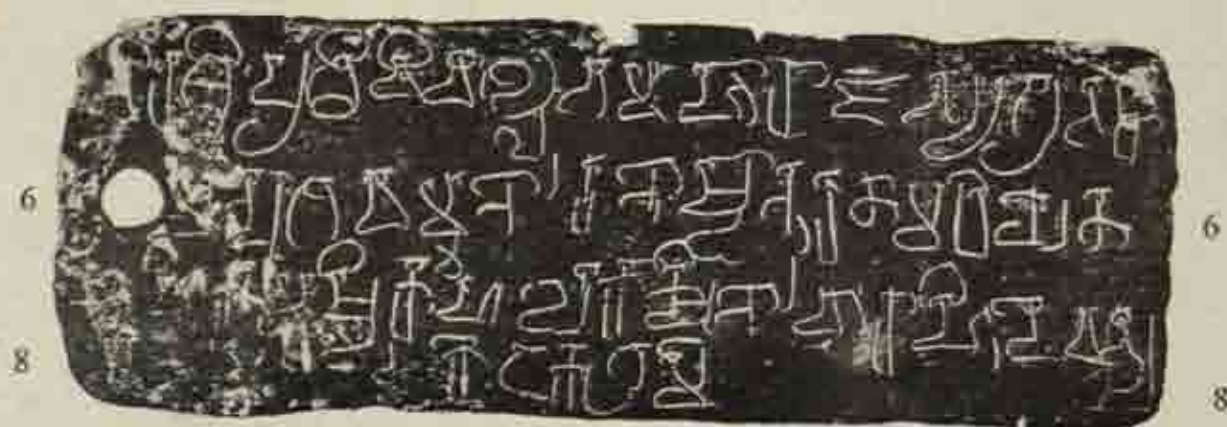
³ The place was explored by me for inscriptions some twenty years ago. See my *Jainism in South India*, pp. 192 ff. and 325 n., and also *Kan. Sikh. Fort. Papers*, 1941, December, pp. 6 ff.

⁴ A. N. Ep., 1904-56, Appendix A, No. 1.

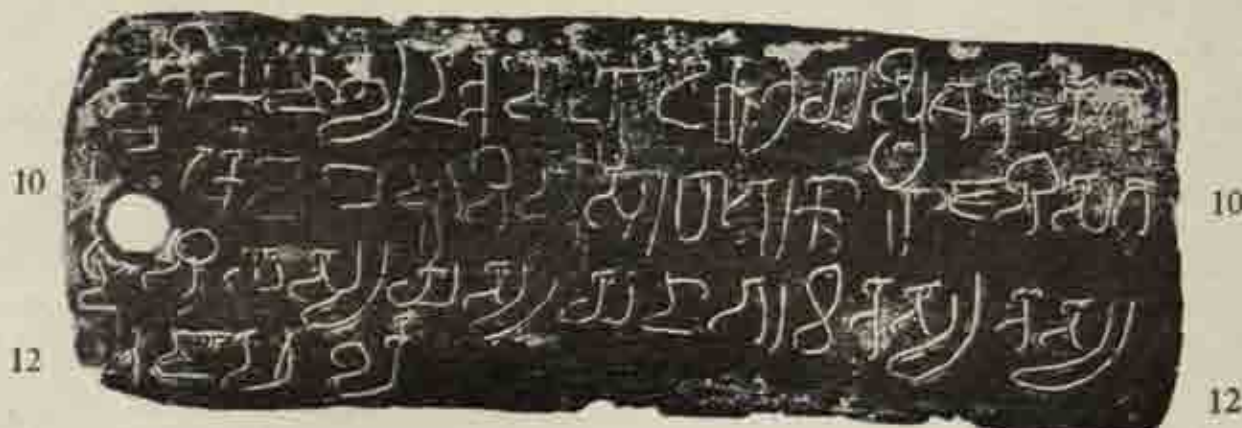
⁵ This may be rendered into Sanskrit as śrī-saḷakā-graha-saḷya-śrī-vaḷlabha-yuvarājā-kaśyapa-varaḷēṇa kārī-rūpēṇa kēḍāḍa-śrī-Bhaṭṭaraki-paṭime.



iii, a



iii, b



Scale : Actual
SEAL



(from a Photograph)

"This sacred image of the Supreme Goddess was caused to be made according to the standard form through (the artist who was) a descendant of Kāśyapa by the illustrious Yavarāja (i.e. crown-prince) Śrīvallabha, a piercing javelin to all the evil spirits."

As we have noted earlier, *Śrīvallabha* was specially a Western Chālukya appellation. Hence, although the name of the crown-prince who was responsible for the setting up of the image¹ in question, is not specified, it goes without saying that he belonged to the Chālukya house of Bādāmi. It is difficult to surmise who this Chālukya prince could be, as he might be any one from Pulakāśin I to Vikramāditya I. But it is possible to think that this prince might have set up the image of the goddess while he was governing the area of Goety as the viceroy of the ruling king.

The name of the artist or sculptor who actually shaped the image according to the standards prescribed in the texts on the subject (*pramā-rūpēṣa*) is not mentioned. Instead, it is merely said that he belonged to the lineage of Kāśyapa. This is interesting, for Kāśyapa was a renowned artist (*śilpakāru*)² and the present sculptor seemed to take more pride in mentioning the former as his ancestor than disclosing his own name.

TEXT³

First Plate

- 1 Svasti [] ...⁴ yatī sat-pūjya[th] pradīpta-kama[ka-pra*]bhac(bham[]) trailb-
- 2 kya-sad-asat-kāri Brāhmaṇaḥ⁵-krama-pamkajam(jam || 1)⁶ Tad-ana vija-
- 3 [vi]n-Āgnishṭōm-Āguchayana-Vājapēya⁷-Hiraṇyaga-
- 4 rbha-asmbhūtām(t-ā)śvamēdh-āpa(va)bh[ri]tha-anāna-pavitrta-śa-

Second Plate, First Side

- 5 [r]a-Śrīprithivīvallabha-mahārājasya(sy=ā)gra-sū-
- 6 [nu*]-śrīmat-Pūgava[r]mmapā Rapaśtātum⁸-nāmadhēyāna
- 7 [ai]hik-ānushūka-phal-[ś]kāmkaṣṇā Vārāhīdēva-ava(svā)-
- 8 ...⁹ [Ma]k[ā]k[ā]ka-gr[ā]mā

¹ The image may be that of Durgā, near which the record is located.

² Siddhīśvara Śāstri Chitrān, *Prākāśa Chitrakōśa* (Madrās), p. 129.

³ From impression.

⁴ There are traces of three worn out letters before this, which may be restored as *śrīmad[j]a*.

⁵ This *jāvanmūṣa* is indicated by a sign looking like a big superscript *ma*.

⁶ Metro: *Anuśtubh*.

⁷ (Read "pūjya-pūj")—D. (1. 8.)

⁸ For a correct form of this name see the discussion above.

⁹ The two damaged letters here may be *maś*.

Second Plate, Second Side

- 9 dvitīya[m] mānyam dattam sō[vu]dakam¹ *trayaś-tri[m]śati[śat] bhāgi-
 10 na[h]² [*] Uktāś-cha [[*] Bahubhir-vvasudhā bhuktā rājābhī[h]³ Saga-
 11 [*-ā*] dibhī[h] [*] yasya yasya yadā bhu(bhū)m[i](e*)=taaya taaya
 12 *adā phalam(lam || 2)⁴

¹ The internal reading may be either *śāś-dakam* or *ś-śakam*.

² Better supply the word *aya* before this.

³ Actually the reading is *bhāgiśa[h]* and not *bhāgiśa*, as read by Shri Pancharāghri. This gives better sense.

100.

⁴ Metre: *ānandya*.

No. 35—BARLA INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF PRITHVIRAJA III, V.S. 1234

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

The black stone slab bearing the inscription under study was discovered some years ago by Mr. U. C. Bhattacharya, Curator of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, at the village of **Bārīā** about 7 miles to the east of the city of Ajmer. Mr. Bhattacharya read a short note on the importance of the date of the epigraph at the Jaipur Session of the Indian History Congress in December 1951 and this note was later published with an illustration of the record in the Proceedings of the Session, pp. 326-28.

The inscription is **fragmentary** as some letters at the end of all the lines are lost. Fortunately however, the number of the lost syllables in most of the lines can be easily determined as the major part of the record is in verse. The right hand side of the inscribed slab of stone is broken away. The extant part measures about 16½ inches in length, 9 inches in height and 1 inch in thickness. The length indicated is that of the central section of the slab since the pieces broken away from the upper and lower right corners have made a sort of angle about the middle of its right side and the length of the top and bottom of the slab is respectively 11½ inches and 14½ inches. There are 13 lines of writing on the stone, of which line 8 is the longest (about 16½ inches leaving a margin of slightly less than an inch in the left); but a portion of the slab containing four *akṣaras* has broken away from the end even of this line. The number of lost syllables is higher in all the other lines of the epigraph, the loss being generally more considerable in the line that stands at a greater distance from line 8 either above or below it. Thus, amongst lines 1-7, the number of lost syllables is 16 in line 1, and 7 in line 7. Considering the size of the letters (about ½" × ⅓"), the four lost letters at the end of line 8 appear to have covered a space about 1½ inches in length and there was probably a margin of a little less than an inch (as in the left hand side of the slab) beyond the last *akṣara* of the line. Thus the length of the inscribed slab was originally a little above 19 inches.

The **characters**, which are neatly and carefully engraved, belong to the Devanāgarī alphabet of about the twelfth century A. D. and closely resemble those of other contemporary epigraphs discovered in the area in question, such as the Ajmer inscription recently edited in the pages of this journal.¹ The same is also the case with its **orthography** which shows the tendency to use class nasals instead of *anuvāra* and *anuvāra* instead of the final *m* at the end of the halves of verses. The *anuvāra* has been used twice in line 5, and *h* has been written by the sign for *r*. The number of errors is small. The **language** of the record is Sanskrit and its composition exhibits a mixture of prose and verse. There is a short *madhala* passage in prose at the beginning of the epigraph in line 1, which is followed by a *prastāvi* in 13 stanzas in different metres engraved in lines 1-12. The verses are consecutively numbered, the numerical figures at their end being placed between a double and a single *dayda*. A few sentences at the end of the record in lines 12-13 refer to the author and the engraver of the eulogy, the date of the construction of a step-well which was its main subject as well as a prayer that the said well may last for ever. The date is quoted as V. S. 1234, Chaitra-sudi 4, which, as will be seen below, is not easily reconcilable with certain known facts of history.

¹ Cf. above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 178 ff. and Plate.

Out of the 13 stanzas of the eulogy, verse 1 contains the adoration to a deity. Verses 2-4 describe the ruling king and his family, verses 5-6 an officer or a subordinate of the king and his family, and verses 7-9 the hero of the eulogy and his family. The remaining stanzas deal with the object of the *prastāvi*, which, as already indicated above, is to record the construction of a step-well.

The inscription begins with the *Siddham* symbol followed by a symbol for the *pragata*. Next comes the passage *namaḥ Śivāya* which is followed by verse 1 in which the protection of the god Varuṇa is invoked. The invocation to Varuṇa, god of the waters, suits the occasion as the subject of the composition is essentially the excavation of a step-well and we have other instances of the kind in inscriptions recording the construction of wells.¹ Verse 2 introduces the hero named Chāhamāna, the mythical progenitor of the Chāhamāna family of Rajputa, as born of Virōchana, i.e. the sun-god. This interpretation of the word *virōchana*, which means both 'the sun' and 'fire', is suggested by the fact that the *Prithvirājavarjya* composed by Jayāmaka in the last decade of the twelfth century as well as Nayachandra-sūri's *Hammitramahākavya*, composed a century later, represents the eponymous Chāhamāna as sprung from the *Sūrya-maṇḍala*, while the tradition of the progenitors of the Paramāra, Pratihāra, Chaulukya and Chāhamāna families being born from the sacrificial fire-pit of the sage Vasiṣṭha on Mount Abu was unknown even as late as the fourteenth century.² It seems that the damaged second half of verse 2 referred to the Chāhamāna family as originated from the eponymous hero Chāhamāna mentioned in its first half. This is suggested by the first half of verse 3 which introduces the birth of king Vīgraharājādēva (i.e. Vīgraharāja IV or Viśala) with the word *īha* no doubt meaning 'in this family', and another word which seems to be *krāmāt* (i.e. in the regular course of succession), the name of the family being apparently indicated previously.

The extant part of verse 3 suggests that Vīgraharāja IV left his throne for his brother's son Prithvībhata (i.e. Prithvirāja II) after having ruled the earth (i.e. the Chāhamāna kingdom with its capital at Śākambharī) for a long time. It is interesting to note that the inscription passes over Aparā³ or Amaragāṅgēya, son and successor of Vīgraharāja IV.⁴ This was probably because Aparā⁵ or Amaragāṅgēya was overthrown after a short rule by Prithvirāja II whose successors were reluctant to recognise the former's rule and were eager to represent Prithvirāja II as the direct successor of Vīgraharāja IV. An inscription from Dhod is reported to contain a reference to the success of Prithvirāja II against the king of Śākambharī, who seems to have been none other than Aparā⁶ or Amaragāṅgēya.⁷ Verse 4 states that a later king of the family, named Prithvirāja (i.e. Prithvirāja III), succeeded another king whose name was . . . ra. This damaged name was no doubt *Sōmśēvara*, who was the father and predecessor of Prithvirāja III and the uncle and successor of Prithvirāja II.

The next two stanzas (verses 5-6) speak of a Brāhmana family belonging to the *Kauśika* *gṛha* and hailing from a flourishing *agrahāra* called Atiśākha. Verse 6 mentions Yaśōrāja who seems to have been the son of Khamadēva or . . . khamadēva of this family. The real significance of the introduction of this family is not clear; but it seems that Yaśōrāja was a subordinate or an officer of the Chāhamāna king and that the locality where the step-well was excavated (i.e. probably the village of Bārlā near Ajmer where the inscription was found) lay within the territory or fief under him.

¹ Cf. Mandator inscription (V.S. 1221) in the Gwalior Museum (*A.R. Ep.*, 1953-54, No. 147 of App. B; Mandator inscription of V.S. 742 (*Ibid.*, 1956-57, No. 604 of App. B; *Administrative Report of the Archaeological Department of Jodhpur*, 1924, p. 5), etc.

² Above, Vol. XXIX, p. 179; Ray, *Dyn. Hist. N. Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 1652-53.

³ Aparā⁴ or Amaragāṅgēya is mentioned in the *Prithvirājavarjya*, *Prabandhalāṭhā* and *Ain-i-Akbari*. Cf. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 1678.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1689.

Verses 7 ff. describe another family belonging to the Kāśyapa *gotra*, to which the hero of the eulogy belonged. Verse 7 mentions Saṅghadēva of this family and his son Udaya. The damaged last foot of the stanza no doubt mentioned Udaya's son and apparently also the son's wife. Verse 8 states that, from the husband and wife whose names are lost with the concluding part of the previous stanza, was born *Thakkura Pālūka*. The next stanza (verse 9) describes Pālūka's good character and qualities while verse 10, most of the syllables in the second foot of which are lost, states that he constructed a step-well by what he had earned by means of trade. This shows that *Thakkura Pālūka* was a trader by profession, although it is uncertain whether he actually belonged to the mercantile caste as well. Verse 12 states that some money belonging to Rāhada, a brother of Pālūka's father, was also spent in the construction of the well and that the *Thakkura* (i.e. Pālūka) became free from his debt to his uncle thereby. The concluding syllables of the stanza are lost; but it seems that Pālūka had previously borrowed some money from his uncle Rāhada and that Rāhada or his heirs agreed to forego the realisation of the amount if it was spent in a good cause like the construction of a step-well. Verse 13 mentions the four wives of Rāhada, viz. Dēvamā, Salakhū, Lakshmi and Uttamā. The introduction of these ladies in the narration is difficult to explain; but it seems that it was they who permitted Pālūka to spend the amount borrowed from their husband in the construction of the well. Possibly this was done for the merit of Rāhada who might have been dead at the time.

The eulogy is stated to have been composed by Padmanābha, son of *Āchārya Nā*. . . . The name of the poet's father consisted of about two *aksharas* only and seems to have been something like Nēma. A partially preserved epithet of Padmanābha appears to suggest that he claimed to be a *kavi* or poet. The inscription was engraved by Jayatasīluha, son of *Paṇḍita Yaśōdhara*. Since this person does not look like an ordinary engraver, it is not unlikely that he only painted the letters on the stone to facilitate the work of the real engraver of the record. If such was the case, the name of the person who actually engraved the *prasti* on the stone is not mentioned in the record.

The most puzzling information supplied by the inscription under study is its date: V. S. 1234, *Chaitra-sudi 4*. This is the earliest date of Chāhamāna Prithvirāja III so far known. Unfortunately, the date is not satisfactorily verifiable since the name of the week-day has not been mentioned in the epigraph. If, however, the beginning of the Vikrama year in the age and area in question can be determined, the date of our inscription may be calculated, although, unfortunately, the result of such an attempt scarcely solves the mystery of the date of our record. As will be seen below, the latest known date of the father and predecessor of Prithvirāja III is V.S. 1234, Bhādra-sudi 4. This would suggest that the year commenced some time between the months of Chaitra and Bhādra, so that the month of Bhādra was earlier than that of Chaitra. But, even though the Āshādhādi and Śrāvasthādi Vikrama years are not unknown in Rajasthan, the dates in the inscriptions of the Chāhamānas do not support such an explanation.

Let us clear the position by an examination of the following regular and verifiable dates in the records of Prithvirāja III and his immediate predecessors.

1. Ajmer inscription¹ of Vigraharāja or Vimala IV, dated V.S. 1210 (1153-54 A.D.), Mārgaśrīraha-sudi 5, Sunday=November 22, 1153 A.D. The year began before the month of Mārgaśrīraha.
2. Hansi inscription² of Prithvībhatta or Prithvirāja II, dated V.S. 1224 (1167-68 A.D.), Māgha-sudi 7, Thursday=January 18, 1168 A.D. The year began before the month of Māgha.

¹ Bhandarkar's List, No. 230.

² Ibid., No. 329.

3. Bijolia inscription¹ of Sōmēśvara, dated V.S. 1226 (1169-70 A.D.), Phālguna-vadi 3, Thursday-February 5, 1170 A.D. The year began before the month of Phālguna.
4. Revana inscription² of Sōmēśvara, dated V.S. 1230 (1173-74 A.D.), Āshāḍha-sudi 9, Monday-June 10, 1174 A.D. The year began after the month of Āshāḍha.
5. Anvala inscription³ of Sōmēśvara, dated V.S. 1234 (1177-78 A.D.), Bhādra-sudi 4, Friday-August 18, 1178 A.D. The year began after the month of Bhādrapada.
6. Phalodi inscription⁴ of Prithvirāja III, dated V.S. 1236 (1179-80 A.D.), Prathama-Āshāḍha-sudi 10, Wednesday-June 4, 1180 A.D. The year began after the month of Āshāḍha.
7. Udaipur Victoria Hall Museum inscription⁵ of Prithvirāja III, dated V.S. 1244 (1187-88 A.D.), Phālguna-sudi 31, Friday-February 12, 1188 A.D. The year began before the month of Phālguna.

The above dates would show that the Vikrama year commenced between the months of Bhādrapada and Mārgaśīrṣa. The year thus appears to have been Kārttikādi and not Chaitrādi, Āshāḍhādi or Śrāvaṇādi. Of the Āshāḍhādi and Śrāvaṇādi Vikrama years prevalent in some parts of Rājasthān,⁶ the first does not suit the dates of Nos. 4-6 and the second is equally unsuitable in the case of No. 5. The date of our inscription, viz. V. S. 1234, Chaitra-sudi 4, would thus appear to correspond to the 25th March 1178 A.D.

But this date of the reign of Prithvirāja III is earlier by a few months than the latest known date of his father and predecessor Sōmēśvara, viz. V. S. 1234, Bhādra-sudi 4-August 18, 1178 A.D. as found in the Anvala inscription. Since, however, the inscription under study clearly refers to the death of Sōmēśvara (*cf. tridala-pattanam prāptē* in verse 4), its date can scarcely be earlier than the latest date in the records of that king, viz. August 18, 1178 A.D. It is therefore not improbable that V.S. 1234 in the date of our record is a mistake for V.S. 1235. In that case the date of the epigraph would correspond to March 14, 1179 A.D. Thus Prithvirāja III would appear to have ascended the Chāhamāna throne after the death of his father Sōmēśvara between the 18th August 1178 A.D. and the 14th March of the following year, that is to say, sometime about the end of 1178 A.D. or the beginning of 1179 A.D.

It seems that there is some confusion in the minds of the writers on Chāhamāna history about the English equivalent of the date of the Anvala inscription of Sōmēśvara, viz. V.S. 1234, Bhādra-sudi 4, which is the latest known record of that king. H. C. Ray regards the year as c. 1177 A.D.,⁷ while D. C. Ganguly gives the year of the accession of Sōmēśvara's successor Prithvirāja III as 1177 A.D.⁸ Although Ganguly does not refer to Bhattacharya's note on the inscription under study,⁹ his view seems to have been influenced by the wrong equation of V. S. 1234, the year of Prithvirāja's accession according to the present record, with 1177 A.D.

The only geographical name mentioned in the inscription is the *agrahāra* of Atisākha whence the family of Yaśōrāja hailed. I am not sure about the identification of the locality.

¹ Bhattacharya's List, No. 344.

² Ibid., No. 360.

³ Ibid., No. 380. Another inscription of the time of Prithvirāja III on the same pillar is dated V.S. 1245 (current), Phālguna-sudi 12, Thursday (12th February 1188 A.D.). *cf. IHQ*, Vol. XXXV, p. 60.

⁴ Ibid., No. 390.

⁵ Ibid., No. 412.

⁶ See G. H. Ojha, *The Palaeography of India* (Bhubaneswar), pp. 169-70.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 1082. Some other scholars also equate V. S. 1234 with 1177 A.D. (*cf. Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LV1, p. 49).

⁸ *The Struggle for Empire*, 1927, p. 83; *cf. pp.* 104-05.

⁹ Bhattacharya's article was published in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 14th Session (Jaipur 1951) in 1953.

[illegible]

Scale: One-half

TEXT¹

[Metres : verses 1, 5 *Indravajrā* ; verses 2, 7-13 *Anuṣṭupā* ; verse 3 *Upajālī* ; verse 4 *Āryā* ; verses 6 *Mālinī*]

- 1 Siddham² []³ Ōm⁴ namaḥ Śivāya || Dēvaḥ sa vō-vyād-Varnūḥ yadiyā sṛir-||jagama-
sthāvara-janma-b[6]-⁵ []⁶ ————
- 2 ch[3]vyam⁷-api prasūtō || 1 | Chāhamān-āhavyaḥ kō-pi purā vīrō Virōchanāt | prādurya-
(r-bba)bhū(va).....⁸ || 2 []⁹ <¹⁰
- 3 mād-ih-ōdbhūya chirāya bhaktvā kṛtānām mahīm Vīgraharājadēv¹¹ | Prithvībhajō
bhṛātṛi-autē cha tasya mā ———— || 3 []¹² . . .
- 4 radēvō kshōpi-patau tridaśa-pattanaṁ prāptō | Pṛithvīrājas-tanayae-tasya padam
bhūbhayāmāsa || 4 | Yuguṁth ————
- 5 nīm¹³ sadvrā(d-Brā)hmagāḥ Kanaka-vatśa-dīpāḥ | yan-nirggamaḥ sphātimatō-'tisākha-
nāmō-'grahārādēvaha ———— || 5 []¹⁴ <<<<
- 6 khamadēvō¹⁵ dēva-vipr-ādy-upāsā-prasrad-amala-kīrttis-tat-kulē nītibāli | sakala-guṇa-
gariṣṭhaḥ ————¹⁶ <<<<
- 7 bhavad-uchita-jñāḥ Śri-Yasōrāja-sa[m¹⁷]jñāḥ || 6 | Kāśyap-ānvaya-sambhūta-Saḍhadēv-
āṅgaajanmanaḥ | Udayasya tanujō
- 8 tavān¹⁸ || 7 | Jayasita iva Paulōmī-Pākalīsanayōr-ayari(yam) | tay'ah-Thakura-
Pālū)kō dāmpatyōr-abhavat-autah || 8 | Satva(tta)-v[]
- 9 drō¹⁹ mahatvō(ttvē)na marud-giriḥ | śanchēna yaḥ Śāntanavaḥ satyēna cha Yudhisṭhiraḥ || 9 |
Vāṇijy-ōpārjītam yasya va
- 10 rakath(kam)²⁰ | tathā hy-anēna vāp-iyam niramāpyate śarmma-kṛt || 10 | Yad-vāri
śīrām svādū pāyam pāyam-apaklamāḥ |
- 11 pūmthāsa-tatra tatra sa-viamayam(yam) || 11 | Pūṭivya-Rāhādasy-āpi nīpās-amin-
kiyad-dhanam(nam) | vyajitv-āṅgīyam-āgamat-Thakkurō²¹ || 12 []²²

¹ From impressions.² Expressed by symbol.³ The intended word is apparently *śūnō*.⁴ The intended word may be *śāśvagaṁ*.⁵ The last syllables may be conjecturally restored as *cha tasmā-mimāṃsantad-āhṛānāḥ*.⁶ The last letter was apparently *ka*.⁷ The last syllables were no doubt *et-Sōmāsa*.⁸ It is difficult to determine the implication of this damaged foot of the stanza.⁹ We cannot be sure whether the name is *Khamadēva* or one or more syllables are lost from its beginning.¹⁰ The last syllables may be conjecturally restored as *śāśvagaṁ praklamāḥ*.¹¹ These two last syllables appear to have been same.¹² The damaged fourth foot of the stanza apparently mentioned the names of the son and daughter-in-law of Udaya. The damaged passage may be restored as *śāśvagaṁ svādū pāyam*.¹³ This damaged passage may be conjecturally restored as *tatva-vṛttīḥ śīrāmānāḥ*.¹⁴ Apparently the money earned by Pālūka by means of trade was referred to in this damaged passage.¹⁵ Read *Thakur* which was followed by something like *gaur mahāmatā*.

12 Dēvamā Salakhū Lakahmīr-Uttamā ch-ēti tasya tu | dharmma-patnyaḥ pitrivyasya
chātasraḥ pati-dēvatāḥ || 13 | kṛtir-īyaḥ śrīmad-āchārya-N[ā]¹

13 vāḥ śrī-Padmanābhasya || utkīṛṇ-īyaḥ Paṇḍita-Yasōdhara-putrēṇa Jayatāsindhāna ||
Śarīvat 1234 Chaitra-śudī 4 [||*]] śivam-astu | śhōyāch-ch-aita²

¹ The last of the lost syllables was apparently ka which appears to have been preceded by the word *patnaya*. The name of the poet's father was probably written only in two syllables, the first of which was *śr*. This name may have been something like Nāma.

² The damaged sentence may be conjecturally restored as *śhōyāch-ch-aita śhōyāch-ch-aita śhōyāch-ch-aita śhōyāch-ch-aita*.

No. 36—LAHADAPURA INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF JAYACHCHANDRA,
V. S. 1230

(I Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, GOTAAMUND

The inscription forming the subject of this paper is engraved on a stone slab now preserved in the Chhatra Kālā Bhavan attached to the Hindu University at Banaras, U. P. It was copied by me when I visited Banaras in June 1955 with the purpose of examining the epigraphic records in the collection of the Kālā Bhavan. The internal evidence shows that it was raised at a place called **Lahadapura**. I was at first inclined to identify it with the modern town of Laharpur (lat. 27° 42' 45", long. 80° 56' 25"), headquarters of a Pargana of the same name in the Sitapur District of U. P. But I am informed that the inscribed stone was found at Barahpur near Naudganj in the Gazipur District by Mr. Kabir Nath Shukla, now Deputy Director of Education, U. P., who presented it to the Kālā Bhavan.

The inscription is written in ten lines which cover an area a little above 18 inches in length and slightly less than 17 inches in height. The letters, which are boldly engraved, are each about 1 inch in height and a little more than $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in breadth. But some of them, with the signs of vowel-marks, etc., have greater height and breadth. The preservation of the writing is on the whole satisfactory, although some of the letters are damaged here and there.

The characters belong to the Devanāgarī alphabet of about the twelfth century and resemble those not only in the records of the Gāhājavāla dynasty of Banaras and Kanauj but also in the contemporary inscriptions discovered in the central area of Northern India and some of the neighbouring regions. The letter *h* has been represented by the sign for *v*. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit which is, however, somewhat influenced by the local dialect. Besides the word *śaṁśi* preceded by the *Siddham* symbol standing at the beginning of line 1 and the numerical figures illustrating two sums given in words in lines 2 and 3, the whole record is written in verse. There are only five stanzas in the *śaṁśubh* metre. The orthography of the record is characterised by the use of *anusvara* in place of class nasals as well as in that of final *m* at the end of the halves of verses. Double nasal has been used in *vinamāni* in line 8 and *ś* for *sh* in *śaṁśi* in line 3.

The date of the record is quoted in verses 1-2 in lines 1 ff. It is the year (i.e. **Vikrama Samvat**) counted by the words *kṛi* (i.e. 6) *agni* (i.e. 3) and *arā* (i.e. 12) indicating **1230** which is also given in figures (line 2). The week-day was **Budha** and the *tithi* the **12th of the dark half of the month of Āṣvina**. The figures for 12 are written immediately after the indication of the twelfth *tithi* in words. The date **V.S. 1230, Āṣvina-vadi 12, Wednesday**, corresponds regularly to the **5th September 1173 A.D.** The said date is stated in verse 1 to have fallen in the reign of the illustrious **Jayachchandraśva** who was undoubtedly the Gāhājavāla king of that name. Gāhājavāla Jayachchandra ascended the throne on the 21st June 1170 A.D.¹ The inscription was therefore incised a little above three years after his accession.

The inscription under review is a private document. Its object is to record an ordinance issued by the Brāhmanas of a village in the Gāhājavāla kingdom without any reference to royal authority, though the heavy punishment stipulated is stated to have included not only certain

¹ See Bhandarkar's List, No. 345.

verse 4, the instantaneous slaughter, as recommended for the culprit, has been indicated by the interesting expression *chakshur-vadha* (i.e. 'slaughter at sight') in which the word *chakshur* has been used in the sense of 'sight'. The confiscated property of the chief culprit was probably treated as pertaining to the whole village or was more probably assigned to the temple or temples of the locality. This is what was done in South India as we know from a number of inscriptions.¹

While verses 3-4 speak of the punishment of the principal offender and his abettor, the first half of the next stanza (verse 5) prescribes the punishment for the instigator of the crime. It is stated that the *vimsatri*, i.e. the adviser of the chief culprit, should be *śrita* (cf. *śrayan*) and should be treated as an equal of a dog or an ass or a Chapdāla. The causative form of the root *vi* may be taken to mean 'to hold captive' or 'to restrain'. But the injunction that the instigator of the crime should be treated as a dog or an ass or a Chapdāla seems to suggest that he was ostracised and that his movements were restricted. It has to be remembered in this connection that punishment by imprisonment was rather rare in ancient and early medieval India even in cases conducted in the king's courts.² Thus, while the chief offender was killed and his whole property confiscated and his abettor was expelled from the locality, his counsellor was permitted to stay in the village although nobody was allowed to have any intercourse with him.

The second half of verse 5, with which the document ends, states that the god *Dvādaśārka* was the witness [of the *sthiti*] and prays for the success of the same. The name *Dvādaśārka* refers to the conception of the twelve *Ādityas* in a single Sun-god called *Dvādaś-ātman* in the lexicons. Whether it was the name of the Sun-god worshipped at Lāhadapura cannot be determined. But the conception of the Sun as a witness of human deeds seems to be quite appropriate as he is called *Loka-lōchana* (literally, 'the eye of the world') and *Karma-sākshin* (literally, 'the witness of [all] acts') in the Sanskrit lexicons.³

The question is now as to the capacity in which the Brāhmanas of Lāhadapura issued the decree contained in the document under review. Of course the Smṛiti literature makes it abundantly clear that the particular jurisdiction of corporations of every kind was recognised by the ancient and medieval Hindu kings in the fullest measure and that the right of making laws for their corporations and composing disputes was often enjoyed by corporate bodies of farmers, craftsmen, cowherds, money-lenders, members of particular sects, robbers, actors, artisans, etc.⁴ No doubt the king of the country was advised to recognise and support the arrangements of and punishments inflicted by the chief of a family or a guild or of a corporation, and to interfere only when a dispute arose between a chief and his subordinates. But cases of grave crimes are stated to have been exclusively reserved for the king. This was, however, theoretical. In actual practice, inferior courts, such as those held by village assemblies, guilds, temple trustees and caste elders, appear to have been conducting criminal cases arising within their jurisdiction side by side with the courts headed by the king and his governors and subordinates without interruption from the government. A large number of South Indian inscriptions are known to prove that criminal cases including those involving homicide were decided by the village assembly or the community to which the accused belonged or the local people in general.⁵

In the present case, the Brāhmanas of Lāhadapura do not appear to have been members of a corporation of their own community nor do the unsocial elements seem to have belonged to the

¹ Cf. T. V. Mahalingam, *South Indian Polity*, p. 224. Considering the punishment prescribed for robbery by the law-givers (Jolly, *RII*, p. 273; Kane, *Hist. Dharm.*, Vol. III, pp. 519 ff.), *chakshur-vadha* does not appear to mean 'blinding the eyes.'

² Cf. Jolly, *Hindu Law and Custom*, p. 282.

³ Jolly, *op. cit.*, p. 293; N. C. Sengupta, *Evolution of Ancient Indian Law*, pp. 10-11, 259 ff., 300.

⁴ T. V. Mahalingam, *op. cit.*, pp. 225 ff., 226. There is an interesting case, in which the village assembly and its officers as well as the local government officers and the royal army failed to apprehend certain dacoits and ultimately the co-operation of the local people was sought.

same community or corporation. The language of the inscription seems to suggest that the Brāhmaṇas were the members of the village corporation and the unsocial elements belonged to different classes of the local population. The former appear to have been the same sort of corporate body as is called the village Mahājanas in the Kannada inscriptions and the village Mahāsabhā in the Tamil epigraphs. These were generally composed of Brāhmaṇas. The organisation appears to be similar to the village court referred to by Pitāmaha, according to whom such courts could appeal to the city courts which could in their turn appeal to the king.¹

It may be supposed that the Brāhmaṇas of Lāhadapura could not have undertaken the responsibility of preserving law and order in their locality without the king's permission and that, since there is no reference to any royal approval in the record, either the Gāhadavāla king specially empowered them to act in the manner described in the inscription or there prevailed a sort of anarchy resulting from maladministration in the region in question and the leaders of the local population had to make their own arrangement for the suppression of unsocial elements. The second of the two alternative suggestions seems to be improbable in view of the fact that in such a case the name of the reigning monarch may not have been prominently mentioned in the document. As regards the first alternative, it may be pointed out that, although in the early medieval period the royal court was regarded as the highest institution for the dispensation of justice, the position of a court like the village assembly was recognised by convention. They automatically enjoyed a sort of delegated authority and did not require special authorisation. It seems that the Brāhmaṇas of Lāhadapura who issued the ordinance were also responsible for judging the criminals when caught by the people or the village officers and of inflicting the punishments stipulated in the document.

It may be asked why the Brāhmaṇas felt the necessity for prescribing the said drastic punishments for the crimes in question. The answer seems to be this. There was absence of uniformity and precision in the works of the ancient Indian law-givers in regard to the punishment for most crimes. Crimes were sometimes grouped in categories and a punishment was prescribed for a particular category. Even when various crimes and their punishments were specified, the specification was not exhaustive. Moreover fines and *prāyaścitta* were often prescribed even for the most heinous crimes.² The Brāhmaṇas of Lāhadapura apparently felt the necessity to do away with the vagueness and prescribed exemplary punishments for the crimes concerned. This was probably done because the punishments then in vogue in the area were not sufficiently deterrent. Most of the ancient law-givers absolved a Brāhmaṇa from corporal punishment and some of them prescribe for the instigator of a crime double the penalty of the criminal himself.³ The ordinance of the Brāhmaṇas of Lāhadapura shows that they did not find these prescriptions amiable for the preservation of law and order in their area under the prevailing conditions. Above all, the ordinance empowered any of the inhabitants of the village to kill a plunderer and cattle-lifter. This they could not ordinarily do without bringing trouble to themselves. The inscription under study draws our attention to one of the most interesting sources of criminal law in ancient and medieval India even in respect of some of the major crimes which are generally believed to have been dealt with by the kings and their feudatories and governors.

There is only one geographical name in the inscription. This is Lāhadapura mentioned in line 3 (verse 2) and apparently referred to as a *grāma* or village in line 5 (verse 3). If the inscribed stone really comes from the Gasipur District of U. P., we are not sure about its identification.

¹ Jolly, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

² See Sen Gupta, *op. cit.*, pp. 313 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 314, 318.

As indicated above, the stone is stated to have been found at the village of Barahpur near Nandganj in the saul District. Lahadapura thus may have been the old name of modern Barahpur or the area around that village.

TEXT¹

- 1 [Siddham]² svasti | Śrī-Jayachchandraśvaya rāyā samvatsarē mitē |
- 2 kh-āgny-arkkath 1230 Āśvinē māse pakshē [kṛishṇē]
- 3 dinē Vu(Su)dhē || [1*] Dvādaśyām 12 Lāhadayū(pu)rē rachit-śaś* s[thit]i-
- 4 r-dvijaiḥ | vaṭu-turūt-ā*bbibhūtais-ta[h*] kṛitā kathit-samāgataiḥ || [2*]
- 5 Yō-sinācū pa[r]jivādēna kuryād-grāmaxya lūṭanath(nam) | drōha-
- 6 m-anya-ptakāraṁ vā gō-mahishy-ādi-(vē)lūṭanath(nam) || [3*] Tasya chakshur-vradhaḥ
- 7 kāryaḥ sarvasva-harayaṁ tathā | bhanktvā grihaṁ [cha] nishkā-
- 8 lyas-tasy-ōpashtambha-dāyakal || [4*] Viman(na)ntā vārayaṁs-tu-
- 9 lyab sa śva-Chamḍāla-garḍabhaiḥ | Dvādaśārkva(rkka)s-cha bha-
- 10 gāvā[n-i]ha sāksh-aiḥ middhyatām(tu) || [5*]

¹ From impressions.

² Expressed by symbol.

³ Correctly 'rāchit-śaś'. 'Rachit' seems to have been ignored because the figures were placed between the two words.

⁴ Read 'manān'.

⁵ The vowel-mark with / looks somewhat like i. The word *raspa* or *raspl* is not found in Sanskrit; but, as indicated above, it has been used here in the sense of 'a robber' or 'robbery'. It seems to stand either for Hindi *raspl* or Sanskrit *raspl*. The word *raspa* may also be read as *raspa*; but that would scarcely give any sense.

No. 37—ARASAVALLI PLATES OF VAJRAHASTA (III), SAKA 982

(2 Plates)

G. S. GAI, OOTACAMUND

At the end of August 1957, the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, acquired these plates from Shri Manda Narasimham of Srikakulam. Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India, kindly entrusted the plates to me for studying and editing in the pages of this journal. The plates were discovered by a farmer while digging in a field in front of his house at Arasavalli in the Srikakulam Taluk, Visakhapatnam District. They were purchased by Shri Bhanumurti Pantulu, a teacher at Srikakulam. Shri Manda Narasimham, who obtained them from the latter, has published them in the Telugu journal *Bhārati*, May 1954, pp. 449 ff.¹

This is a set of five copper-plates, each measuring about 8.5 inches by 3 inches. On the left side of each plate is a hole, about one inch in diameter, through which passes a circular ring about 3.75 inches in diameter. To this ring is attached a seal which is circular in shape and which measures about 2 inches in diameter. In the centre of the seal is the seated figure of a bull together with the other usual emblems found in the seals of the grants of Vajrahaṣṭa III. The first plate is inscribed on one side while the remaining four plates bear writing on both sides. The state of preservation of the writing is not satisfactory, specially on the fourth and fifth plates which cover the grant portion. The plates weigh 160 *tolas* while the ring with the seal weighs 58 *tolas*.

The characters belong to the variety called eastern Nāgarī and resemble those found in the other charters of Vajrahaṣṭa (III).² In respect of orthography, it may be observed that *ṣ* is written with the upper part of the symbol separated, cf. lines 6, 11 and 15. *N* is represented by two forms : cf. lines 1, 4 and 7 for one type and lines 69, 70 and 71 for the other. It is difficult to distinguish between *p* and *y*. The symbol for *r* denotes *ṛ* as well. In most cases, the consonant following *r* is reduplicated.

The language of the record is Sanskrit and the text is written in prose and verse.

The inscription belongs to the reign of the Eastern Ganga king Vajrahaṣṭa (III, 1038-70 A.D.), the son of Kāmārjaya and Vinayamahādēvi. It contains the *prāśasti* beginning with *śrīmatāṃ akhīla-bhūvena*, etc., introduced by this king. The text of the inscription upto line 39, comprising the introductory portion, is identical with that found in the other records of the king.³ It may be pointed out that while the Nadagam, Naraspatam, Peddabammidi, Chicacole and the present plates introduce the ruling king as *śrīmat-Vajrahaṣṭadevaḥ*, the Madras Museum, Ganjam, Chikkalavalasa and the Boddapāṇu plates refer to him as *śrīmat-Anantavarman Vajrahaṣṭadevaḥ*. The present inscription does not supply any new historical information.

¹ The same scholar has again noticed them in English in *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 113 ff.

² See above, Vol. IX, pp. 96 ff. and Plates; *ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 67 ff. and Plates; *ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 306 ff. and Plates.

³ Besides the present grant, I have listed eight more records of this king. They are, (1) Nadagam plates, Saka 979 (above, Vol. IV, pp. 183 ff.); (2) Madras Museum plates, Saka 984 (*ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 94 ff.); (3) Naraspatam plates, Saka 997 (*ibid.*, Vol. XI, pp. 147 ff.); (4) Ganjam plates, Saka 991 (*ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 67 ff.); (5) Peddabammidi plates, Saka 992 (*ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 306 ff.); (6) Chikkalavalasa plates, Saka 982 (below, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 141 ff.); (7) Chicacole plates, Saka 971 (*J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 163 ff.); and (8) Boddapāṇu plates, Saka 982 (*Kaṅgaśūlakaṭṭhā*, Appendix, pp. 35 ff.).

The grant was issued from Kalīnganagara, usually identified with Mukhallāgam. The record registers the grant of the village Harisavallī (line 40) situated in Varāhavarttāni (*viśvaga*). The gift village is mentioned again as Arisavallī in line 67, along with its adjoining village Māvēṇḍī. Varāha-varittāni occurs in other records of this king as well as of other members of this dynasty and is usually taken to correspond to the area near modern Śrīkākuḷam.

The date of our grant, which occurs in lines 42-43, is expressed in the chitonogram, *kara-vasu-nidhi-Śak-ābdā*, i.e. Śaka 982, Kārttika, the twelfth day of the first fortnight, Monday. It regularly corresponds to Monday, October 9, A.D. 1060. It is earlier than the date of the Peddāhammiḍi plates by two months and nineteen days only. Kārttika in 12 is known in the Kannada-Telugu speaking area as *Uthūma-deśāṣi*, i.e., the day on which god Viṣṇu is woken up from his long sleep. It is also called *Prabodhāstava*. This *tithi* is also known for the end of *Chātur-māsya-vrata* (which begins on the same *tithi* in the month of Āshāḍha) and *Tulasī-vivaha* (the marriage of Viṣṇu with the Tulasī plant). The previous day, i.e. *śuklāṣi*, is called *Prabodhāni śuklāṣi*.

The details of the grant are given in lines 43 ff. This portion is defective in many places and so it is difficult to make out the purport satisfactorily. As stated above, the inscription registers the gift of the village Harisavallī which is also called Arisavallī. It appears that the village was originally given by the king to the son and three daughters of Dālamapeggaḍa and his wife Māvānaka. Dālamapeggaḍa is stated to have been the chief minister (*mahāpradhāna*). The names of his son and daughters are given respectively as Mōḍapa-nāyaka, Viddāma, Mōḍama and Pētama. The subsequent assignment¹ of the gift village was as follows: The village was divided into four parts and one part was given to Śiriyapa-nāyaka, Vajjināyaka, Gundama-nāyaka and Nūṭkama-nāyaka who were the sons of Nāḍupana-nāyaka, a Kāyastha of Kāyapa-gōtra, and his wife Paitapā. This part constituted the units called Paṇḍi-niyōga and Pānchālī-niyōga.² This portion was further divided into nineteen shares out of which eighteen shares were taken by Vajji-nāyaka, Gundama-nāyaka and Nūṭkama-nāyaka (mentioned above) while the remaining share was given to Nāḍupana-nāyaka, son of Śiriyapa-nāyaka.³ Again the second part of the village was divided into five shares as follows: one share to Gundama and Apētama, sons of Māvānappaḍi of Śūdra-varāha and his wife Viṭṭapā; one share to Chandēna, son of the younger Dāmaraṭṭaḍi and his wife Sāyapā; one share to Chāmēna, son of Viṭṭanaraṭṭaḍi and his wife Sarcapā; one share to Māṇikama and Duggama, sons of Mādiraṭṭaḍi and his wife Chinnapā; and one share to Kattāna and Viṭṭana, sons of Dugganaraṭṭaḍi and his wife Gayakā. The part, consisting of these five shares, constituted the units known as Gavaḍa-niyōga and Chandraditya-niyōga.

The record then proceeds to state that the village was divided into *Santāraṇa-bhōga*, the meaning of which is doubtful. We know that the village was originally divided into four parts. Out of these, two parts have been disposed of as indicated above and the fourth part is accounted for later in the record. Therefore, this corresponded to the third part of the village, which was probably divided into seventeen shares and given to Dāmara-nāyaka and Viṭṭarāyi-nāyaka, sons of Kāyastha Chandra-nāyaka of Kāyapa-gōtra. It appears that the grant was made at the instance of Iddashāhapa and that the recipients in their turn granted some portion to Nūṭkamōḷa, son of Chāḍumōḷa. The record next states that king Vajrahaṣṭa granted

¹ The expression *stānu-niyōga* is taken in this sense here, though the word *niyōga* which occurs later in the record seems to have been used in a technical sense meaning 'a unit'. See note 2 below.

² The word *niyōga* is suffixed to the proper names here and in similar expressions in the sequel. It is difficult to make out their exact significance. Possibly the portions granted were known by these names at the time of the grant.

³ Probably Śiriyapa-nāyaka was dead at the time and so his son got only one share while his brothers got eighteen shares.

the village Māvāṇḍi, apparently adjoining the village Arisavalli in whose revenues it was included.¹ The inscription then proceeds to account for the fourth part out of the four parts into which the gift village Harisavalli was divided. This fourth and last part was divided into eight shares and distributed as follows: two shares to Kāyastha Nūṭakapa; one share each to Kāyastha Sōmanātha and Kāyastha Dāmara; and one share to Uḍḍana of *Chaturtha-vāṇḍa* i.e. Sūtra community.² These shares constituted the units Rastāḍa-niyōga and Vutika-niyōga. It is not known whether the remaining three shares (out of the eight) were also included in these two *niyōgas*.

In the concluding part the record states that Chiriyapa-nāyaka and Uḍḍapōṭa-nāyaka granted half of the share of Bhadima-nāyaka³ owned by the latter in the units Puṇḍi-niyōga and Pāṇchālī-niyōga. The grant was made to Pannamanāyaka and Māvuranāyaka, sons of Apitamanāyaka. It is possible that the donors Chiriyapanāyaka and Uḍḍapōṭa-nāyaka were the sons of Bhadima-nāyaka. But how the latter got shares in Puṇḍi-niyōga and Pāṇchālī-niyōga is not made clear.

The gift-village Harisavalli, also called Arisavalli, is to be identified with modern Arisavalli in the Srikakulam Taluk, where the plates were discovered. The adjoining village mentioned in the record as Māvāṇḍi is not shown on the maps.

The inscription does not give the usual inscriptive verse at the end. As the recipients of the grant were Kāyasthas and Sūtras and as the record does not state that the gift was free from taxes, it appears to be a *kara-śikṣa*.

TEXT*

[Metres: Verses 1, 4, 12 *Śāṇḍilyakṛīḍita*; verse 2 *Āryā*; verses 3, 7, 13 *Anuṣṭubh*; verse 5 *Pamburtha*; verses 6, 10 *Mālinī*; verses 8, 9 *Gītā*; verse 11 *Vasantatilakā*.]

First Plate

- 1 Siddham* evasti [i]* īmatāṇa-achala-bhuvana-vinuta-naya-vi[naya]*-dayā-dāna-dākshiṇya-satyā[ṣaṇ]*.
- 2 cha-śauryya-dhairyy-ādi-guṇa-tatva-pavitrakāṇām-ātā[ya-gōtra]*pām vimala-vi[chā]*r-āchāra-pu.
- 3 pya-śa[sa]lila-[pra]*khyā(kāś)lila-kāṭ-kāṭa-kalmasha-mashipūm [ma]*hā-Mahēndr-āchala-śi[kha]*ra-prati-
- 4 chhitasya as-cha-āchare-guṇāḥ sakala-bhuvana-nirmāṇ-aika-śtra-dhāra[ya] [a]*hā.
- 5 aka-chā(chā)ḍa-ayābhā(r-bhā)gavatō Gōkarnavāminah prasādāt-samāśrit-aika-śaṅkha-bhā[ṣa]*r.

* The expression which occurs in this connection is *Māvāṇḍi-gaṇam Arisavalli-grāmam pravartya pradattāḥ*. For the interpretation of the word *pravartya* or *pravṛtta* in this context, see Dr. Sircar's article on Chidavalasa plates of Devānandavarman, *JAS*, Letters, Vol. XVIII, p. 78, note 1.

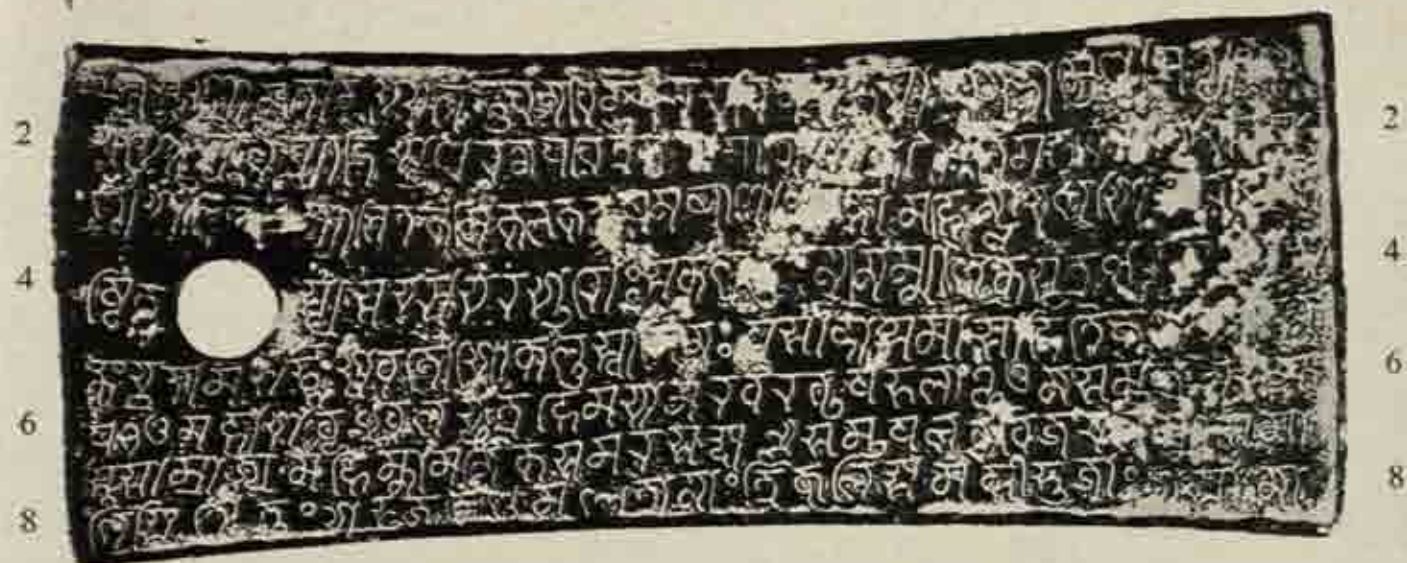
* These make only five shares; the remaining three shares are not accounted for.

* Also called Bhaddi-nāyaka.

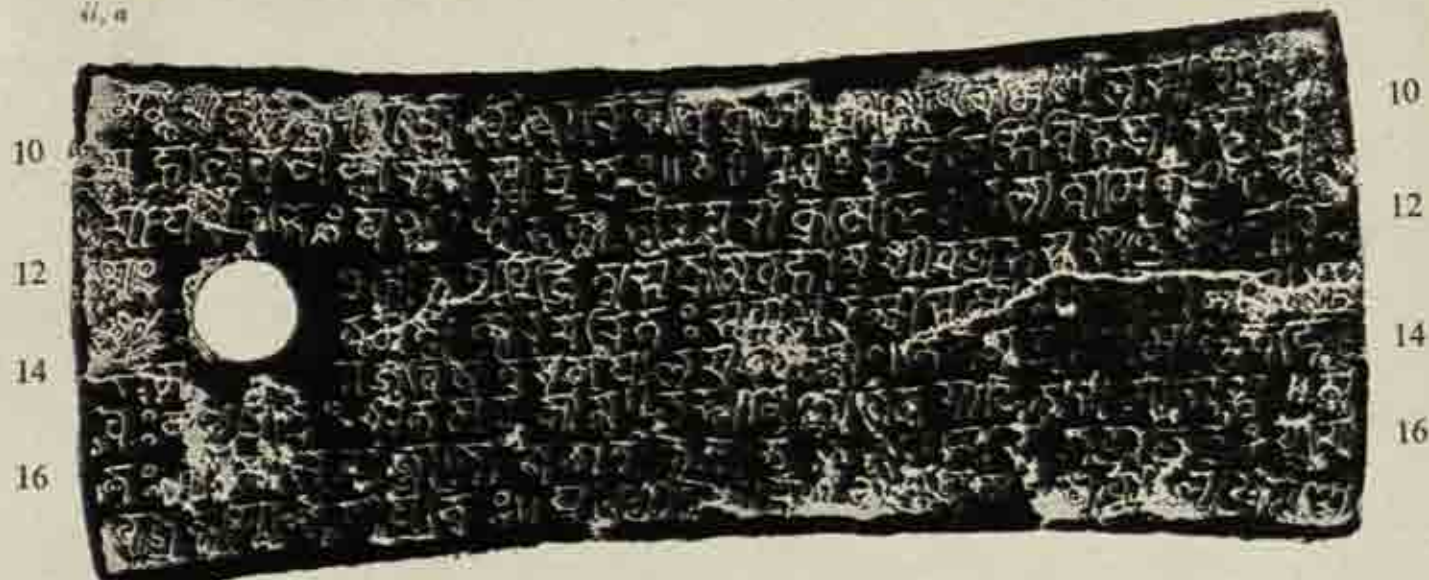
* From the original plates and impressions.

* Expressed by symbol.

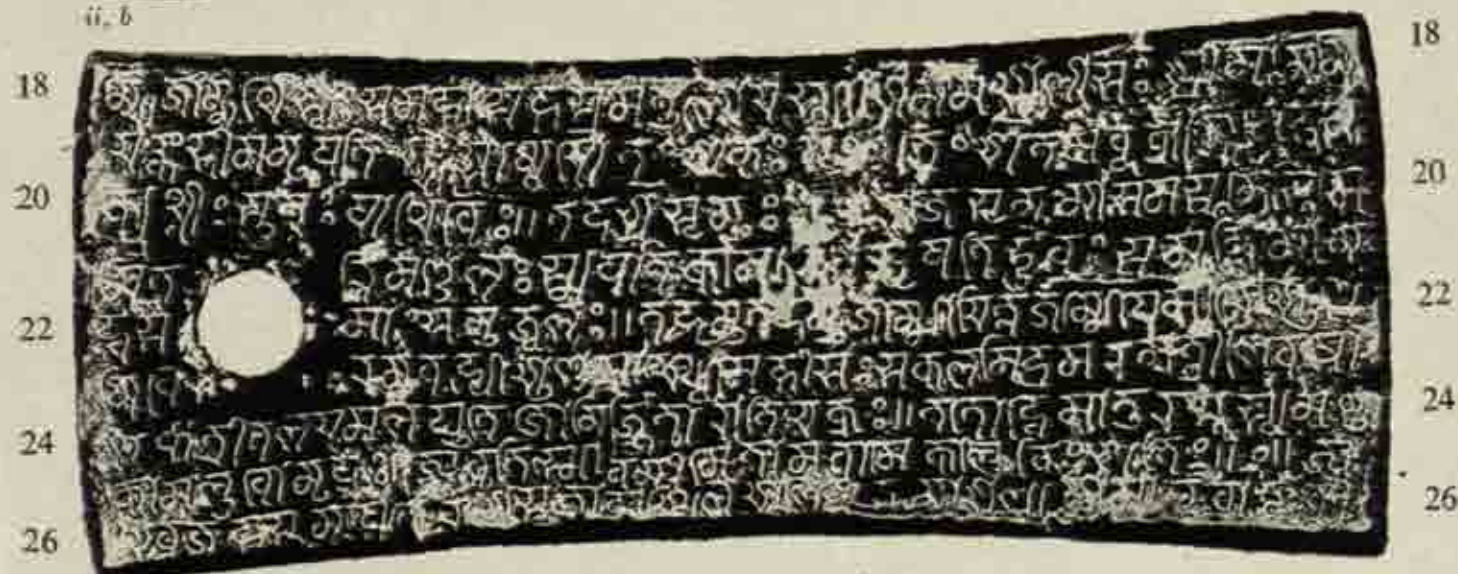
* The portion given in the brackets is damaged.



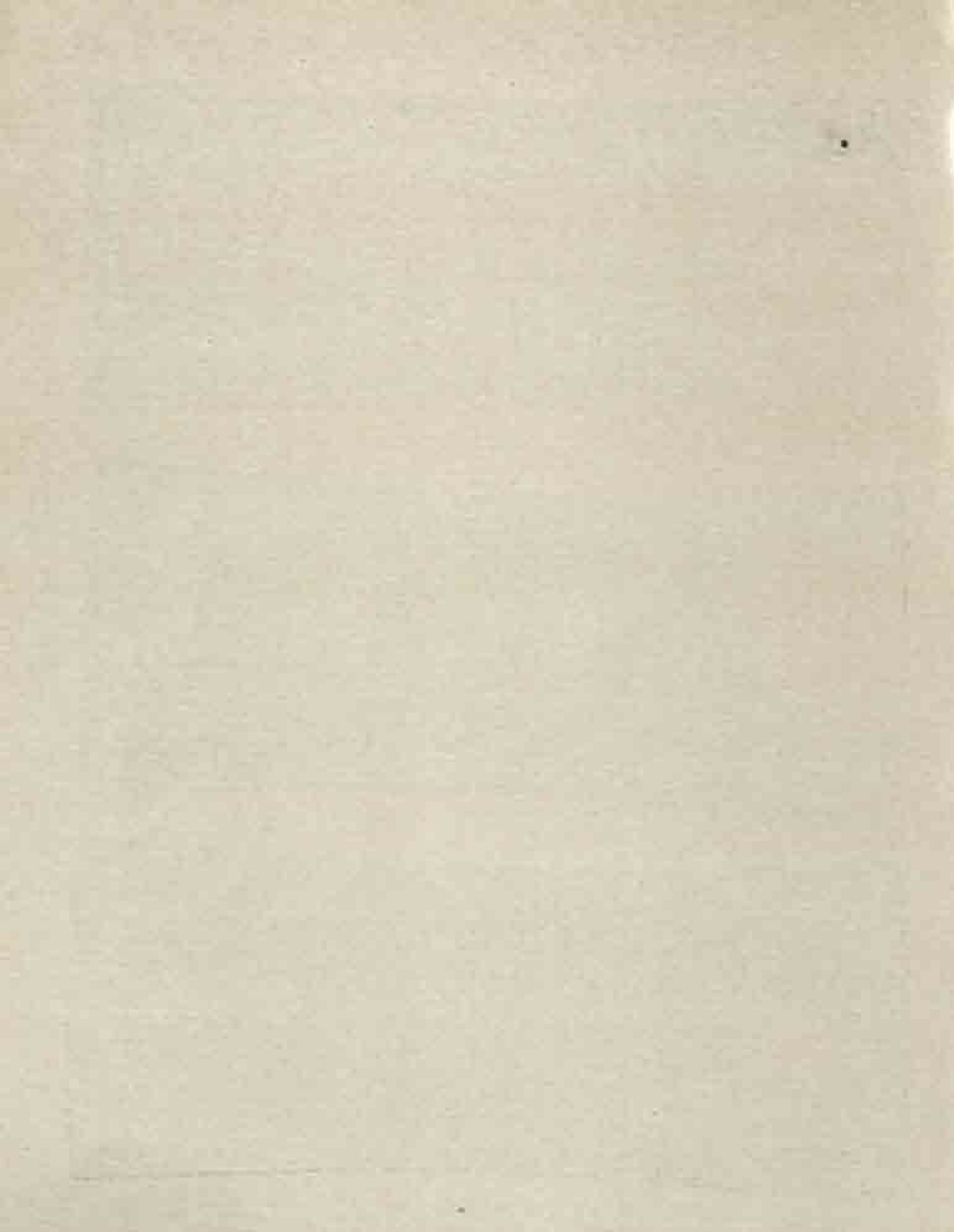
ii, a



ii, b



Scale : Three-Fourths



SEAL



(from a Photograph)

- 6 pañchamahāsavda(bda)-dhavalachchhatra-hēmachāmara-varavṛjahabhalāñchhana-samujva-
(jiva)la-sama-
7 eta-sāmraṣya-mahimnām-anēka-samara-saughaiṣa-samupalavdha(bdha)-vijaya-lakṣmī-samā-
8 lūgit-ōtun(ttun)ga-bhūja-daṇḍa-maṇḍitānām Trikalīṅga-mahābhujām Gaṅgānā-

Second Plate, First Side

- 9 m-anvayam-alaṅkarishṇōr-Vishṇōr-iva vikram-ākṛānta-dharā-maṇḍalasya Guṇa-
10 mahārṇava-mahārājasya putraḥ ||0|| Pūrvam bhūpatibhir-vyibhajya vasa(dhā)
11 yā pañchabhiḥ pañchadhā bhuktā bhūri-parākramō bhūja-va(ba)lāt-tām-ēka ēva sva-
12 yam(yam |) ēklīṭya vijitya sa(śa)tru-nivahāna(hān) śrī-Vajrahastāḥ-chaturchatvārī[m]-
13 śatam-ātyudāra-charitah sarvām-arakṣhīt-samāḥ || [1*] Tasya taua(yō) Gu-
14 [pā]marājō varsha-trayam-apālayata mahīm(hīm) ||(|) tad-anujah Kāmārṇavādē-
15 vah pañcha-triṇśatam-avda(bda)kān || [2*] tasy-ānujō Vinayāditya[h*] samās-tisra[h] ||
Ta-
16 tah Kāmārṇavāḥ-jātō jagati-kalpa-bhū(ruhah) | yō-rājad-rājital(ta)-chchhāyō
17 Vajrahastō-vanipatīḥ ||[3*] Praśchyōda(ta)n-mada-gandha-lavdha(bdha)-madhupa-
vyālḍha-gaṇḍa-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 18 n-gajānna s(n-s)rihibhyaḥ samadāt-sahasram-atulō yas-tyāginām-agraṇ[h] [*] sab(m)
śrīmān=Ani-
19 yañkabhīma-nripatīr-Gaṅg-ānvay-ōtam(ttam)śa(sa)kaḥ pañcha-triṇśatam-avda(bda)kān-
samabhūna-
20 k-prithvīn stutaḥ pāṭhivaiḥ || [4*] Tad-agra-sūnuḥ [8u]rarāja-sūnunā samas-samaśtām
sa(śa)-
21 mit-śrī-maṇḍalāḥ ||[*] sma pāti Kāmō[rṇava]-bhūpatīrbbhū(r-bbhū)vaṁ samiddhī-
mān-a-
22 ddha-samāśa samujva(jiva)lah || [5*] Tad-anu tad-anujanmō(nmā) Chittajanm-ōpamānō
guṇa-
23 nidhir-anavadyō Guṇḍam-ākhyō mahīśah(śah |) sakalam-idam-arakṣat-triṇi varṣhā-
24 pī dhātīrī-valayam-alaghu-tējō-nirjīṭ-ārāti-chakraḥ || [6*] Tatō dvē(dvai)mātura-sa-tya
Madha-
25 kāmā[rṇavō] nripah || (|) avati sm-āvanīm-ētām-avdā(bdā)mō(n-s)kāṇṇa(n-na)-vīn-
śatīm(tīm) ||0|| [7*] A-
26 tha Vajrahasta-nripatīr-agra-utīd²-akhila-guṇi-jaṇ-āgra-gaṇya[h] [*] Kāmārṇavāt-kav-i-

¹ The meter is *śukty*; cf. above, Vol. XXIII, p. 71, note 14.

² There is an *ā-mātrā* attached to this akṣara which seems to have been cancelled by the engraver.

Third Plate, First Side

- 27 ndra-pragiyamān-āvadāta-śubha-kīrtiḥ || [8*] Śriya iva Vaidumrā(mb-ā)avaya-payah-payōnidhi-
- 28 samudbhavāyā-cha || [9*] yāḥ samajani Vinayamahādēvyāḥ śri-Vajrahaata |ti tanayaḥ
- 29 || [9*] Viyad-ṣitu-nidhi-samkhyāḥ yāti Śāk-āvda(bda)-sam[ghā] dinakṛiti Vṛahabhaṣṭhā Rōhiṇī-bhā su-
- 30 lagnē || [9*] Dhanuṣi-cha sita-pakṣhē śri(Śū)rya-vārē tritīyāḥ yuji sakala-dhātṛīm
- 31 rakṣitum yō-bhishiktaḥ || [10*] Nyāyēna [yatra] samam-ścharitum tri-varggē mārggē-
- 32 ṇa rakṣati mahīm mahita-pratāpē || [11*] [nirvyā]dhaya-cha niraghā-cha nīrāpada-
- 33 ś-cha śāvat-prajā bhuvi bhavanti vibhūtiḥ || [11*] [Vyā]ptē Gaṅga-kul-ōttamasya yaśa-
- 34 sā dik-chakravālē śaṣi-pradyōt-āmalinīna [yasya] bhuvanaḥ(na)-prahlāda-sampādīnā || [12*]
- 35 asindūmīr=atisindura-paṅka-paṭalaḥ || [12*] kumbha-āṣṭhī-paṭṭakōṣā(śv=ā)līmpanta(nī) punaḥ pu-

Third Plate, Second Side

- 36 naś=cha haritām=ādihōraṇā vāraṇā || [12*] Anurāga(gē)ṇa guṇinō yasya rakṣhē(kahō)-mukhāvja(bja)-
- 37 yō(yōḥ) || [13*] śāi(śi)nē Śri-Sarasvatyāv-annakūlē virājita(h*) || [13*] Kalīṅganagarāt=paramamāhēva(śva)ra-
- 38 paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-Trikaliṅgādhipati-ārmaḍ-Vava*rahastadēva(h*) kuśālī
- 39 samast-āmātya-pramukha-janapadāu=samābhūya samājñāpayati || [14*] vīditam=astu bhavataḥ
- 40 Varāhavarṇanyām |* Harisavēli-grāmaḥ |* chatuḥ-ś(śi)m-āvachohinnāḥ sa-jala-śha-
- 41 laḥ sarvva-pūḥā-vivarjītam=ā-chandr-ārka-kṣiti-sama-kāleḥ yāvas=mātā-pūrōr=ātma-
- 42 naḥ punya-yaśō-bhivṛddhayaḥ * kara-vasu-nidhi-Śāk-āvdā(bdā) |* Kārttika-māsa-prathama-pakṣa-dvāda-*

Fourth Plate, First Side

- 43 ayāḥ(śyāḥ) Śōmavāre |* Kāśyapa-gōtr-ōtpannaḥ Kāśyatha-varish[th]aḥ mahāpradā-
(dhā)-
- 44 niḥ(naḥ) Dālamapeggaḥ=āśya bhāryyā Mavanaka-nāmā tayōḥ pū(pu)trōḥ(trō) Mē-

* Cf. *ni-sarpa-bhīna-śepatām-śha-samāham-samin-śhaṇṇā Śrī-cha Saravati-cha (Bajramāla, VI, 29).*

* One *va* is redundant.

* This *śanda* is unnecessary.

* This plate contains one more line of writing after this, which is erased. The engraving is not deep as it is elsewhere and the reading seems to be the continuation of this line with *ayāḥ Śōmavāre Uśā-grāma-śāṇḍa*....

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10, b

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10, a

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68

10, b

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72

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72

74

- 45 japa-nāyakaḥ Viddāma-Meḍama-Pōtam-ākhyās=tiarō dūh(hi)taras=cha tā-
 46 shān chaturmnā(rupā)m=uttara-niyōga(gō) yachchhu⁴tata-niyōga[¹]* sammānitā-
 (ta)vyā-
 47 m=etad²-grāmasya chatur-bhāgikṛitasya bhāgānām-madhy³ ē-
 48 kō bhāgaḥ [¹ Kāśyapa-gōtr-ōtṛanna-Kāyasthaḥ Naḍupana-nāyakaḥ
 49 tasya bhāryyā Paitapā tayōḥ putrēbhyah Śiriyapanāyaka-Vajjināyaka-Gu-
 50 ṇḍamanāyaka-Numkamanāyakēbhyah [¹ Puṇḍi-niyōga[¹]* Pānchālī-niyōga-
 51 m(h)cha [¹]* ayam bhāgaḥ ēk-ōna-vimśati-bhāgāḥ kṛitvā(tāḥ)=tēshu bhāgēshu ma-

Fourth Plate, Second Side

- 52 dhyē Vajjināyaka-Guṇḍamanāyaka-Numkamanāyakēbhyas=tribhyah⁴ ashtādaśa-bhā-
 53 gāḥ Śiriyapanāyakasya putrāya Naḍupanāyaka(kāya) ēka-bhāgaḥ | punaḥ Śu(Śū)-
 54 dra-vatīś-ōdbhava-Māvirattadīḥ(dīa)=tasya bhāryyā Vittapā tayōḥ pū(pu)trābhyām
 Guṇḍana-A-
 55 pōtanābhyām ēka-bhāgaḥ | kaniya(niyān) [Dāmaratta]dīḥ(dīa)=tasyā(sya) bhāryyā
 [Sā]jyapā ta-
 56 yōḥ putrāya Chandēnāya ēka-bhāgaḥ[¹]*Vittanarattaḍi(dīa)=tasya bhāryyā Satvva-
 57 pā tayōḥ putrāya Chāmēnāya ēka-bhāgaḥ | Mādirattaḍi(dīa)=tasya bhā-
 58 ryyā [Chijunapā tayōḥ putrābhyām(bhyām) Mānikana-Dugganābhyām ēka-bhāgaḥ [¹]* Du-
 59 [ga]narattaḍiḥ ta(dīa=ta)sya bhāryyā Gavakū tayōḥ putrābhyām Ka-

Fifth Plate, First Side

- 60 ttana-¹ Vittanābhyām(bhāym)² ēka-bhāgaḥ | ētē bhāga(gāḥ) panch-āpy-ēka-bhāga ēva |
 ayam bhāgō-pi | Gava-
 61 ḍa-niyōgam(gaḥ) Chandraditya-niyōgam(gaḥ) cha [iti] [¹]* grāma-chaturbbhā(c-bbhā)gāḥ=cha
 samānamē(nā) ēva
 62 || punar-āpy-ayam grāmaḥ santārabhāgāḥ[¹ kṛitvā(tāḥ)=tēshu] bhāgēshu madhy³ ||
 Kāśya(kya)pa-gōtr-ōtṛa-
 63 nna-Kāyasthaḥ(stha)⁴=Chauḍu-nāyakaḥ tasya....⁵ pā | tayōc=jjātēbhyah[isbhyādī]
 [¹ Dāmar-

¹ Read *gaḥ-ch=ē*.² Read *'ya=etē*.³ This *madhy* is unnecessary.⁴ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.⁵ The two letters after *pa* may be read as *bhāryyā*. The *alāpam* preceding *pā* seems to be *ru* and there is only one letter before that. The proper name may be restored as *Sarvapa*.

- 64 nōyaka- |¹ Viparāyinaṅyakaśv²-a[trē(tr=ai)kaika]-bhāgaḥ || Iḍdachāha]pa-matēbhya-
 65 h³ pradatta m=aamābhīrbbhā(r=bbhā)vibhīrbbhū(r=bbhū)mipālai[r-Manunā⁴ Dha]-mma-
 gauravāt=para(ri)pālaniya-
 66 m=iti || [Ēhhiḥ Chī]dumōjasya sūnu(navē) Nūmkamōjāya...⁵ richa manavarttik⁶-āmin grāmē
 pra-
 67 data(ttaḥ) || paśchāta(śchūt) śrī-Vajrahaṣṭadēvēna |¹ Māvē[ṇḍi]-grāmah |² Ariasavalli-grāmaḥ
 prā-
 68 vēsya(śya) pradattaḥ || chaturthā-bhāgam-aṣṭadhā kṛtvā tatra dvan bhāgau Kāyastha-
 Nūmkap-ākhyā-

Fifth Plate, Second Side

- 69 *ya [|¹] punas=tatr=aika-bhāgaḥ Kāyastha-varēśvaram(ru)-Sōmanāth-ākhyasya | punar-ēka-
 bhā-
 70 gēm(gaḥ) Kāyastha-Dāmar-ākhyasya | punar-ēka-bhāgam(ga)ś=cha turtiṥa-varā-ōbhā-
 71 va-Chīdjan-ākhyasya ētēśhān Raṭṭaḍa-Vuṇch-ākhyau dvan niyōgō(gau) bhavata-
 72 h || Puṇḍi-niyōga-Pāṇchēḥ-niyōgavatō Bhaddināyakasya bhāgsya svā-
 73 mitvē(nau) Chiriyapanāyaka-Chīdapōtanāyakau Apitamanāyaka-putrē(trā)bhayān
 74 Pinnamanāyaka-Māvuranāyakābhayān tatra Bhadimanāyaka-bhāgē arddah(rūdhah) da-
 75 ttavemtai(tau) [|¹]

¹ This danda is unnecessary.

² Read nāyakaḥbhāga-

³ The intended reading seems to be 'matina'.

⁴ Read 'la' = Manunā-āha.

⁵ About three akṣaras are lost here.

⁶ The expression manavarttikā is possibly the same as Telugu manavartti, manavartti or manavarti interpreted by Brown as 'maintenance, support or allowance'. It occurs also in the Bodḍapāḍu plates of Vajrahaṣṭa III which are being edited in this journal.

No. 38—SHIGGAON PLATES OF CHALUKYA VIJAYADITYA, SAKA 630

(2 Plates)

G. S. GAI, OOTACAMUND

These plates were discovered by me in December 1945 in the course of my official tour in search of inscriptions in the Shiggaon Taluk of the Dharwar District in the present Mysore State. They were found in the house of one Dr. Faruqi at Shiggaon, the headquarters of the taluk. It was through the kind efforts of my friend Dr. K. G. Kulkarni, who was then Medical Officer at Shiggaon, that I was able to secure the plates. They are registered as No. A 49 in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy, 1945-46*. The inscription on the plates is edited here for the first time.

The set consists of five copper-plates, each measuring 10.5 inches by 5.25 inches. To the left margin of each plate is a hole 75 inch in diameter, through which passes the ring about 3.5 inches in diameter. The ends of the ring are secured by a seal, the countersunk surface of which bears the figure of a standing boar facing proper right. The seal is rather oval in shape and measures about 1.65 inches by 1.5 inches. The rims of the plates are slightly raised in order to preserve the writing.¹ The first, fourth and fifth plates are incised on one side only while the second and third plates have writing on both sides. This is a rare case of two consecutive plates being engraved on one side only. Apparently this was done in order to prevent the writing being exposed, if the second side of the fourth plate had been used. In such cases, a blank plate is often used at the end. The plates, together with the ring and seal, weigh 329 tolas.

The characters belong to what is known as the southern class of alphabets and are regular for the period and the region to which the grant belongs. They resemble the characters of the other known grants of the king.² In respect of orthography, the following may be observed: the sign for *jihvāmālīya* is used in line 48 and that for *upadhāniya* in lines 16, 23, 25 and 27; *aha* is written for *āha* in *chinka*, lines 19 and 24; *ihā* for *hlā* in *prullā*, line 36. Dravidian *ḷ* is found in lines 43 and 45 and *ḷ* in line 31. Final *m* occurs in line 40. The language is Sanskrit and except the invocatory verse at the beginning and the benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the text of the record is in prose. Sandhi rules have not been observed in some cases. The construction known as *sati saptamī* is used in passages like *Vanavāsīm-āyātavati Vijayāditya-vallabhēndrē* (line 32).

The inscription belongs to the reign of *Mahārājādhirāja Paramācāra Bhāttāraka Vijayāditya-Satyāśraya* of the Western Chalukyas of Hādāmī. The text giving the genealogy of the family, from Pulakēśin I to Vijayāditya, is identical with that found in other records of the king as well as those of his successors.³ The plates are issued when the victorious camp was at Kāuvajal. The object of the record is to register some grant made by the king when he had gone to Banavāsī in order to see the Ālupa ruler Chitravāhana. The grant was made, at the request of Chitravāhana, to the Jaina monastery, which was caused to be constructed by Kṛṣṇakumārdevī at Purigere.

¹ The state of preservation of writing is not satisfactory in many places and the fourth plate has suffered much damage in the lower part so that lines 57-59 of the text cannot be read satisfactorily.

² Cf. Above, Vol. X, pp. 14 ff. and plates; *ibid.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 21 ff. and plates; cf. also the Kēdār plates of Kirtivarman II, above, Vol. IX, pp. 200 ff. and plates.

³ Cf. Above, Vol. X, pp. 14 ff.; *ibid.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 21 ff. and *ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 200 ff.

The details of the date on which the grant was made are — Śaka-varsha 630 (specifically mentioned as expired), eleventh regnal year, Āshādha, purnamāsī. The date is not verifiable, since the week-day is not given. Fleet has shown, on the strength of the Aihole inscription,¹ that the month Śrāvapa of Śaka year 619 current (A.D. 696) was the first month of the first year of this king.² Accordingly Āshādha of Śaka 630 current would fall in the eleventh regnal year and not of the expired Śaka year as mentioned in the record. The date mentioned in the record would fall on Monday 20th June, A.D. 707.³

The inscription under study is interesting in more than one respect. The grant was issued when the royal camp was at the place called Kinnuvala. This place has been identified with modern Pattadakal in Hungund Taluk, Bijapur District. It occurs as Kesuvola in the Mahākūṭa inscription of Maṅgalēśa⁴ and as Pattadakinnuvala in later records.⁵ Pattadakal, together with Bādāmi and Aihole, formed the metropolis of the early Chālukya of Bādāmi and it was specially at Pattadakal that the festival of *patta-bandha* (fillet-binding, i.e. coronation) was being celebrated. It may be pointed out that Kinnuvala is called a *sthāna* in our inscription whereas Vātāpi, i.e. Bādāmi is styled as *adhiksthāna* in some of the early records.⁶ Some of the other grants of Vijayāditya have been issued from Rāsēnagara,⁷ Karahāṭṭanagara,⁸ Īlāpura,⁹ Kullūḍinagara,¹⁰ and Raktapura.¹¹ The last name Raktapura also occurs as the place of royal camp in the Kendur plates of Kirtivarman II, the grandson of Vijayāditya.¹² While editing the Kendur plates, Prof. K. B. Pathak suggested the identification of Raktapura with modern Lakshmēśvar in the Shirahatti Taluk of the Dharwar District. Fleet also was inclined to hold the same view.¹³ This view is, however, not correct. We know that the ancient name of Lakshmēśvar was Puligere, Purigere, Pulikara, or Purikara. In the inscription under study itself the forms Purigere, Pulikara and Purikara occur. We have to identify Raktapura with Kinnuvala from where the grant under consideration was issued. In fact Kinnuvala or Kesuvola in Kannaḍa means 'red city' (*kinnu* 'red', *vala* 'city') and it is quite clear that Raktapura is only a Sanskrit rendering of the Kannaḍa name.

In line 32 of the inscription under study it is stated that Vijayāditya had gone to Vanavāsi in order to see the Ālupa king and lines 32-36 inform us that the name of this Ālupa ruler was Chitravāhana and that he belonged to the Pāṇḍya lineage. The early history of the Ālupa rulers is still shrouded in obscurity.¹⁴ We know from the Sorab plates¹⁵ of the Chālukya king

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 284.

² *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 370, note 2.

³ See *Indian Epigraphs*, Vol. I, part II, p. 18.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 17.

⁵ *Progress of Kannada Research in Bombay Province, 1941-1946*, p. 54.

⁶ *Kannada Inscriptions*, Vol. I, Nos. 1, 2 and 4. For a discussion of the terms *sthāna* and *adhiksthāna* meaning celebrated centres of religion, see Introduction to the same volume, pp. iii-v.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 123.

⁸ Above, Vol. X, pp. 146 ff.

⁹ *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. IV, p. 425.

¹⁰ *An. Rep. S. I. S.*, 1934-35, App. A, C. P. No. 22.

¹¹ Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 21 ff.

¹² *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 201 ff. A few stone records of Vijayāditya, Vijayāditya and Vikramāditya found at Lakshmēśvar are also issued from the city of Raktapura. Fleet has pointed out that these records, which are in the nature of copper-plate grants, were put on stone sometime later in the 10th century A. D. See *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, pp. 368, 373 note 1, and p. 376.

¹³ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 304 note 6.

¹⁴ The Halmidi inscription of Kadamba Kāṣṭha dated circa 450 A.D. mentions one Ālupa (*Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1926, p. 73) and the Mahākūṭa inscription of Maṅgalēśa (*Ind. Ant.* XIX, p. 17) refers to an Ālupa. We do not know whether they belonged to the early Ālupa or Ālupa dynasty.

¹⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 146 ff.; *Ep. Car.*, Vol. VIII, Sh. 571.

Vinayāditya, dated in A.D. 692, that he made a grant at the request of Guṇasāgara-Ālupendra's son Chitravāhana who was in the possession of Edevoḷal district in Banavāsi province. Further a stone inscription from Kigga in the Koppa Taluk of the Kadur District in Mysore State¹ states that when Ālvarasa Guṇasāgara was ruling Kadamba-maṇḍala i.e., Banavasi province, he, (his) queen and (his son) Chitravāhana made some grant. On the assumption that the Chitravāhana mentioned in the Sorab plates and the Kigga inscription was one and the same person, Hultzsch suggested that Guṇasāgara was the governor of the Banavāsi province in or immediately before the time of Vinayāditya and that his son Chitravāhana succeeded to the governorship of Banavāsi.² This view is supported by our inscription in which it is stated that Vijayāditya had gone to Banavāsi to meet Chitravāhana which shows that Chitravāhana was in possession of the Banavāsi province. There is no doubt that this Chitravāhana was the same as his namesake mentioned in the Sorab plates referred to above.³ The grant under consideration discloses, for the first time, that this Ālupa ruler Chitravāhana continued in his office during the time of Vijayāditya also till A.D. 707 at least, the date of the present grant. We also learn, for the first time, that this Chitravāhana belonged to the Pāṇḍya lineage.⁴

It is stated that Vijayāditya made the grant, at the request of Chitravāhana, to the Jaina monastery which was caused to be constructed by Kumkumadēvi at Purigere. The relation that existed between Kumkumadēvi on the one hand and Vijayāditya or Chitravāhana on the other is not specified in the record. This Kumkumadēvi is mentioned in another contemporary record of Vijayāditya⁵ dated A.D. 705, which likewise does not specify the relationship between them. But we know from a late record⁶ found at Guḍḡeri in the Dharwar District and dated in A.D. 1070 that Vijayāditya had a sister named Kumkumamahādēvi and that she caused to be constructed a Jaina monastery called Ānasejeyabasadi at Purigere. Since Vijayāditya was her brother and since the grant to the Jaina monastery caused to be erected by her was made at the request of Chitravāhana, it is tempting to suggest that she might have been the wife of the Ālupa ruler Chitravāhana. The expression *sva-krīdaya-prahādana-kāryyā* applied to Kumkumadēvi in lines 36-37 might refer to Chitravāhana. Thus he might have been related to the king as brother-in-law. And the way in which Vijayāditya's visit to Banavāsi is described might lend further support to this view; cf. *Ālupendrah śrāvṣṭvaḥ Banavāsīm-āyātavāti Vijayāditya-vallabhendri* in line 32. This suggests that the king had gone to Banavāsi as if to pay a courtesy visit to his brother-in-law and not in the capacity of an over-lord. It is interesting to note that the actual camp of the king at the time was at Kieuvoḷal and that the king appears to have gone to Banavāsi to pay a personal visit to Chitravāhana. It is also likely that the Ālupa ruler Chitravāhana was an elder relative of the king since he figures in the grant of Vinayāditya dated A.D. 692 referred to above.

The Jaina monastery which was caused to be constructed by Kumkumadēvi at Purigere and in respect of which the king made the grant might have been the same monastery as the one called Ānasejeyabasadi in the Guḍḡeri inscription referred to above.

The gift-village was Guḍḡigere, stated to be the centre of Jaina religion specially for the teaching of Sūrasta branch of Māla-saṅgha. Guḍḡigere is modern Guḍḡeri which is about 6 miles west of Lakshmeḍavar (ancient Purigere). Its Sanskritised name is given as *Dhanya-taḍā* in the Guḍḡeri inscription mentioned above.

¹ *Ep. Car.*, Vol. VI, Kp. 38.

² *Above*, Vol. IX, p. 16.

³ Chitravāhana of the Sorab plates is called Chitravāhana I by Hultzsch in view of another Chitravāhana (II) found in later records. See *above*, Vol. IX, p. 16.

⁴ Some Ālupa kings of a later date trace their descent from the lunar race. See *ibid.*, pp. 21-23.

⁵ *As. Rep.* on S. I. E., 1934-35, App. A., No. 22.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 33 ff.

Lines 41-46 of the record mention the boundaries of the gift-village *Guḍḍigere*. They were as follows: in the south, the lake called *Vēṇā*; in the south-west, *Māṇḍika* hill; in the west, the lake *Kupēra*; in the north-west, the *Koḍi* lake and the road leading to the *Tapuvi* lake; in the north the *Paṇivūra* lake and the junction of *Virayā*¹ and the highway of the *Purikara* town; in the east, the field including the village of *Iṭṭakā*; in the north-east the lakes *Matkura* and *Arasi*, including the boundary field; and in the south-east, the row of stones starting from *Lakaviraya*.

Lines 49-50 give details of further gifts of land and villages, apparently made to the same Jaina monastery mentioned in line 38 of the inscription. The details of the boundaries of the gift villages *Uppaṭṭi* and *Pāṇṇi* are as follows (lines 48-50): with the highway of *Alagupḍi* as boundary, as far as the northern road of the main monastery; then from the south of that high road up to the *Keruhkella* lake-bound, excluding the *Sammagōra* and *chāṇḍāla* street and including the vegetable and marshy ground, and from the road of the *Sūralivirāṇa* garden up to the boundary of *Siggalli*.

The next gift to be made was the group of fields of *Sūriika* to the north of the village and up to the northern road of *Guḍḍigere* village. Then the village *Maragupḍi*, situated to the north of *Vanavāsī* town, was granted with all privileges. Likewise was granted the *Kalpūr* village in *Kandavūr* District. The boundaries of this village were (lines 53-56): in the west, the *Suvarṇa* tree on the eastern bank of *Paṇṇavirayā*; in the north-west the limit of *Sankuviraya*; in the north, the lake called *Mahishivāra*; in the north-east, up to the fine² tamarind trees; in the south-east, the *Pāḷi* lake; and in the south, up to *Paṇṇavirayā*.

Lines 60-62 state that the grant should be protected by the future kings. This is followed, in lines 63-67, by the usual imprecatory verses.

TEXT

First Plate

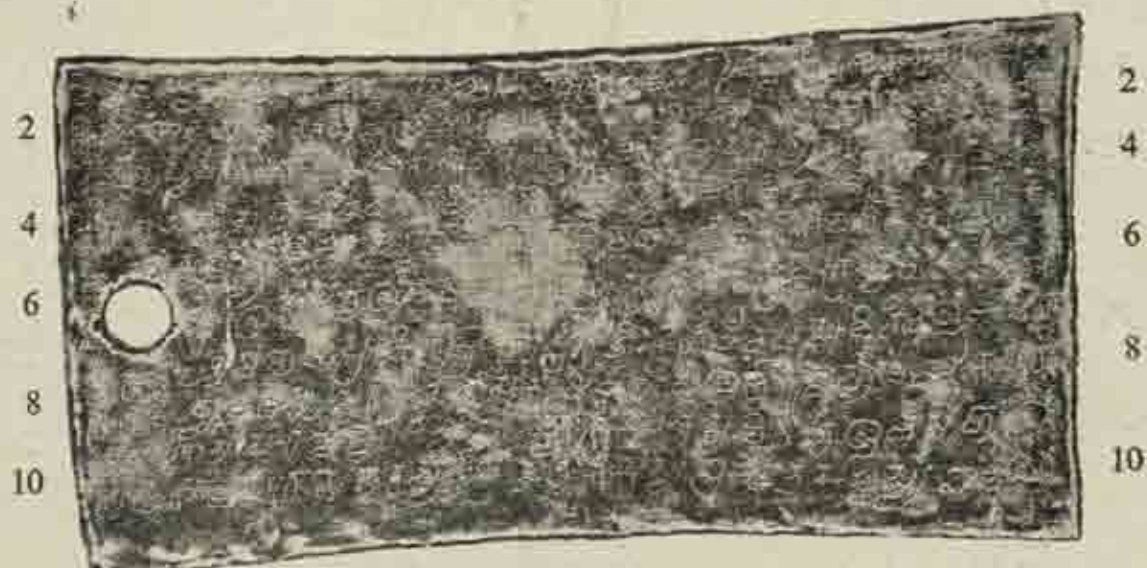
- 1 Svasti || [*] Jayaty āvishkṛitāḥ Vindhūr-vyārāhaḥ kaśōhīt-āṇṇavam(vam) ||[*] dakṣiṇ-
ōṇṇala-dumhōṭṭa-āgra-viśānta-bhuvanāṁ vapuḥ ||[*]
- 2 Ścimatām sakala-bhuvana-saṁstūyamāṇa Manavya-sagōtrāṇām Hārīti-putrāṇām sapta-
lōka-mā
- 3 tribhīḥ-sapta-mātṛībhir-abbivarddhītānām Kūrti(ṛti)kōya-parirakṣaṇa-prāpta-kalyāṇa-parāṇi-
parāṇām bhaga-
- 4 van-Nārāyaṇa-prasāda-saṁśōdita-varāha-lāṇchhan-ākṣaṇa-vatīkṛit-āsēṣa-mahī-
- 5 bhṛitām Chālūkyānām kulam-alaṇṇakarishṇūr-śvamedh-śvabhṛitā-anāṇa-pavitrikṛita-
gātrāya
- 6 śi-Pulakēṣi-vallabha-mahārājasya sōṇuḥ parāhram-ākṛānta-Vanavāṣy-ādī-
- 7 para-nṛpati-maṇḍala-praṇihādīha-viśōdha-kīrtiḥ śrī-Kīrtivarmma-pṛithivīvallabha-mahā-
- 8 rājasa-sasy-śtinsajja-samata-sam-vakta-sakal-ōttarāpa-thēsvata-śrī-Harshavaroddhāna-parā-

¹ This word seems to indicate a stream. We have a *Lakaviraya* in line 45, *Paṇṇavirayā* in lines 53 and 56 and *Sankuvirayā* in line 54 of this inscription. They may represent the names of the streams. The word *vapuḥ* is not found in the lexicons.

² The word *śōḍḍā* is taken here in the sense of 'fine, excellent'; the alternative meaning would be 'tamarind trees loaded with figs'.

³ From the original plates and impressions.

SHIGGAON PLATES OF CHALUKYA VIJAYADITYA, SAKA 630—PLATE I



ii, a



ii, b



Scale : One-half

iii, a

30

32

34

36

38



30

32

34

36

38

iii, b

40

42

44

46

48



40

42

44

46

48

iv

50

52

54

56

58



50

52

54

56

58

- 9 jay-ōpātta-paramēśvara-śabdasya¹ Satyāśraya-śrī-prithivī-vallabha-mahārā-
10 jādhirāja-paramēśvarasya priya-śanayasya prajñāta-mayasya lhaḍḡa-mā-

Second Plate, First Side

- 11 tra-mahāyasya Chitrakēṭh-ābhiddhāna-pravara-tura[m]gamēṇ-sikēṇ-ē(a)ṇ-ōṭṭāṭ(dit-
āśāha-vijī-
12 glahōr-āvanipati-tritay-āntaritām eva-gurō² śriyam-ātmesātkṛtya prabhāva-kūṭa-
13 dalita-Pāṇḍya-Chōḷa-Kēraḷa-Kalabha-prabhṛti-bhūḷlōpāda-bhha-vibhramasy-ānany-ā-
14 vanata-Kāñchīpati-ma³kuta-chumbhita-pād-āmbujasya Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya-
15 śrī-prithivīvallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-bhāṭṭāraśaya priya-
16 sūnōḥ-pitur-ājñayā Bāḷi(lō)nduśekharaśaya Tārakārātīr-eva daityabalam-atisa-
17 modbhataś trairāja-Kāñchīpati-balam-avasthābhyā karāḍikṛta-Kamō(vē)ra-Pārasika-
18 Siṅgha-ādi-dvīp-ādhipasya sakal-ōttarāpātha-nātha-māṭhan-ōpārjit-ōrjīṭa-pā-
19 jidhvaj-ādi-samasta-pāramaiśvaryya-chinḥa(ha)śaya Vinayāditya-Satyāśraya-śrī-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 20 prithivīvallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-bhāṭṭāraśaya priya-ātmajaś-samava eva-
ādhiḡat-āśāha-āstra-āḍ-
21 strō dakṣiṇ-āśā-vijayini pītūmahē samaumōḷita-nikhila-kautaka-samhatir-uttarāpātha-vijī-
22 glahōr-gurōr-āgrata ev-āhava-vyāpātam-ācharam-ārāti-gaja-phatō-pātana-vibhramāna-
23 kripāya-dhāra-samagra-vigraha-āgrēsara-saṇ-sāhasa-makha-parāṇmukhikṛta-
āstra-maṇḍalō
24 Gangā-Yamunā-pāḍjdhvaja-paḍaḡhakhā-mahāśāha-chinḥa(ha)-māyika-mataṅga-ādin-
pitṛisāt
25 kurvan-paraiḥ-pālāyamūnait-āsādya katham-api vidu-vaśād-apanitō pi pratāpād-ō-
26 va viśaya-prakōpam-ārājakam-utsārayan-Vatsarāja iv-ānapēkṣit-ōpara-sāhāyabha-
ta-
27 [d⁴]-avagrahān-nirgatyā eva-bhuj-āvaśṭāmbha-prasādhit-āśāha-vārambhama-
prabhur-akhamōḷita-sakti-trayatvāch-chha-
28 tru-madā-bhāḷjanaivād-udārtvān-nirevadyatvād-yaś-samasta-bhuvan-āśrayaś-sakala-
pāramaiśvaryya-cyakti-
29 hātu-pāḍjdhvaj-ādy-ujva(j)va-la-prāya-tājyō Vijayāditya-Satyāśraya-śrī-prithivīvallabha-
mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-

¹ Read *śāśāha-sarṇa*.² Read *gurō*.³ This *śāśāha* is partly damaged.

Third Plate, First Side

- 30 bhettirakab sarvān-ēvam-ājñāpayati viditam-asn vō-smābhīḥ¹ trimśad-uttara-
śhaṭ-chhatōshu Saka-varahśehv-ati.
- 31 tshv-ākāśāḥ pravardhamāna-rājya-sarivatsarē Kṣuvajal-nāma-sthānam-adhivāseti
vijaya-akundhā-
- 32 vārō Ālopēndrasā dīrashtum Venavāsīm-āyāstavati Vijayāditya-vallabhēndrē Ābhāḍha-
paurāṇamēyām
- 33 Pāṇḍy-āmala-kulam-alamkurvataḥ sakala-lōka-vidita-mahāprahhāvaaya ananya-sā-
dhārāṇa-tyā-
- 34 g-ōḍaya-samipat-samutācīt-ānya-vadānya-kirtti-matānuaya ava-karataḥ-vidhṛta-niṣita-
niatritiā-sam-
- 35 [ghā]ta-vitrasta-viśṛyāṇāḥ-ānōka-rīpa-nṛpati-matta-mātanga-samghātaaya Chalukya-
rājy-ā-
- 36 bhivṛddhi-kētu-bhūtaaya Chitravāhana-narēndraaya vijāpanayā eva-kṛdaya-prahhā(hlā)
dana-
- 37 kārtiṇyā hasti-rath-ādy-anōka-dāna-pudāna-puras-sara-hiranyagarih-ātubhṛta-ana-
pavitrikri-
- 38 ta-saritayā Kuṅkumadēvyā Purigere-nagarē kārītāḥ Jina-bhavanam-addiṇya tava-
karmma-kha-
- 39 pda-sphṛṭi-samākāra-dēva-pūjā-dāna-tāl-ādi-dharmma-pravarttan-ārittham sakal-ārhat-
samaya²-ti.

Third Plate, Second Side

- 40* laka-ūri-Mūlasamgh-ōdgha-Bhū³(S6)raṣṭa-dharmma-ōpada(ōt)ētna(n-ā)śēḥa-nikāya-samāna-
natr-āvrāsam(aḥ) Guḍḍigere-grā-
- 41 mam(mō) dattaḥ [[*] dakṣiṇataḥ⁴ Vēṇṇē-tatākam dakṣiṇ-āparataḥ⁵ Mākulika-
giri(b) a-
- 42 parasyām Knpēra-tatākam⁶ apar-ōttarataḥ Kōḍi-tatākam tathā Tapavi-tatāka-vi(vi)dhī-
(thi)
- 43 uttarataḥ Pūjivūra-tatākam tasy-ādhō Virayāyāḥ Purikanagara-mahāpatha-
- 44 sya cha saṅgamaaya⁷ pūrvataḥ⁸ Ittakā-padra-sahitam⁹ pūrv-ōttarataḥ Matkupa-tatā¹⁰ka-
ta-

¹ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

² There are faint traces of some letters engraved previously in the place of these seven abasamas.

³ This line also has some traces of previous writing which has been effaced.

⁴ The *ādhō* seems to have been first written *āḥ* and then corrected to *āḥ*.

⁵ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

⁶ The letter *ur* was first omitted and then inserted between *pu* and *sy*. Read *aviprasāḥ*.

⁷ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

⁸ A word like *śākhā* seems to have been omitted here.

⁹ This letter seems to have been originally written as *ḥ*.

- 45 thā Arasi-tatākam pāli(li)-kabētra-sabitan pūrva-dakṣiṇataḥ Lakavirayam
 46 mū[la-]mole pāshāṇa(pa)-vidhīh(vihīh |) Alagundi-mahāpatham āman(mām) kṛtvā
 yāvat
 47 mūla-chaityālayasy-uttara-khā(vā)ikām-avadhīm(dhīm) kṛtvā² tataḥ pūrvasmādipa-
 (t-pa)thō dakṣiṇam(nataḥ) avam(nama)gā-
 48 ra²-vāta-chaṇḍāla-vāta-varjaṁ sa-sūka-kachchham Kurukella-tatākam(ka)-pāli(li)ni-ava-
 dhīm(dhīm)
 49 kṛtvā Sūralivirūpa-patha(thā)d-ārāmāt yāvat Siggalli-sūm-āntam tataḥ Kenigala-ta-

Fourth Plate

- 50 tāk-āntam dattaḥ Uhpatti-grāmō (mah) Pūali-padma-cha | Nēṇilika-padmasy-uttarayām
 diśi
 51 Guḍḍigere-mahāpatha(thā)d-uttaraḥ sa-sūm-āntō Nēṇilika-kabētra-rāṣir-ōdattaḥ tathā
 52 Vanavāsi-nagarasy-uttarayām diśi Maragundi-nāma-grāma(h*) | sa-bhōgō dattaḥ
 53 tathā Kundavūr-vishay³ Kaḥpūr-unāma-grāma(mō) datta(h*) paśchimataḥ Paṇavira-
 yāyāḥ(yā)
 54 tasya(syāḥ) pūrva-taḥ Suvarṇa-plakham paśhim-ōttaraḥ Sunkuviray-āva-
 55 dhīh⁴ uttaraḥ Mahishivāsa-tatākam uttara-pūrvataḥ sū(sā)rdūla-tintin(dī)-
 56 k-āntam pūrva-dakṣiṇataḥ Pūli-tatākam dakṣiṇataḥ Paṇaviray-āntam
 57* [ity-ādi]⁵-prakārā Pulikara-nagara ..⁶ maṇḍala⁷
 58 [padma]-mahāpatha⁸ taḥ anvarṇa-plaksha-tintini(dī)k-ādi-prakaṭita)-
 59¹⁰ vāsa¹¹ pattana¹²

¹ The upper parts of *la* and *li* have suffered damage by the lower portion of the ring-hole which seems to have been made after the engraving of these letters.

² These two words are redundant.

³ The word *sammagāra* in Kannada means 'a worker in leather, a shoe-maker' and is to be derived from Sanskrit *charma-kāra*.

⁴ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

⁵ This and the following two lines are badly damaged and the engraving also is rather indifferent. This portion apparently continues the description of the boundaries.

⁶ The reading is not certain.

⁷ Two *śloka*s are lost here.

⁸ About eight letters are indistinct here.

⁹ About five letters are indistinct here.

¹⁰ About four letters are damaged at the beginning.

¹¹ About four letters are lost here.

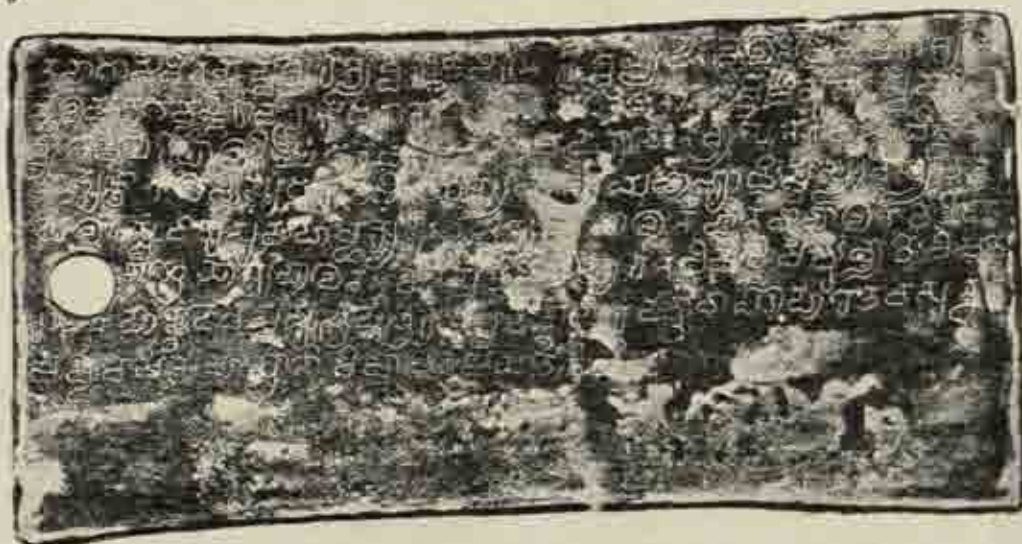
¹² About thirteen letters are lost here.

Fifth Plate

- 60 tad-agānibhir-asamad-vasāyair-anysāś-cha rājabhir-āyur-aiṣvarya-ādīnām vilāsitam-achi-
rātsū-chañ-
- 61 chalam=avagachchhadibhir-ā-chandr-ārka-dhat-ārnavo-(sthiti-sams-kālam ya)śāś-chichi-
shubhāḥ sva-dattā-m-
- 62 rucisham paripālānyam(yam) [*] uktam cha bhagavatā Védavyāsa Vyāsaḥ ||
Bahubhir-yvañ-
- 63 dā bhūktā rājabhis-āgar-ādibhiḥ [*] yaśya yaśya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā
- 64 phalam(lam) || Svam dātum smakach-chikīyam duḥkham-anyaśya pālānam(nam) [*]
dānam vā pālānam v-eti dā-
- 65 nāchhrā(ch-chhrā)yō-nupālānam(nam) || Dēva-svam tad-viśa(m) ghōṣam na viśam viśa-
n-ucchyatē [*] viśam-ō-
- 66 kākūśch hanti dēvasvam putra-pautrikam(kam) || Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yō harēta-
vasundharām(rām) [*]
- 67 shaktim varaha-sahasrāḥ viśthāyam jāyatē krimib ||

SHIGGAON PLATES OF CHALUKYA VIJAYADITYA, SAKA 630—PLATE II

60
62
64
66



60
62
64
66

SEAL



(from a Photograph)

No. 39—SONEPUR INSCRIPTION OF BHANUDEVA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

The inscription under publication is written in eight lines engraved on a slab of stone lying in front of the temple of the goddess Khamēśvari (Khambēśvari or Stambhēśvari) at **Sonepur** which was formerly the headquarters of the State of that name but now belongs to the Bolangir District of Orissa. It was briefly noticed by B. C. Majumdar¹ and B. Miera² but has been recently edited by K. B. Tripathi³ with a translation but without any facsimile. Majumdar and Miera assign the inscription to the twelfth century A.D. The epigraph is edited in the following pages since, in our opinion, it has not been correctly deciphered and interpreted.

The inscribed area on the stone slab measures about two feet in length and one foot in height while individual *akṣaras* in the record are about one inch and a quarter high. The characters are Gaudīya with certain characteristics of the Oriya alphabet. The sign for medial *l* is of the Oriya type; but *m* and *s* are written in the Bengali fashion. In *Sōnapura* in line 2, the letter *s* shows a cursive and peculiar form (cf. also the shape of the same letter in *śauri* in the same line). *Chh* is of the *chhh* type as in modern Oriya and not of the *ksh* type as found in records like the Oriya supplement of the Veligalani grant of 1458 A.D.⁴ The form of initials is later than that in the Alagum inscription (line 10) of 1141 A.D.⁵, the Bhūbaneswar inscription (line 1) of 1218 A.D.⁶ and the Nagari plates (lines 132-33) of 1230-31 A.D.⁷ But it is found in some records of the time of Anagabhīma III (c. 1211-38 A.D.) such as the Puri inscription (No. 4, line 5) of 1237 A.D.⁸ while the earlier form is also noticed in later records like the Puri plates of 1395-97 A.D.⁹ *Y* and *p* are written alike as in other medieval Orissan epigraphs. The numerical figures 1 and 2 in line 6 as well as 7 in line 2 are of the Telugu-Kannada type while 3 is also of the same type sometimes found in the medieval records of Orissa.¹⁰ On palaeographical grounds, the epigraph may be assigned to a date in the **thirteenth or fourteenth century A. D.** This suggestion is supported by the fact that it refers itself to the reign of **Vira-Bhānudeva** who is undoubtedly one of the four kings of that name belonging to the imperial branch of the Eastern Gāṅga dynasty. Of these four rulers, Bhānu I began to rule about 1264 A.D., Bhānu II about 1305 A.D. and Bhānu III about 1353 A.D., while Bhānu IV ascended the throne sometime before 1414 A.D. It is difficult to assign the record to any one of these four kings with precision; but palaeography seems to point rather to Bhānu I or II or III than to Bhānu IV since Oriya inscriptions of the fifteenth century generally exhibit more developed Oriya forms of the letters.

The language of the inscription is old Oriya. Interesting from the orthographical point of view are words like *śiṣya* (Sanskrit *śiṣya*) in lines 4-5 and *vaidya* (Sanskrit *vaidya*) in line 5. Contractions as in *paṭirāṅka* in line 3 is often found in medieval Orissan records, though

¹ *History of the Bengali Language*, p. 249.

² *Ōḍiā Bhāṣāra Itihāsa*; cf. *Indian Linguistics*, Vol. XVII, p. 46.

³ *Indian Linguistics*, op. cit., pp. 46-49.

⁴ *JAS, Letters and Science*, Vol. XXIII, No. 1, pp. 13 ff.

⁵ *Above* Vol. XXIX, pp. 44 ff., and Plate.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXX, p. 235, and Plate.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 235 ff., and Plate.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXX, p. 263, and Plates.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 302 ff., and Plate.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 64, note 2.

our inscription also has *rājānkara* in line 4. Similarly it employs both the forms *kapālā* (line 7) and *kapālat* (line 8) as the locative of *kapāla*. Interesting is also the words *vijāḥ* (Sanskrit *vijaya*) in line 2 and *vijayasa* (Sanskrit *vijayāsa*) in line 8. The old dative form in *devānkai* in line 5 is of grammatical interest. It is found in the form of *alai* in such medieval records as the Puri inscriptions of the time of Anantabhadra III (c. 1211-38 A.D.).¹

Tripathi reads the year of the date at the beginning of line 2 as 16 or a 6 supposed to stand for the *śaka* year 6. The year no doubt refers to the *śaka* reckoning since the ordinary regnal reckoning was not popular with the Gaṅga kings during the period in question. It is, however, well known that 6 and numbers ending with 6 were omitted in the *śaka* reckoning and therefore either of the readings 16 and 6 is impossible. At the beginning of line 2, we propose to read *[ar]ḍ 7 arāhi*. It seems that *ar* of *arāhi* was redundantly engraved before the numerical figure through oversight. After *arāhi*, Tripathi reads *Mina-kṛishṇa 2*. But the figure read as 2 here is different from 2 in line 6. We are inclined to read the passage as *Mina-kṛishṇa 3* since, as indicated above, 3 of this type is sometimes found in the medieval records of Orissa.

The date quoted in lines 1-2 of our record thus appears to be **Saturday (Sauri-rātri), the 3rd of the dark half of the solar month of Mina in the 7th śaka or 5th regnal year of Bhānu-dēva**. The 5th regnal year of Bhānu I, II and III appears to have corresponded to 1268-69, 1309-10 and 1356-57 A.D. respectively. Among these years, the details suit only **March 3, 1268 A.D.**, and therefore the king referred to may be **Bhānu I** although it is difficult to be definite on the point.

The inscription begins with the auspicious word *śasti* and the passage *śrī-vira-Bhānu-dēvasya pravardhamāna-vijay-rājā samasta [ar]ḍ 7 Mina-kṛishṇa 3 Sauri-rātri* (Sanskrit *śrī-Vira-Bhānu-dēvasya pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājā samastau 7 śarudī Mina-kṛishṇa 3 Sauri-rātri*) in lines 1-2. The above is followed in lines 2-4 by *Sānapūra-koṭaka-Pachhima-dēva-adhikāri sāmanta-paḍirā-Vīra-paḍirādhikāri* (Sanskrit *Sānapūra-koṭaka-Pachhima-dēva-adhikāri sāmanta-pratirāja-Vīra-pratirājasya adhikāri*). In the name *Vīra-paḍirā*, *Paḍirā* is the family name; but *Vīra*'s official designation was also *Sāmanta-paḍirā*. Tripathi reads *sāmanta-paḍirāḥ-īra-paḍirādhikāri* and takes the name of the officer as *īra* (Sanskrit *īra*) and his family name as *Paḍirā*. The last *akṣara* of what we have read as *Vīra-paḍirā* may possibly be also read as *ra* considering the form of the same *akṣara* in *Sauri-rātri* in line 2 while the second *akṣara* may also be *ra* or *ri*. But the first *akṣara* of the name is clearly *vi*. In any case, the passage quoted above from lines 2-4 refers to the tract under the government of a viceroy of the Gaṅga king, who enjoyed the designation *Sāmanta-paḍirā* and ruled over the western province of the Gaṅga empire with his headquarters at **Sānapūra**, i.e. modern Sonapur where the inscription has been found.

The following passage in lines 4-6 records the purpose of the document and reads: *śrī-vira-Bhānu-dēvarājānkara āvuta-kām-ārthā śrī-Vaidyanāthadēvānkai Nāḍa-cūnya-grāma vāraha data 12* (Sanskrit *śrī-Vira-Bhānu-dēva-rājasya āvuta-kām-ārthā śrī-Vaidyanāthadēvāya Nāḍa-cūnyagṛāmāḥ devāḥ data 12*). It is stated that twelve villages situated in the *vishaya* or district of **Nāḍa** were granted to the god Vaidyanātha for the longevity and the fulfilment of the desire of king Vira-Bhānu-dēva. The names of the villages are not enumerated nor is the name of the donor specified. It seems that the king or his viceroy was the donor. The god Vaidyanātha

¹ Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 197 ff. Cf. *śāntaśāli* in lines 3-6 of No. 1; *devānkai* in line 5 of No. 4. See also *devānkai* in line 4 of No. 2. This apparently exhibits the same case-ending under another spelling, though I offered a different suggestion while editing the inscription in question.

² The figure has some resemblance with certain forms of 7 illustrated by G.H. Ojha in his *Pāñcīnī*, Plate LXXI (Section II, last column), Plate LXXV (Section II) and Plate LXXVI (Section II). But the upper ends of the two vertical strokes here do not appear to be joined by a curve as in other cases.

is still worshipped in a temple on the river Tel near Sonepur. What we have read as **Naṭṭa-visaya-grāma nūraha* has been read by Tripathi as *ina Eḍaviya-paṇamu vāra*, in which *ina* has been taken to be a local word meaning 'here' and the purpose of the document has been supposed to be to record the grant of twelve coins called *Eḍaviya-Paga* in favour of the god. But, in such a case, *ina* would be meaningless in the context. A coin called *Eḍaviya* (the last *akṣara* is certainly *su*)-*Paga* is also as yet unknown from any other source.

The next sentence in lines 6-8 reads *dhā jē haraḥ harāni tāhāra kapālāḥ Śiva-tāla Vrahma-tāla Viṣṇu-tāla tīni tāla paḍai* (Sanskrit *etat yah harati harayati [vā] tasya kapālā Śiva-tālaḥ [cha] Brahma-tālaḥ [cha] Viṣṇu-tālaḥ [cha] trayah tālāḥ patanti*). The word *kapāla* has been used here in the literal sense of 'forehead' and the figurative sense of 'lot' and *tāla* (literally, 'the palm of the hand') apparently to indicate 'a slap'. A 'blow on the forehead' figuratively means in the East Indian languages 'the destruction of one's good luck' or 'one's ruin'. The idea here is that, if any person confiscates the gift land or causes its confiscation, his forehead would be struck by a blow each from the hands of the gods Śiva, Brahman and Viṣṇu. Tripathi and others read *Kuḍra-tāla* in the place of *Viṣṇu-tāla* without noticing that *Śiva-tāla* is mentioned side by side. The word *tāla* is translated by Tripathi as 'a bolt', although it means 'a bolt' only in the sense of 'the bolt or lock of a door'.

The last sentence of the inscription in line 8 reads: *tāhāra kapālāḥ nriṇaṇaṇa hēi* (Sanskrit *tasya kapālāḥ nriṇaṇaṇaḥ bhavati*). To become *nriṇaṇaṇa* means 'not to have any progeny', or 'to lose all of one's own children and their progeny', i.e. 'to have none in one's line to offer one a *puṇya* after death'. The sentence means to say that the loss of progeny would fall to the lot of one responsible for the resumption of the gift land. Tripathi reads *tāhāra kapāla ina hē vasa hēi* and translates the sentence as 'His forehead becomes subdued or ruined'. The *akṣara hē* has been inadvertently introduced in the text while *vasa* (the reading is clearly **vasa*) has been taken to stand for Sanskrit *vāsa*. The word *ina* (meaning 'here' according to Tripathi) has been left out in the translation. As a matter of fact this word does not occur in the inscription under study or in any other Oriya inscription known to me.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it testifies to the inclusion of the district around Sonepur in the dominions of the Imperial Gaṅgas in the thirteenth or fourteenth century A.D. We know that the Telugu-Chōḍa king Sāmśavaradēvavarman III was ruling at Sonepur about the second half of the twelfth century.¹ He was also a devotee of the god Vaidyanātha (Śiva) whose temple may have been built by the Telugu-Chōḍas. It now appears that the Gaṅgas ousted Telugu-Chōḍa rule from that region. But it is difficult to determine as to which of the Gaṅga kings was responsible for the achievement.

The geographical names mentioned in the inscription are Sūnapūra, the location of which has already been indicated above, and the district of Naṭṭa the name of which reminds us of the locality called Laida about 33 miles from Sambhalpur.

TEXT*

1 Svast[ī] []* śrī-vira-Bhāpudēvasya pravādhyamāna-vijāṭ-rājē samvata

2 [śr] 7^a arāhi Mīna-kṛishṇa 3^a Sa^aūri-vārē Sūnapūra-kṛishṇa

* Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 288 ff.

* From impressions.

* This *akṣara* is redundant.

* Tripathi reads 16 or a 6.

* Tripathi reads 2.

* Originally *rā* had been written in the place of *sa* and it was later changed to *sa*.

3 **Pachhima-dēsa**-adhikārī Sāmanta-paḍītrā Visa-paḍī[rā]śakra¹

4 adhikārē śrī-vīra **Bhāpuḍēvarā**śāṅkara śi-

5 uava-kām-ārtihē² śrī-Vaidyanāthadēvaśkaī³ **Nāḍḍa**-vi-

6 saya-[gr]āma⁴ vāraha⁵ deta 12 [||*] chā jē harai harāui

7 tāhāra kapālē Śiva-tāla Vrahma-tāla Viṣṇu⁶-tāla tī-

8 nī tāla paḍai [||*] tāhāra kapālai nyivansa⁷ hōi ||⁸

¹ Tripathi reads *paḍītrā-Visa-paḍīśankara*.

² Tripathi reads *śīma-ārtihē* and corrects it to **śīma-ārtihē*. He takes the expression to stand for Sanskrit-*āgama-kām-ārtihē*.

³ This is for modern Oriya **dēvaśka* and Sanskrit **dēvāya*.

⁴ Tripathi reads *ima śīvaśya-paṇama*. The last *akṣara* may be read as *ma* also.

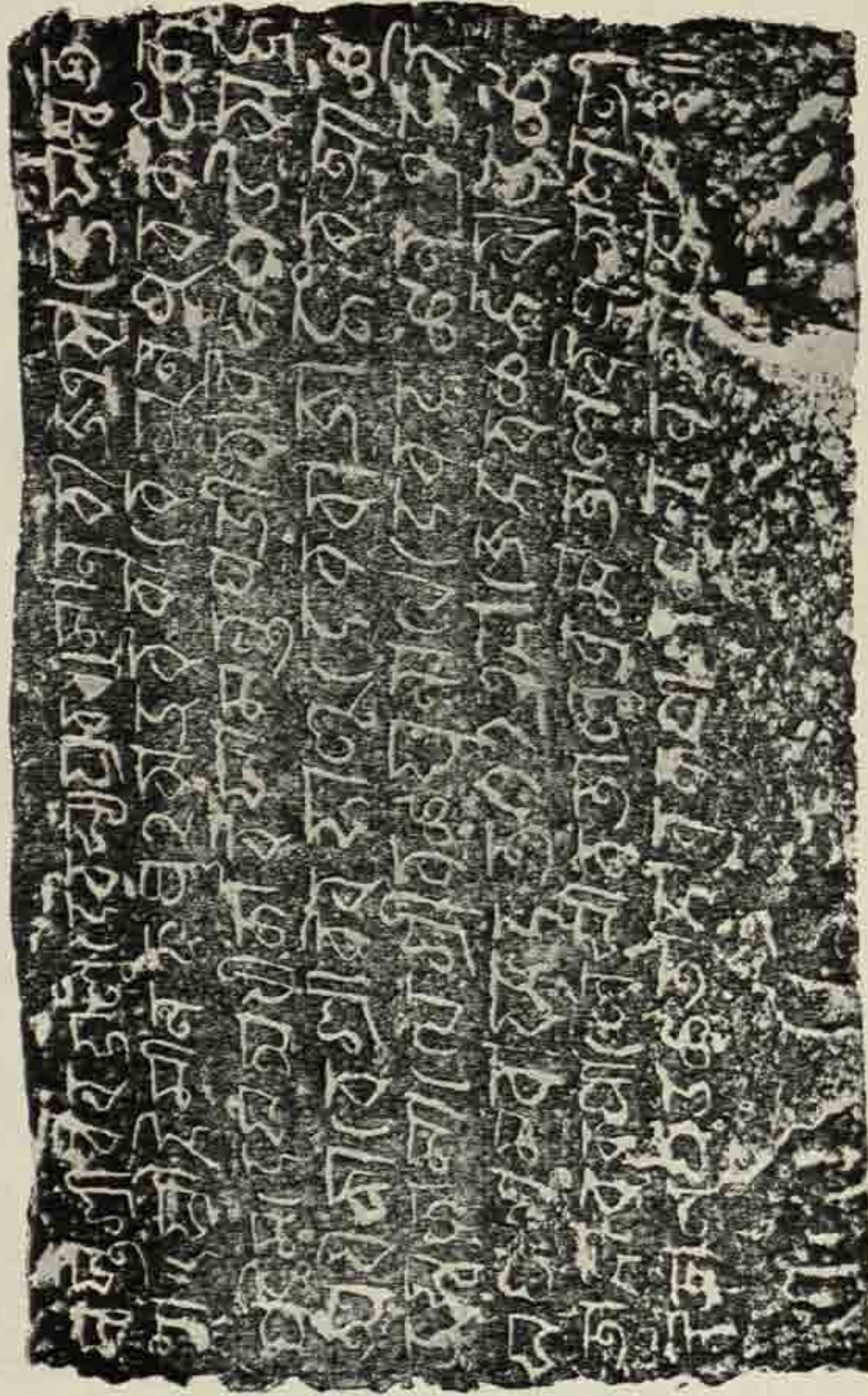
⁵ Tripathi reads *vāra*.

⁶ Tripathi and others read *śakra*.

⁷ Tripathi reads *kapāla* *ima* *ma*.

⁸ The *vāra*-like sign before the double *daṇḍa* is a part of the mark of punctuation.

SONEPUR INSCRIPTION OF BHANUDEVA



Scale : Three-Eighths

No. 40—SILVER COIN OF BHAIKAVASIMHA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SINGH, OOTACAMUND

About the end of November 1957 I was passing through Patna where I met Prof. R. K. Choudhary of the G. D. College, Begusarai, Monghyr District, Bihar. Prof. Choudhary kindly showed me a silver coin with legend on both obverse and reverse. As I had little time to devote on the coin just then, I prepared plasticine moulds of both sides of it and returned it to the Professor. Some plaster casts of the coin were later prepared out of those moulds for my study.¹

The coin is round in shape and has a diameter of one inch. Its weight is stated to be 10.52 grams or 162.37 grains. On both obverse and reverse of the coin there is a square made of raised lines, within a circular line of the same type. In the four semi-circular spaces between the arms of the square and the outer line, there is in each case a letter or one or more numerical figures between two angular ornamental designs. Inside the square the legend is written in raised letters in five lines diagonally arranged between the upper and lower angles on both the obverse and the reverse. The reverse legend is a continuation of the writing on the obverse. There are thirteen letters on the obverse and an equal number of them on the reverse. Of these thirteen letters arranged in five lines, line 3 in the centre has five *aksharas*, lines 2 and 4 have three each and lines 1 and 5 only one each. The same arrangement has been followed on both the sides.

The characters belong to the Gaudīya alphabet as prevalent in Bihar in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries A.D. The letters *r* and *ṛ* have been written both in the Devanāgarī and Gaudīya fashions. The two types of *r* are very similar respectively to *w* and *v* as found in the legend, while *y* resembles *p*. Some letters of the legend have suffered from the effects of later punching by the shroffs.

The writing on the obverse and reverse reads as follows :—

Obverse	Reverse
1 Ma-	1 Ti-
2 hārāja-	2 rabhukti-
3 śri-Da[rppa]nārā-	3 rāja-śri-Bhaira-
4 yaṇ-ātma-	4 vaśirīha-
5 ja-	5 sya [*]

The legend may be translated as : " (The coin is) of the illustrious Bhairavasimha, the lord of Tirabhukti (and) the son of the illustrious Mahārāja Darpanārāyaṇa".

In the spaces outside the square on the obverse, we have respectively in the upper left, upper right, lower left and lower right :

[Śa]	ka-
na	1111

In the corresponding spaces on the reverse, there are similarly :

rā-	jya
[I]	5

¹ Partial and inaccurate readings of the legend on the coin have since appeared in *JNSI*, Vol. XX, pp. 55-61 (Plate IX, No. 5), where it has been wrongly attributed to king Rāmaśhādha of Mithilā. It is stated that the coin belongs to a hoard discovered at Baicmo in the Darbhanga District of Bihar.

Of the writing on the reverse, the central starting line of *yya* is not clearly made, while the left part of the figure for 1 is cut off. These writings no doubt quote the date of the issue of the coin under study, the obverse giving *Saka-sa* (i.e. *Saka-samvatsara*) 1411 and the reverse *vājya* (i.e. *vājya-samvatsara*) 15, i.e. the regnal year 15. Thus the coin was issued by king Bhairavaśiṃha of Tirhut (i.e. Tirhut or Mithilā, i.e. North Bihar), who was the son of king Darpanārāyaṇa, in the 15th year of his reign, which corresponded to Saka 1411 or 1489-90 A. D. Bhairavaśiṃha thus ascended the throne of Tirhut about Saka 1397 or 1475-76 A. D.

There is no doubt that the king who issued the coin under study is identical with Bhairavaśiṃha alias Rūpanārāyaṇa alias Harinārāyaṇa who was the son of Narasiṃha Darpanārāyaṇa of the Ōinvar dynasty of Tirhut, which flourished in the period between the middle of the 14th to the first half of the 16th century A. D. The coin is the only one of Bhairavaśiṃha so far discovered and one of the very few of the Ōinvar as yet published. As a matter of fact, very few of the Ōinvar rulers issued coins. Our coin throws some light on the rather obscure history of the king as well as of the local ruling family of medieval India, to which he belonged.

The history of the rulers of the Ōinvar dynasty of Tirhut is little known and their chronology full of confusion. The confusion is due to many factors such as the uncertainty about the initial year of the Lakshmaprasāda Ratnavat or La. Sam, used in the dating of many of the literary records of the period and time in question, the possibility of contemporaneous or conjoint rule for some years of the predecessor and successor in several cases, and the unreliability of some of the local traditions. Since the late medieval period, the La. Sam. is calculated as starting from 1119 A. D.; but as regards the earlier dates the initial year varies between 1108 and 1119 A. D.¹ For the sake of convenience, we have tentatively taken 1119 A. D. as the starting point of the era in our calculations in the following pages. Another great difficulty is that even when the La. Sam. year is mentioned together with the corresponding Saka year and verifiable astronomical details are provided for a date, they are generally irregular according to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*. This is evidently due to the fact that the local almanacs from which the dates were quoted, were based on a defective calculation.

In the following lines, we are offering a sketch of Ōinvar history and chronology on the basis of the following works: (1) M. M. Chakravarti, *History of Mithilā during the Pre-Mughal Period* (*JASB*, N.S., Vol. XI, 1915, pp. 406-433; especially pp. 415-33); (2) R. K. Choudhary, *The Ōinvaras of Mithilā* (*JBS*, Vol. XI, pp. 99-121); (3) J. Eggeling, *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, Part IV, pp. 874-76, No. 2564; (4) G. A. Grierson, (a) *Vidyāpati and his Contemporaries* (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, 1885, pp. 182 ff.); (b) *On some Medieval Kings of Mithilā* (*ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, 1889, pp. 57-68); (c) *An Introduction to Mithilī Language*; (5) S. N. Singh, *History of Tirhut*, 1915; and (6) U. Thakur, *History of Mithilā*, 1956, Chapter VI: The Ōinvaras (pp. 290-339).

Harisimha, the last ruler of the Karnāta dynasty of Mithilā, was overthrown by Sultān Ghiyāuddin Tughlak Shāh (1320-23 A. D.) of Delhi about 1324 A. D.² Sometime later, about the middle of the fourteenth century, a Brāhmaṇa named Kāmēśvara Thākur, who may have originally been the *Rājapandita* at Harisimha's court, obtained the Zamindari of a considerable part of the country from Sultān Firūz Shāh (1351-87 A. D.). The dynasty founded by the Brāhmaṇa is called Ōinavāra (Ōinivāra) or Ōinvar after the village of Ōini in the Munassarpur District, which one of his ancestors received from a Karnāta king. The family is sometimes also named after

¹ *Hist. Beng.*, Dacca University, Vol. I, pp. 232 ff.

² T. Prasad, *Hist. Med. Ind.*, p. 268.

Sugaunā, Kāmāśvara's residence near modern Madhubani in the Darbhanga District. After a short time, Firz Shāh gave Kāmāśvara's throne to the latter's son **Bhōgiśvara**.¹ According to some doubtful traditions, Bhōgiśvara ruled for 35 years and died in 1300 A.D.² Bhōgiśvara's son and successor was **Gaṇēśvara** who, according to Vidyāpati's *Kirtitātā*, was defeated and killed by an enemy named Aalā, apparently a Muslim, aided probably by certain members of the Ōjivār family. The date of this event is given in the work in a corrupt passage which may mean the 5th of the first (i.e. dark) half of Agrahāyana in La. Sam. 252 (1371 A.D.).³ His eldest son Virasimha seems to have been ruling over a part of the country in La. Sam. 228 (1347 A.D.) when a manuscript of the *Līngavārti* was copied in his territory.⁴ That he was a ruler is also suggested by the title *Mahārājādhirāja* applied to him in the *Kirtitātā*.⁵ Sometime after Gaṇēśvara's death, his son **Kirtisimha** became king with the help of Ibrahim Shāh Sharqi (1401-40 A.D.) of Jaunpur. The next king was **Bhavasimha**, a younger son of Kāmāśvara, and he was succeeded by his eldest son **Dēvasimha Garuḍanārāyaṇa**. Since a manuscript of Śrīdatta's *Etiquiṭāsapaddhati*, composed at Dēvasimha's request, was copied on Monday, Pausa-sudi 9, La. Sam. 299 (1418 A.D.), he seems to have ascended the throne before that date.⁶ According to a poem ascribed to Vidyāpati, Dēvasimha died on Thursday, Chaitra-vadi 6, La. Sam. 293 corresponding to Śaka 1324 (1403 A.D.) which is supposed to be a mistake for Śaka 1334 (1413 A.D.).⁷ As Śrīdhara's *Kāyapaṇḍitaśaṅkha* was composed on Kārtika-vadi 10, La. Sam. 291 (1411 A.D.) when Dēvasimha's son **Śivasimha Rūpanārāyaṇa** is stated to have been ruling over Tirabhukti, the son seems to have been reigning jointly with the father as *Yuvrāja* (or at least over parts of the kingdom) and to have been a patron of Śrīdhara. Dēvasimha ruled from Dēvakul about 3 miles to the north of Darbhanga while Śivasimha had his headquarters at Gajarathapura or Śivasimhapura about 5 miles to the south-east of Darbhanga. Three spurious copper-plate charters of king Śivasimha, recording the grant of the village of Bisapī in favour of the poet Vidyāpati, bear respectively the dates V.S. 1455, Śaka 1321, and La. Sam. 293 equated with V. S. 1455, Śaka 1321 and Sam. 807, i.e. probably 1399 A.D.⁸ Śivasimha is described by Vidyāpati as the 'lord of the Five Gaṇḍas' and as one who subdued the king or kings of Gaṇḍa. This vague and conventional claim may suggest that, unlike his predecessors who owed allegiance to the Muhammadans, Śivasimha ruled for sometime as an independent monarch. The result, however, was fatal and, according to tradition, Śivasimha was defeated by the Muslims and carried away to Delhi.⁹ The same source suggests that, after the tragic end of Śivasimha's reign, his queen **Lakṣmīdēvi** ruled for 12 years and was succeeded by **Padmasimha** who was the younger brother of Śivasimha (and ruled for 6 years according to one tradition)¹⁰ and that Padmasimha's queen **Viśvāśadēvi** ruled for 12 years after her husband's

¹ *JASB*, N. S., Vol. XI, 1913, p. 416.

² Thakur, op. cit., p. 297; *JBSR*, Vol. XI, p. 102.

³ *JASB*, op. cit., p. 416 and note 2; *JBSR*, Vol. XIII, p. 297.

⁴ Thakur, op. cit., p. 202.

⁵ *JASB*, loc. cit. The same title was often enjoyed by the ministers of the Gurjār rulers, e.g. Chāṇḍīśvara and Rāmadatta, probably because they were ruling over parts of the country as viceroys or enjoyed extensive *rajya* together with regal titles.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 417-18. Doubtful traditions assign Bhavasimha's accession to 1348 A.D. and Dēvasimha's to 1355 A.D. (Eggeling, op. cit., p. 875).

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 418-19; D. C. Sen, *Bangabāhārā-Śāhitya*, 2nd ed., pp. 216-17. Thakur (op. cit., p. 396) ascribes to M. M. Chakravarti the view that Dēvasimha ascended the throne in Śaka 1303 (1382 A.D.). But there is no such statement in Chakravarti's article referred to above.

⁸ Cf. Bhattacharya's *Ind.*, Nos. 726, 1128 and 1470. The date of Śivasimha's accession is assigned by tradition to 1440 A.D. (*As. Res.*, 1813-14, p. 249; Eggeling, loc. cit.).

⁹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 58.

¹⁰ *JBSR*, Vol. XI, p. 120.

reign of one year. It is also believed that Lakṣmī, accompanied by the poet Vidyapati, took shelter at Purāditya's court at Rājabanuli where Vidyapati wrote him *Lakṣmīcūṭi* in 1418 A.D. and copied the *Bhāgavata* in La. Sam. 309 (1428 A.D.).¹ The next king was Harasimha, younger son of Dēvasimha, and his son and successor was Narasimha Darpanārāyaṇa whose Kandali inscription is dated Śaka 1375 (1453 A.D.).² Narasimha was succeeded by his son Dhīrasimha Hridayanārāyaṇa during whose rule a manuscript of Śrīnivāsa's *Sītudarpaṇī* (a commentary on the *Sītubandha*) and another of the Karpasparvan of the *Mahābhārata* were copied respectively on Saturday, Kārttika-vadi 15, La. Sam. 321 (1440 A.D.), and in La. Sam. 327 (1446 A.D.).³ For some years Dhīrasimha appears to have been ruling jointly with his father or at least over an area of the country. He was succeeded by his younger brother Bhairavasimha Rūpanārāyaṇa-Harinārāyaṇa who ruled from Baruā in the Barchhaurā Pargana of the Darbhanga District. According to some, he ascended the throne in 1496 A.D. when Vardhamāna composed his *Gaṅgā-kṛtyavivēka* and Vāchaspati-miśra wrote his *Mahādānanirṇaya* (earliest copy dated in La. Sam. 392 or 1511 A.D.) during his rule, while it is also suggested that he died about 1515 A.D.⁴ Bhairavasimha's successor was his son Rāmabhadra Rūpanārāyaṇa whose rule is placed by some before 1490 A.D. but by others in 1520-27 A.D.,⁵ although both the theories appear to be wrong. The *Tantrapradīpa* was composed by Gadādhara (a grandson of Dhīrasimha) during his reign, while certain manuscripts are known to have been copied at Gadādhara's instance on Friday, Śrāvāṇa-vadi 1, La. Sam. 372 (1491 A.D.) and on Wednesday, Kārttika-sudi 5, La. Sam. 374 and Śaka 1426 (1504 A.D.).⁶ The known dates of Rāmabhadra's son and successor Lakṣmīnātha Karmasārāyaṇa offer some difficulty unless it is believed that he was ruling jointly with his father or at least over a part of the country. A manuscript of the *Dvīmāhātmya* was copied during Lakṣmīnātha's rule on Wednesday, Pausa-vadi 3, La. Sam. 393 (1512 A.D.).⁷ Lakṣmīnātha's Bhagirathpur inscription is dated in La. Sam. 394 (1513 A.D.).⁸ About this time, Tibrut became a bone of contention between Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī (1489-1517 A.D.) of Delhi and Husain Shāh (1493-1519 A.D.) of Bengal; ultimately the latter's son Nugat Shāh (1519-32 A.D.) invaded Tibrut, put the king (probably Lakṣmīnātha) to death and appointed his brothers-in-law, 'Alā-uddin and Makhdum-i-'Alam, governors of the country.⁹ This account of the Muslim historians is corroborated by a stanza giving the date of Lakṣmīnātha's death as Tuesday, Bhādra-sudi 1,

¹ Cf. loc. cit. Traditions, referred to by Eggeling (loc. cit.), assign the accession of Lakṣmīnātha to 1440 A.D. and of Vidyapati to 1408 A.D., but omit Padmasimha. According to Vidyapati's *Lakṣmīcūṭi*, the work was composed (in La. Sam. 299-1418 A.D.) at the request of king Purāditya Guṇārāyaṇa of the Drōṇavāra family, who had killed a king named Arjuna and was ruling at Rājabanuli in Nepal. This Arjuna is identified with the son of Bhairavasimha's son Tripurasimha and is believed to have contributed to the murder of Gaṅgādeva (JBRS, Vol. XI, pp. 117-19).

² JBRS, Vol. XX, pp. 15-19. Jayaswal wrongly interpreted the chronogram *kar-āśva-mudana* as 1357. Traditions referred to by Eggeling (loc. cit.) omit Harasimha and assign Narasimha's accession to 1470 A.D.

³ JASB, op. cit., pp. 428-29; JBRS, Vol. X, p. 47. According to M. M. Chakravarti, La. Sam. 321, Kārttika-vadi 15, Saturday, corresponds to October 18, 1436 A.D. Traditions referred to by Eggeling (loc. cit.) assign Dhīrasimha's accession to 1471 A.D.

⁴ Cf. Thakur, op. cit., pp. 333-34. Traditions assign Bhairavasimha's accession to 1506 A.D. and his successor's to 1520 A.D. (cf. Eggeling, loc. cit.).

⁵ See JASB, op. cit., pp. 329-30.

⁶ Loc. cit.

⁷ Ibid., p. 430.

⁸ JNES, Vol. XII, Part 3, pp. 271 ff. The date is given in the chronogram *vīda-randhara-Haranāra*.

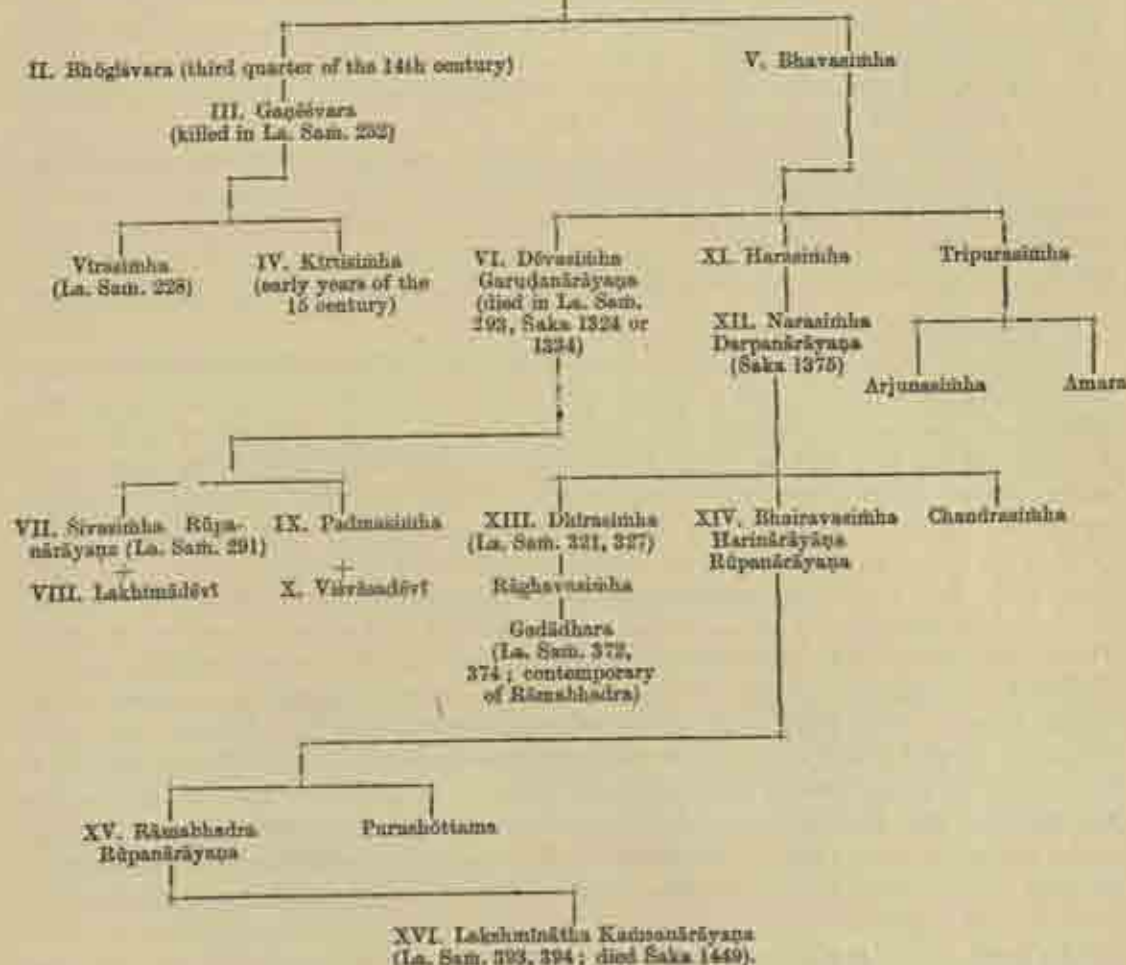
⁹ Badāmi, *Musallāhāt Tawārīkh*, tizma, Vol. I, pp. 415-17; *Hist. Beng.*, Dacca University, Vol. II, pp. 145 ff.; *Cambr. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 272; Thakur, op. cit., pp. 338-39.

Śaka 1449 (1527 A.D.), although according to a tradition followed by Eggeling he was ruling in 1532 A.D. and according to another followed by Grierson in 1542 A.D.¹

The Ōinvār or Sugunnā Dynasty²

(middle of the 14th century to 1527 A.D.)

I. Kāmsēvara (third quarter of the 14th century)



¹ Eggeling, loc. cit.; Grierson, *Introduction to Maithilī Language*, Part II, p. 66; Thakur, op. cit., p. 339 and note 2.

² The genealogy quoted by Grierson (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV., p. 196) represents Kāmsēvara as the son of Lakṣmaṇa, grandson of Gōvinda, great-grandson of Viśvarūpa and great-great-grandson of Atirūpa. Udayasīmha is mentioned as another son of Bhavāsīmha and Sarvasīmha is represented as the only son of Tripurasīmha. Ratnāsēvarasīmha (Ratāya), Raghvasīmha Vijayanārāyaṇa and Brahmasīmha Harinārāyaṇa are mentioned as brothers of Narasīmha Darpanārāyaṇa. A brother of Chandrasīmha was Durlabhasīmha or Ragusīmha whose son was Viśvanātha Narasīmha. Rāmasīmha and Prastāpurandara are represented as the sons of Viśvanātha, and Ratnasīmha as the son of Rāmachandra. Purnashōttama seems to be mentioned as Garuḍanārāyaṇa. A brother of Lakṣmīnātha Kāmsanārāyaṇa was Balasīmha and his two step-brothers were Ratnāsīmha and Bhavanātha Hridayanārāyaṇa. Mention is also made of Ditrāsīmha's son Jagannārāyaṇa whose sons were Madhusūdana, Śaśāṇḍa, Kṛtsīmha, Rudranārāyaṇa and Viśvara.

Besides the few facts about Bhairavasimha mentioned in the above sketch, some more are also known. It seems that he was originally ruling the kingdom (or part of it) jointly with his elder brother Dhīrasimha with the secondary name Rūpanārāyaṇa and that on his brother's death he succeeded to the throne with the name Harinārāyaṇa, his son Rāma-bhadra then assuming the name Rūpanārāyaṇa. The reason why Rāghavasimha, son of Dhīrasimha, was deprived of his father's throne is unknown.

Many of the Ōinvār kings patronised men of letters. Bhairavasimha was also a great patron of learning and under his patronage Ruchipati wrote his *Anargharāghavaśikā*, Vāchaspati-mīśra his *Vyavahārachintāmaṇi*, Kṛtyamahārṣava and Mahādānanirṇaya, and Vardhamān-śpādhyāya his *Dandavinśaka*. Vāchaspati was his *parishad* or *pārishada* (i.e. councillor) and Vardhamāna his *dharma-dhikarṇika* or judge. Vāchaspati's *Devānirṇaya* was written at the request of Bhairavasimha's queen Jayā or Jayātmā, mother of *Itjādhirāja* Puruṣhottama who seems to have ruled a part of the kingdom under his father. Mīśra-mīśra wrote his *Vivādashandya* and *Padārthachandya* at the instance of the wife of Chandrasimha who was a brother (probably step-brother) of Bhairavasimha. According to the *Mahādānanirṇaya*, Bhairavasimha excavated many tanks, gave away some towns and townships and performed a *Tulāparushadāna*.¹

Vidyāpati's *Durgābhaktīrasaṅgī* mentions Bhairavasimha as *śaury-āvarjita-pañcha-Gauḍa-dharaṇinātha* and Vardhamāna's *Dandavinśaka* describes him as *Gauḍ-śaurya-praśāsitam-atipradāpaḥ Kēdārarāyam-avagachchati dūra-tulyam*.² The vague claim of victory over the rulers of the Five Gauḍas, which is conventional and seems to point to the independent status claimed by Bhairavasimha, reminds us of the fact that the only other Ōinvār ruler with similar claims is Śivasimha who is called *Pañcha-Gauḍ-tārora*, i.e. lord of the Five Gauḍas, in Vidyāpati's songs and is described in the same poet's *Sainyavaseśvara* as *śaury-āvarjita-Gauḍa-mahīpāla* (i.e. one who conquered the king or kings of Gauḍa by his prowess) and in his *Puruṣaparīkṣā* as one having earned fame in battles with the kings of Gauḍa and Gajjana.³ These facts appear to show that amongst the Ōinvārs at least Śivasimha and Bhairavasimha aspired for independent status. Besides the Muslim rulers of Delhi, those of Jaunpur and Bengal were also each eager to spread his influence in Tihāt and the Ōinvārs, who owed allegiance to Delhi, had sometimes to submit to these powers as well.⁴ But on occasions a few of them got an opportunity to assume independence temporarily as a result of quarrels amongst the said Muslim powers or of their weakness or preoccupation. It is interesting in this connection to note that, as feudatories of the Muslims, the Ōinvārs were not expected to issue coins in their own names. That Bhairavasimha ruled for sometime as an independent

¹ For references, see *JASS*, op. cit., pp. 426-28.

² *Ibid.*, p. 426, note 2; p. 427, note 4. Kēdārarāya, whom Bhairavasimha treated as his own wife (i.e. as a subordinate), may have been a general of the Muslim king of Bengal. The ruler of Tihāt probably defeated and humiliated him. The claim may be compared with the title *Ripa-rāja-śēṣt-gōvinā* assumed by a medieval ruler of Sylhet (*Hist. Beng.*, Dacca University, Vol. I, p. 256).

³ *JBRS*, Vol. XI, p. 131, note 4; Thakur, op. cit., pp. 310-11. By Gajjana rulers, the successors of the representatives of the early Ghazna rulers at Delhi appear to be meant.

⁴ We have seen how Rāmdeva and Bhāgdeva obtained rulership from Fīrūz Shāh Taghluq of Delhi and Kirtisimha from Ibrahim Shāh (1492-36 A. D.) of Jaunpur. Kīrāṣī Jahān (1394-99 A. D.) of Jaunpur succeeded in extending his influence in Tihāt (*Cont. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 231) and Husain Shāh (1458-79 A. D.) crushed the semi-independent landholders of that country before 1490 A. D. (*Ibid.*, p. 235). For a short time Hiyā Shāh (1345-67 A. D.) of Bengal occupied Tihāt (*Ibid.*, p. 176). Some of the songs attributed to Vidyāpati speak of Muslim rulers like Gyaṇādīna Surastāna, Nātra Shāh, *Pañcha-Gauḍinara* Rāja Nāstrata Shāh and Alama Shāh (*JBRS*, Vol. XI, p. 107-10). There is considerable difference of opinion about the identification of these rulers.

ruler of Tirhut is indicated by his issue of silver coins, one of which is now under study. It is also interesting to note that Śivasimha is the only other Ōinvar king whose coins have been discovered.

In 1913 three small gold coins, out of a lot discovered at the village of Pipra in the Champaran District, were received in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. They were noticed by R. D. Banerji in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1913-14, 248-49, Plate LXVIII, Nos. 1-3. The coins are round in shape with diameters varying between 3 and 3.25 inch and weights between 13.6 and 14 grains. As on the coin of Bhairavasimha under study, the legend on the Pipra gold coins runs on from the obverse to the reverse. The legend on the obverse reads *Śri* and that on the reverse in two lines runs (1) *Śiva*, (2) *aga*. King Śiva, who issued these coins, has been rightly identified by Banerji with king Śivasimha of the Ōinvar dynasty of Tirhut. A similar coin was previously published by Cunningham in his *Coins of Medieval India*, p. 54, Plate VI, No. 18. Banerji seems to assign the copper coins bearing the name of Champakāranya to the dynasty of Śivasimha; but they were issued by the rulers of the Kārṇāṭa dynasty of Simraon (Samatagrāma) and not by the Ōinvars of Tirhut.

The importance of the coin published here is two-fold. In the first place, it shows, as already indicated above, that Ōinvar Bhairavasimha ruled for sometime as an independent monarch and signalled the achievement with the issue of some silver coins. Secondly, we learn for the first time from it that Bhairavasimha ascended the throne about 1475-76 A. D. and ruled at least for about 15 years down to 1489-90 A. D. The view assigning his accession to 1496 A. D. is thus certainly wrong.

POSTSCRIPT

Another Silver Coin of Bhairavasimha

Shortly after my paper on the silver coin of Bhairavasimha had been sent to the press, Mr. A. N. Lahiri, one of my Epigraphical Assistants, had occasion to visit Calcutta where he studied some coins in the cabinet of the Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum. In the course of his study, Mr. Lahiri luckily came across another silver coin of Bhairavasimha, closely resembling the one discussed above. On his return to Ootacamund, he kindly placed at my disposal the plaster casts of the coin, which he had prepared with the permission of Mr. R. C. Kar, Superintendent of the Archaeological Section.

This coin was examined by V. A. Smith and was noticed as No. 3 under the head 'Sundry Coins' at the last page (p. 333) of his *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, 1906. He correctly gives the metal, weight and size of the coin respectively as silver, 164 grains and .9 inch. Unfortunately, Smith, who thought that the provenance of the coin might be Nepal, failed to read any part of the five-line (not four-line as supposed by him) legend on the obverse and the reverse. In the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1913-14, p. 259 (Plate LXIX, No. 31), R. D. Banerji made an unsuccessful attempt to read the legend.

The present coin (No. 2) was struck on a flan slightly smaller than that of Bhairavasimha's other coin (No. 1) dealt with above. As a result of this, some of the letters and numerical figures that can be seen on Coin No. 1 are cut off on Coin No. 2. The two coins, although they apparently bear the same date, were struck from two different dies. In some cases, the forms of the letters are different on the two specimens; cf. *h* in *maḥārāja*, *s* in *simha*, etc. As on Coin No. 1, some letters on Coin No. 2 are damaged owing to later punching by the shroffs; cf. *ya* in

¹ See V. A. Smith, *JASB*, Vol. LXVI, 1897, Part I, p. 309; and *Catalogue (Indian Museum, Calcutta)*, p. 293; C. J. Rodgers, *Catalogue (Lahore Museum)*, p. 12, Plate IV.

nārāyaṇa and *ra* in *Tirakbhukti*. Similarly, two forms of the letters *j*, *r* and *ā* have been used in the legend on No. 2 as in that of No. 1. The *akshara* *ārī* before *Bhairava*, which exhibits the sign of later punching on coin No. 1, seems to be badly shaped on coin No. 2. In spite, however, of these differences, the arrangement of the letters and numerical figures in the legends on both the coins is the same. But, as indicated above, some of these letters and figures in the spaces outside the central square are cut off on Coin No. 2. The legend in the central squares on both sides of Coin No. 2 reads as follows :

<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
1 Ma-	1 Ti-
2 hārāja-	2 rabh[u]kti-
3 [ārī]-Darppanārā-	3 rāja-[ārī]-Bhaira-
4 yaṇ-ātma-	4 vaṣ[iṃ]ha-
5 ja-	5 sya [*]

Of the letters and numerical figures in the spaces outside the square on the obverse, *Sa* in the upper left is partly visible while *ka* in the upper right is quite clear. *Saḥ* in the lower left is almost totally cut off, though only the lower parts of the figures 1411 in the lower right are lost. Similarly, in the spaces outside the central square on the reverse of the coin, it is difficult to recognise *rā* in the upper left and *ya* in the upper right, while the numerical figure in the lower left and that in the lower right are both cut off. The *akshara* *ya* is fully preserved but is not properly shaped.

SILVER COIN OF BHAIRAVASIMHA

1



Enlarged Size



Actual Size

2

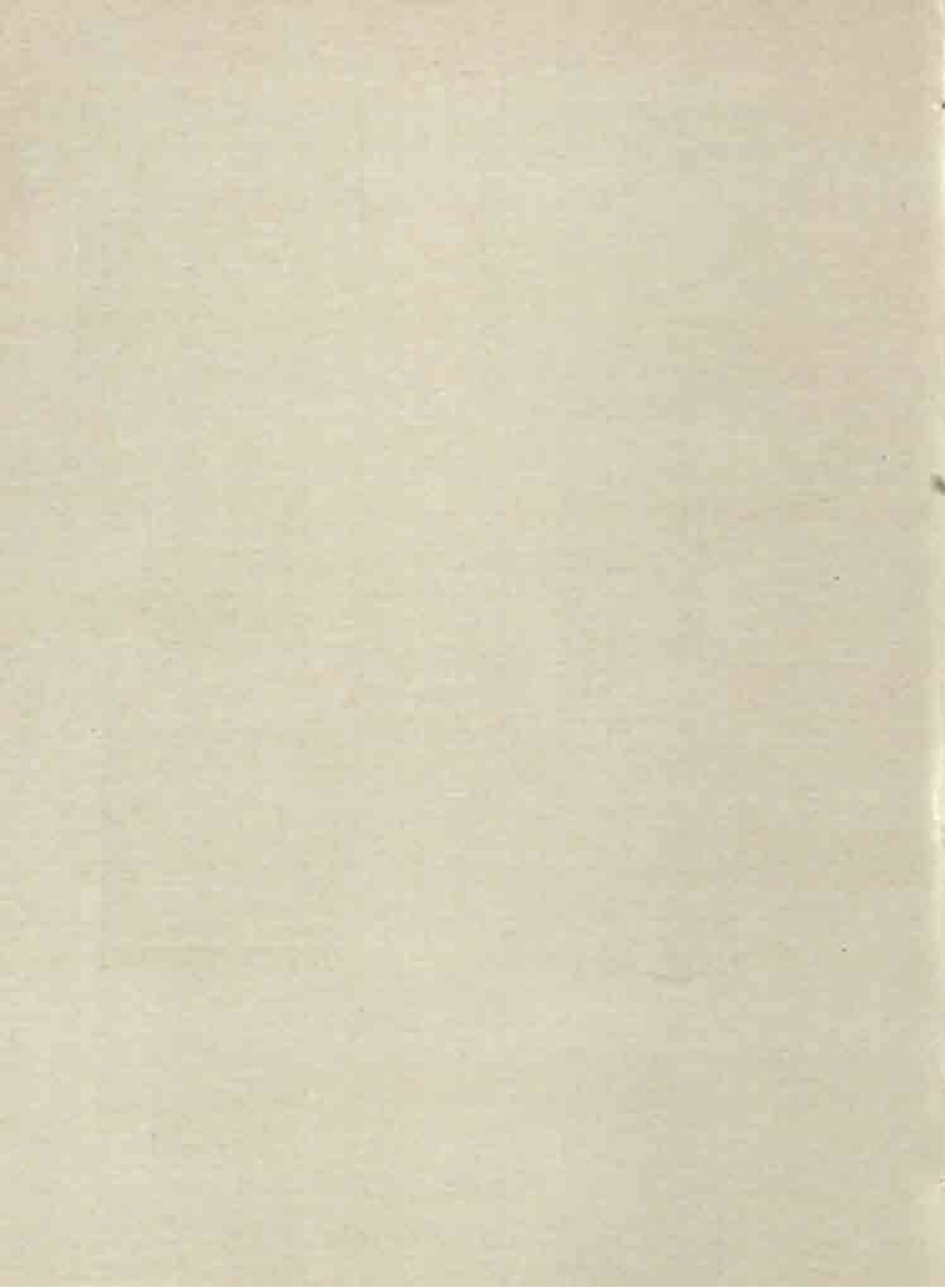


Enlarged Size



Actual Size

(from Photographs)



No. 41—AIVARMALAI INSCRIPTION OF VARAGUNA II, SAKA 792

(1 Plate)

S. SANKARANARAYANAN, OOTACAMUND

The subjoined inscription¹ is engraved on the neatly dressed portion of the rock above a natural cave on the hill called **Aivarmalai** in the village of Aiyampālaiyam in the Palni Taluk of the Madurai District. I edit it with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

This epigraph in seven lines is in the Tamil language and Vattejutu characters. Unlike in the Ambāsamudram inscription² of Varaguna II, the letter *ka* assumes the slanting form and the double *ka* is never written as a group. As in the Śuchindram inscription³ of Mārāṇḍaiyan, two forms of *ra* are used, the one with ends of the two arms joined (cf. *kāṇṇa* in line 3) and the other with separated arms (cf. **nūṇṇa=na*⁴ in line 1; *amāṇṇa* in line 6). Though the syllable *po* in *pon* (lines 6-7) resembles that in the Ambāsamudram record, the syllable *pō* in *pōṇḍa* (line 2; cf. *mō* in line 6) is distinguished by the signs for *z* and *ḍ* added to *p*.⁵ A loop at the end added to the sign of medial *i* makes medial *i*. The syllable *śu* in *Pāśiśu* (line 4) is written in Grantha characters.

This inscription is of great importance as it is dated in the eighth regnal year of Varaguna equated with **Saka year 792 expired**, and thus provides one of the two⁶ most important dates in early Pāṇḍya chronology. It records a gift of 502 *tāṇam* of gold to the Jaina monk Śāntivira-kkuravar of Kālam, who was a disciple of another Jaina monk named Gupavira-kkuravaiḍaḷ. The former is said to have renovated the figures of Pāravanātha and the Yakshi (*Ṭyakkī=aruvaiḷ*), probably attending on Pāravanātha, at Tiruvayirai, i.e., Aivarmalai.⁷ The gift is said to have been made for food offerings (*avi*) to the deities and for feeding (*śōṇ*) one Jaina ascetic (probably daily).

Though there is much disagreement on the identification of Varaguna mentioned in records like the inscriptions from Tiruvellārai and Lāḷṇḍi,⁸ there can be no difference of opinion in ascribing the present inscription to **Varaguna II**. For the Śaka date of this record is too

¹ *A. R. Ep.*, 1905, No. 705.

² *Above*, Vol. IX, pp. 89 ff.

³ *TAS*, Vol. IV, pp. 118 ff.

⁴ This seems to go against the view that the distinction between *po* and *pō* is an innovation later than the Ambāsamudram inscription (*above*, Vol. IX, p. 85).

⁵ The other is the Ānimalai inscription of Mārāṇḍaiyan alias Parantaka Varaguna I (cf. *above*, Vol. VIII, pp. 317 ff.).

⁶ Cf. the popular village deity called *Ṭakkī* in South India.

⁷ *A. R. Ep.*, 1905, No. 702, also, like early Tamil works (cf. *Padiṇṇappattu*, verses 21, 70 and 79), refers to the Aivarmalai, from which it comes, by the same name. Thus the present record and other fragmentary inscriptions (*A. R. Ep.*, 1905 Nos. 691-703) from the place show that the hill Aivarmalai had been a Jaina hermitage in the 9th century A. D. But at present there is only a Gopāla temple, and popular belief connects it with the Paṇḍya-*Ṭayḍaras* (*Aṇḍar*).

⁸ For conflicting views, see *above*, Vol. XI, p. 253; Vol. XXVIII, p. 39 on the one hand, and Vol. XX, pp. 48 ff., p. 50, note 5, on the other.

late for his grandfather¹ who has been identified² with Varaguna (I) of the larger Sīnmananūr grant³ and Jaṭila-Parāntaka Neḍuñjaḍaiyan of the Vēlvikkudi plates⁴ and for whom the Ānaimalai records offer the date Kali 3871 (expired)—A. D. 770.

With regard to the date of our record the first thing to be borne in mind is that the Śaka year quoted, viz. 792, was expired (*pōḍaṇa*). Thus Varaguna's eighth regnal year is coupled with Śaka 793 current (between March 870 A. D. and March 871 A. D.). He therefore ascended the throne sometime between March 862 and March 864 A. D. and not exactly between March 862 A. D. and March 863 A. D. as has generally been believed.⁵ The view assigning the king's accession to 861-62 A. D. overlooks the expression *pōḍaṇa*.⁶ Secondly, the eighth regnal year of the record should better be taken as current rather than expired. For the first regnal year of a king is likely to be counted from the first day of his accession and not from the date of the expiry of the first year.⁷ But those who regard the Śaka year 792 of our record as current and at the same time the regnal year 8 as expired prelate the king's accession by two years.⁸ Our record seems to necessitate a reconsideration of the dates suggested for the records from Tiruvellurai,⁹ Lālguḍi¹⁰ and Javanthiṭṭaḥapuram,¹¹ all of which are dated in the 4+9th regnal year of Varaguna who has been identified with Varaguna I by some but with Varaguna II by others.

TEXT¹²

1 Śakara-yāṇḍu eḷu-nūṟṟu-ttōṇṇāṟṟ-irapḍu

2 pōḍaṇa Varagunaṟṅu yāṇḍu eṭṭu Guṇavira-ḷku.

3 raṇaḍiṇa-māṇḱka[?] Kīlaṭṭu Śāntivira-

4 kuraṇar Tiruvayirai Pōriṇa(Pāreṇa)-paṭṭhaṭṭāraṇaiyūm-iyak-

5 ki-avvaṇḱalaiyūm puḍuḱki-irapḍuḱku-mut-

6 [ā-vaiviyūm-ā-ḱiṇa]ḱku [ōṟṇa]¹³ amaitta [ō-

7 p ai-nūṟṟ-aṇḱu kāṇṇi¹⁴ |||¹⁵]

¹ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 319.

² Sastri, *The Pandya Kingdom*, pp. 39-41. The identification seems to be corroborated by the Perumbōḷḷ inscription of Varaguna II (above, p. 271).

³ *SI.*, Vol. III, pp. 451 ff.

⁴ Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 291 ff.

⁵ *A. E. R.*, 1900, paragraph 25; above, Vol. VIII, p. 219; Vol. IX, p. 38. The actual date of the King's accession, however, cannot be determined without further evidence.

⁶ Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 39. Our record does not presuppose that the quoted Śaka year 792 was the current year (above, Vol. XI, p. 203) nor does it give room for the doubt that it may be either current or expired (*QJMS*, Vol. XLIII, p. 132).

⁷ *CE IGR*, Vol. IX, p. 217.

⁸ Above, Vol. XI, p. 203; *QJMS*, Vol. XLIII, p. 132.

⁹ Two dates have been suggested. The one is the 22nd November 824 A. D. (above, Vol. XI, p. 203; Vol. XXVIII, p. 38); but it is doubtful (*QJMS*, Vol. XLII, p. 127; Vol. XLIII, p. 138). The other date viz. 7th November, 824 A. D., has been suggested by ascribing the record to Varaguna I (above, Vol. XX, p. 31). This also seems to require a reconsideration if we assign the Ānaimalai inscription to that king.

¹⁰ The proposed date is the 6th December, 875 A. D. (*loc. cit.*; above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 42) by taking the regnal year as expired.

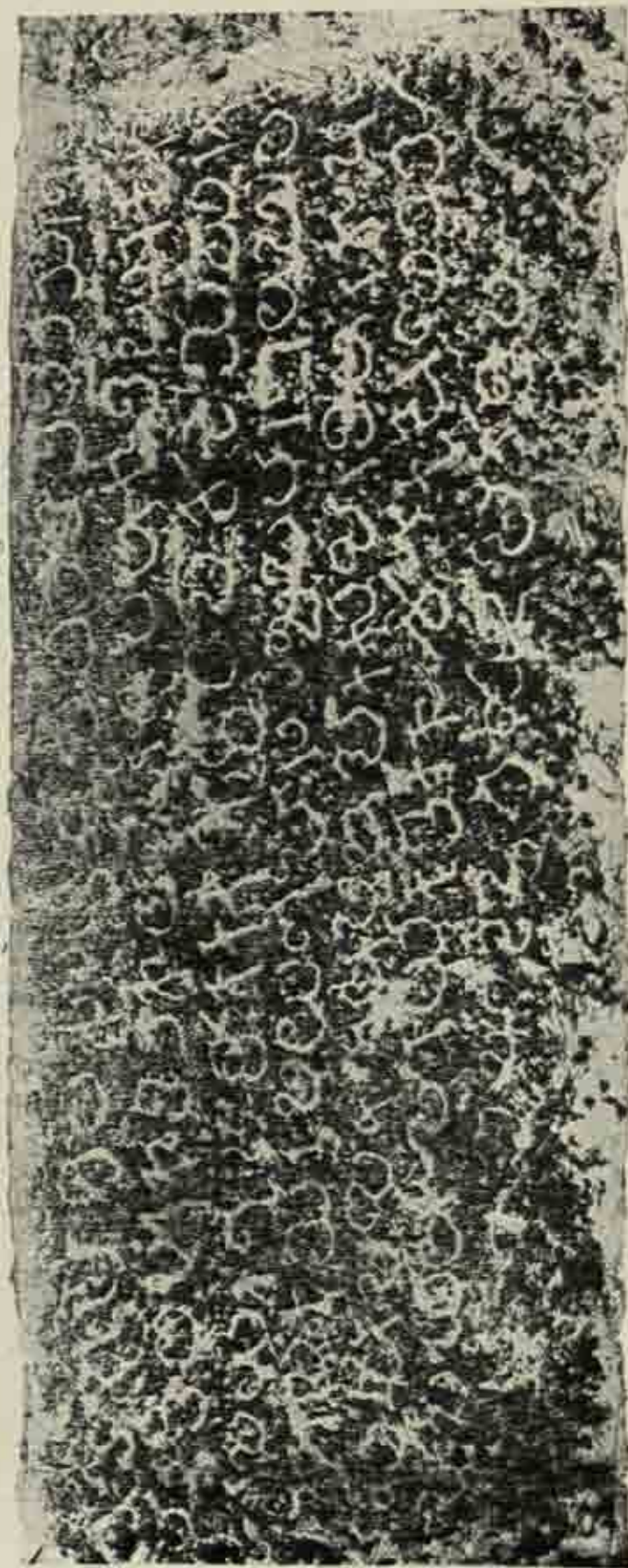
¹¹ The date suggested is the 5th December, 875 A. D. (above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 39).

¹² From impressions.

¹³ Read *ōṟṇa-dga*.

¹⁴ I am indebted to Mr. K. G. Krishnan for some valuable suggestions in the preparation of this article.

AIVARMAIAI INSCRIPTION OF VARAGUNA II, SAKA 972



Scale : Three-Tenths

No. 42—TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF GANAPATI

(1 Plate)

D. C. SINGAR, OOTACAMUND

About the end of the year 1952, I visited Gwalior with the purpose of attending the Fifteenth Session of the Indian History Congress and examining the inscriptions preserved in the **Gwalior Museum**. Among the epigraphs copied by me in the said Museum two were stone inscriptions¹ belonging to the reign of the Yajvapāla king **Ganapati** (known dates between 1292 and 1300 A.D.) of Nalapura (modern Narwar in the Shivapuri District of the former Gwalior State). These two epigraphs are edited in the following pages. They have both been noticed by several scholars. The first of them, stated to have been originally found at **Surwāyā** in the Shivapuri District of the former Gwalior State, was noticed by Hirananda Sastri in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1903-04, Part II, pp. 286 f., and this notice was followed in D. R. Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions in Northern India*, No. 636, and H. N. Devvedi's *Gwalior Rājyale Abhilekh*, No. 163. But unfortunately Sastri's notice of the inscription contains some errors, the most important of which is that the epigraph does not record the benefactions of **Rāpā** Adhigadēva of the Muechhlaka family but of **Rāpā** Chāchigadēva of the Labdhaka dynasty. The other epigraph, found at **Narwar** in the same District, was noticed by A. Cunningham, *ASIR*, Vol. II, p. 316; F. Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, p. 81; M. B. Garde, *ibid.*, Vol. XLVII, p. 241, and *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of the Gwalior State*, V.S. 1971, No. 8; D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, No. 642; and H. N. Devvedi, *op. cit.*, No. 174. It has been said that the eulogy in question was composed by Śiva, son of Lohajā. Actually, however, the poet's name was **Sivunābhaka** who was the son of Lohajā. The name of the person responsible for writing the letters on the stone is given as Anarasimha, though it is really Arasimha. There seems also to be some confusion about the week-day in the date of the record, which has sometimes been taken to be Friday, although it is actually Thursday. In any case, the published notices of both the inscriptions appear to be based on their inaccurate and incomplete transcripts since some of the interesting informations supplied by them have been altogether ignored.

The inscriptions contain each a eulogy recording the construction of a step-well during the reign of the Yajvapāla monarch **Ganapati**. An interesting feature of these epigraphs as well as some others² of the type belonging to the time of the Yajvapāla kings of Nalapura (modern Narwar) is that they speak of a number of people who settled in the Yajvapāla dominions from Gōpādrī or Gōpāchala (modern Gwalior). This was no doubt the result of the extinction of Hindu rule and establishment of the hold of the Turkish Muhammadans at Gwalior.³ A number of these displaced people appear to have been of Māthura Kāyastha origin. Some of them (or at least their ancestors) were probably servants of the Hindu kings of Gwalior and a good many of them appear to have been absorbed in the services under the Yajvapāla kings of Nalapura. The inscriptions also show that some of the Kāyasthas of the Māthura community were assiduous students of Sanskrit literature and composed poems of no mean order.

1. *Surwāyā Inscription of V. S. 1350*

The inscribed stone is a squarish slab, the lines of writing being engraved on an excavated bed leaving a raised margin on all the four sides. There are 23 lines in the inscription, the last of

¹ These are Nos. 145 and 142 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1952-53, App. B.

² See *ibid.*, Nos. 139 and 141; *below*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 31 ff.

³ See *above*, Vol. XXX, p. 148.

which is incised on the lower border. The writing in the excavated bed occupies an area about 16½ inches in length and 17 inches in height. The letters are neatly and carefully engraved and the preservation of the writing is fairly satisfactory although a few letters are damaged here and there.

The characters belong to the Devanāgarī alphabet of about the thirteenth century and resemble those in other records of the age and region in question.¹ The letter *ḥ* has been indicated by the sign for *c*. The language of the record is Sanskrit and, with the exception of a few passages at the beginning and end, the whole of it is written in verse. It is a *prāśasti* written in 23 stanzas in different metres. The verses are consecutively numbered. As regards orthography, it may be observed that consonants are only in some cases reduplicated after *r* and *anuvāda* is used in most cases in the place of *clausa* nasals and generally also of final *m* at the end of the halves of stanzas. The date quoted in line 22 is V. S. 1350, Kārttika-vadi 7, Wednesday. It corresponds to the 23rd September 1293 A.D. The *saptami tithi* began on that date at 19 of the day.

The inscription begins with the *Siddhams* symbol followed by the passage *Oṃ namah Śivāya*. Next follow the 23 stanzas of the *prāśasti* in lines 1-22. Verses 1-3 contain adoration to the god Śaṃbhū (Śiva), the goddess Mahārūpā and the composition of good poets. Mahārūpā was apparently a form of the Mother-goddess. Another epigraphic record² suggests that she was the family deity of the Yajvapāla kings. The goddess was possibly also worshipped at the city of Surwāyā (old Sarsavatīpattana)³ which lay within the dominions of the Yajvapālas and where the record under study was found. Since the word *rūpā* means 'a headless trunk', it is possible to connect Mahārūpā with the well-known Chhinnamastā aspect of the Mother-goddess.

Verses 4 ff. describe the family of the hero of the *prāśasti*. The first stanza of this section (verse 4) introduces the Lubdhaka family, the members of which are stated to have been always engaged in *pūrta-karma* (i.e. meritorious works such as feeding Brāhmanas, digging wells, planting groves, building temples, etc.). According to Sanskrit lexicons, the word *lubdhaka* means 'a hunter'; but the name Lubdhaka in our record is no doubt the same as Lōdhā as found in contemporary inscriptions found in the same area.⁴ Since the stanza further states that the Lubdhaka family belonged to the Kātyapa *gōtra*, it could scarcely have anything to do with the hunters who represent one of the lowest strata of the society. The Lōdhās of the neighbouring Agra region are stated to be an agriculturist community.⁵

Verses 5-6 introduce Gōldhala of the Lubdhaka family, who was famous for his liberality, while verses 7-9 describe Padma who was the son of Gōldhala. While the father may be taken to have served many kings (*śāseras*) who cannot be identified, the son is stated to have possessed immense wealth and to have been a great devotee of the god Śaṃbhū (Śiva). Padma is also described as a protector of the people. Verse 10 introduces the lady Siyā who was the wife of Padma. The following three stanzas (verses 11-13) describe the two sons of Padma and Siyā. The elder of the two brothers was Kākali and the younger Chāchiga who enjoyed the title *Rājaka*. Chāchiga is described as a *dharma-putra* (i.e. one theoretically accepted as a son) of king Gōpāla who is no doubt the Yajvapāla king of that name. Yajvapāla Gōpāla, whose known dates range between 1279 and 1289 A.D., was the father of king Gaṇapati mentioned below. Verses 14 ff. describe the activities of Chāchiga who is stated to have visited the holy places of the gods Kēdāra and

¹ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 145 ff. and Plate; Vol. XXXI, pp. 323 ff. and Plates.

² Cf. No. 129 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1952-53, App. B, below, Vol. XXXIII, p. 39, text line 4.

³ H. N. Deirōdi, *op. cit.*, No. 180.

⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, No. 162 in the Gwalior Museum, dated V. S. 1249 (1293 A. D.), which records the excavation of a tank by Mahatā Jaitasimha of the Lōdhā community.

⁵ Cf. Whitworth, *Anglo-Indian Dictionary*, s.v.; cf. Wilson's Glossary, s.v.

Sōmēśa (i.e. Sōmēśvara or Sōmanātha) as well as **Prayāga** and **Gayasīrsha** (i.e. Gayā) and to have offered *puṇḍa* to his dead ancestors at the last-named place. Verse 16 states that Chāchiga's activities in the various *sīthas* and [fields of] battle absolved him from his debt to his master **Gōpāladēva**. The next stanza (verse 17) mentions the lady **Śahajā** who was the wife of Chāchiga.

Verse 18 records the excavation of a *cōpi* by Chāchiga. Since the following stanza (verse 19) refers to the sound of its waves, the word *cōpi* would appear to indicate here a tank rather than a step-well. But the inscriptions of the area in question use the word generally in the sense of a step-well. The reference to the waves, etc., in the description of the *cōpi* thus appears to be merely poetical exaggeration. Verse 20 states that Chāchiga also made a *cōtikā* or garden apparently around the *cōpi* or in its neighbourhood. The garden is described as containing plants for both flowers and fruits. Verse 21 mentions **Rāṇaka Chachau** (apparently a colloquial form of the name *Chāchiga*) as a servant of **Ganapati**, no doubt the Yaṇvapāla king of the same name, who was the son and successor of Gōpāla. As already indicated above, the known dates of Ganapati range between 1292 and 1300 A.D. The stanza prays for the prosperity (*śubha*) of the *puṇya-sīthana* (i.e. sacred place) meaning the area containing the *cōpi* and the *cōtikā*.

Verse 22 states that the poet **Jayasīnha**, who belonged to the Māthura Kāyastha community and was the son of Lohata, composed the eulogy. Lohata is also mentioned in several other contemporary epigraphs (including the one of V. S. 1355 from Narwar edited below) which were composed by another of his sons, named Śivanābhaka. The next stanza (verse 23), with which the *praband* ends, says that the eulogy was written by Maharāja who was the son of Sōmarāja of the same community of the Māthura Kāyasthas. The name of the writer is spelt as *Maharāja* in the same stanza occurring elsewhere also.¹ It should not therefore be regarded as a mistake for *Mahārāja* unless it is believed that *śahā* was changed to *śaha* for the requirement of the metre. The word *likhita* in this stanza shows that Maharāja wrote the letters of the record on the stone in ink or a paint since, as stated in line 23 incised on the lower border of the inscribed slab, the engraver of the document was one Dēvasīnha.

Of the **geographical** names mentioned in the inscription, the holy places of Kēdāra in the Himalayas and Sōmēśa or Sōmanātha, i.e. modern Pātan Sōmnāth in Kathiawar, as well as Prayāga near modern Allahabad in U.P. and Gayasīrsha, i.e. Gayā in Bihār, are well known. The community of the Māthura Kāyasthas received their name from the city of Māthurā headquarters of the District of that name in U.P.

TEXT²

Metres: verses 1-11, 16-17, 19-20, 22-23 *Anuṣṭubh*; verses 12, 15 *Upajāti*; verse 13 *Indravajrā*; verse 14 *Śālīnī*; verse 18 *Paśantatilakā*; verse 21 *Āryā*.]

1 Siddham³ || Ōm⁴ namaḥ Śivāya || Śrīyam dīśata vaḥ Śacībhūṭ=maṛddhmi śaitā(n)āvi kulā |
Kala-vyāla-kṛit-śōka-jaga-⁵

2 d-vyāpatti-bāṛjīy | 1 Yā amṛit-āpi satām haṁti maṇō vāk-kāya-sambhavaṁ(vam) | aghaṇi
uḥ tritakait-vraṇḍiyā **Mahāruridā**

3 puṇāta vaḥ || 2 Śat-śūnānda-mayīm vaṇḍī śi-rasām sat-kavēr-gīram(ram) | na-yatra niyamō
Dhātūḥ prāgubhhyam=avaladiva(va)-

¹ See No. 130 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1952-53, App. B; below, Vol. XXXIII, p. 40, text line 27.

² From impressions. This is No. 145 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1952-53, App. B.

³ Expressed by symbol.

⁴ There is an unnecessary *daḥ* here to cover a little space at the end of the line.

2. *Narwar Inscription of V. S. 1355*

This inscription is engraved on a rectangular slab. There are 21 lines of writing in the record, which cover an area about 23 inches in length and 16 inches in height. The letters are as neatly and carefully incised as in the Surwāyā inscription edited above; but the preservation of the writing is more satisfactory in the present case, the number of damaged letters being fewer.

The **characters** are similar to those of the Surwāyā inscription. There is little distinction between the sign indicating a final consonant and that of the medial *ā* mark. In some cases, the *londa* has been placed so close to the preceding letter as to look like an *ā-mātrā*. The **language** is Sanskrit and, like the Surwāyā inscription, it is written in verse with the exception of a few passages at the beginning and end. There are altogether 28 stanzas in various metres in the eulogy under study. The verses are numbered consecutively. The inscription resembles the other record in point of **orthography**; but it exhibits several cases of the use of final *va* at the end of the first and second halves of verses. Consonants are occasionally redoubled after *r*. The **date** of the record is quoted at the end. It is **V.S. 1355, Kārtika-vadi 5, Thursday**, which corresponds to the **25th September 1298 A.D.** The *pañcamī tithi* commenced on that date at 28 of the day.

Like the Surwāyā inscription, the present record also begins with the *Siddhas* symbol followed by the passage *Om namaḥ Śivāya*. Then come the 28 stanzas of the *prafāsti*. Verses 1-2 contain adoration to Maṇmathasūdana (Śiva) and the Sun-god who is described as the husband of **Rannā**. In epic and Puranic mythology, the names of the Sun-god's wives are given as Satiyā, Chhāyā, Rājā, Nikalubhā or Nālikumdhā, Suvarehā, etc. The Prakritic name **Rannā** (probably derived from the name *Rājā*) is not found in Sanskrit works. But there is evidence to show that **Rannā** was a popular deity regarded as the Sun's wife in the western parts of Northern India. An inscription of V.S. 1420, Chaitra-sudi 6, Sunday (March 10, 1364 A.D.), on the metal image of a goddess discovered in Gujarat, refers to the deity as **Rannādēvi** and describes her as the wife of the Sun styled **Sāmbāditya**,¹ a well-known aspect of the god. Our inscription actually speaks of the god as 'one whose abode is at **Samisthala**'. This seems to refer to a temple of the god at a place called **Samisthala** which is, however, difficult to identify. The place may have formed a part of Narwar or lay in its vicinity.

Verses 3 introduces the city of **Nalapura** (i.e. Narwar) which was the capital of the Yajvapāla kings mentioned in the following stanzas (verses 4-7). The kings mentioned are **Chāhāḍa**; his son **Npivarman**; his son **Āsalladēva**; and his son **Gōpāla**. Among the epithets of **Āsalladēva** *tri-vāha-kāhāḍa-chāhāḍa* in verse 6 is interesting. The idea may be compared with that contained in the epithet *āśvapati-gajapati-narapati-cārya-trayādhipati* found in the string of royal epithets in many medieval records.² This epithet seems to represent a king as the lord of three-fold sovereignty, i.e. the three wings of sovereignty, viz., the cavalry, elephant force and infantry, while the passage quoted above from the record under study appears to refer to the supreme position of **Āsalla** among kings who were regarded as *Āśvapati* or *Gajapati* or *Narapati* according as they were strong in cavalry or elephant force or infantry. It seems that some kings considered themselves as sufficiently strong in all the three wings although their neighbours were inclined to apply to them any one of the three epithets with reference to the wing in which they were regarded as especially strong.

Verses 8 mentions **Gōpāla's** son and successor **Ganapati** who was the reigning monarch. **Ganapati** is here stated to have captured **Kirtidurga**, while the next stanza (verse 9) continues

¹ See *Journ. Or. Inst.*, Vol. IV, No. 4, p. 406. A temple of **Rannāditya** or **Ragnāditya** existed at Pushkara according to certain inscriptions of the tenth century A.D. (cf. No. 319 ff. of *I.R.F.P.*, 1906-37, App. B).

² See, e.g., the charters of the Gāhādavālas (above, Vol. IV, pp. 400-01, 119, etc.), Cf. *CH.*, Vol. IV, pp. c-c.

the description of the same king. The Deogarh fort was built by Mahādihara, Chief Minister of Chandēlla Kirtivarman (c. 1070-88 A.D.), and was named as Kirtigiri after the Chandēlla king.¹ The fort called Kirtidurga may thus be the same as the fortress of Deogarh in the Lalitpur Subdivision of the Jhansi District, U.P. The Chandēlla contemporary of Yajvapāla Gajapati is difficult to identify as his reign period falls between those of Bhōjavarman whose known date is 1288 A.D. and Hammīravarman who is known to have ruled in 1308 A.D.² When exactly Gajapati led an expedition against the Chandēlla kingdom cannot also be determined. There is no reference to his struggle with the Chandēllas in any other record, although Chandēlla Viravarman's invasion of the Yajvapāla (Jajapāla) kingdom in 1281 A.D. and his war with Gajapati's father Gōpala is referred to in several inscriptions.³ It may be that Gajapati was a subordinate ally of the Mūlīm Sultāns of Delhi and helped the latter in their struggle with the Chandēllas.

Verse 10 introduces the fort of **Gōpāchala** (i.e., Gwalior) and verse 11 a Māthura Kāyastha family of the Kāyapa *gōtra* originally residing there. The next stanza (verse 12) mentions Alhapa of the said family while verse 13 speaks of Alhapa's son Kānhaḍa who was a devotee of the god Kṛishṇa (Viṣṇu). Verse 14 describes Kānhaḍa's son Vijahada as a *mantrin* (minister) engaged in the service of a king. But the name of Vijahada's master or the family to which he belonged is not mentioned. It is thus uncertain whether the king referred to had his headquarters at Gwalior or Narwar. Verse 15 mentions Vijahada's wife Mānugā while the next stanza (verse 16) states that, having worshipped the river-goddesses **Gāṅgā** and **Yamunā** at **Preyāga** (near Allahabad, U.P.), Vijahada got two sons who were named after the said deities as **Gāṅgadēva** and **Yāmunadēva**.

Verses 17-18 describe **Gāṅgadēva** and his wife **Lōpā** and verse 19 refers to their four sons. The next stanza (verse 20) gives the names of the four sons of **Gāṅgadēva** as **Palhaṇ**, **Harirāja**, **Sivatīja** and **Harīnarāja**. Verse 21 describes **Palhaḍēva**, no doubt the same as **Palhaṇ**, as his master's favourite, and verse 22 states that he constructed a *dharma-sthāna* (i.e., a sacred place) for the merit of his brother **Harirāja** who was dead. Verses 23 ff. disclose the nature of this *dharma-sthāna*. The first stanza of the section (verse 23) records the excavation of a *vāpi*. As already indicated above, the word *vāpi* is generally used in the inscriptions of the Malwa-Rajasthan region in the sense of a step-well, although the description in the present case, as in the *Surwāyā* inscription, seems to suggest a tank rather than a step-well. This may be due to an amount of exaggeration in the description as in the *Surwāyā* inscription edited above. Verse 24 adds that a *chaitya* (i.e., shrine) for the god **Śambhu** (Śiva) and his consort, the goddess **Umā**, was also constructed apparently in the vicinity of the *vāpi*. Verse 25 speaks of the plantation of a *lālī-mṇa* or plums garden full of fruit trees and flowering plants probably around the *vāpi*. Verse 26 prays for the permanence of the *dharma-sthāna* (i.e., the sacred place consisting of the *vāpi*, *chaitya* and *kālī-mṇa*) created by **Palhaṇ** or **Palhaḍēva** for the merit of his deceased brother **Harirāja**.

Verse 27 introduces a family of Kāyasthas (*Lipikṛt-kula*) hailing from **Gōpādrī** (Gwalior) in which Māthura Dāmōdara is stated to have been born. The family thus belonged to the Māthura Kāyastha community. The son of Dāmōdara was **Kōśādhīpa** (i.e., treasurer) **Lōhaṭa**. The name of the king whom **Lōhaṭa** served as a treasurer is not mentioned. Whether he was a

¹ Cf. Bhandarkar's List, No. 163.

² Ray, *DHSI*, Vol. II, p. 736.

³ Cf. above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 226ff.; *IEQ*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 403ff. The Bodhēś (Biharpur District) pillar inscription of V.S. 1351 and Saka 1216 (1264 A.D.) is stated to mention *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* Padmarāja of Kirtidurga. See Prasad's List, No. 170; *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of the Gwalior State*, V.S. 1938, No. 23. Really, however, there is no mention of a king named Padmarāja in the inscription which is a record of the time of Yajvapāla Gajapati. See below, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 168 ff.

king of Gwalior or Narwar is also not clear.¹ There is, however, no doubt that Lohata mentioned here is the same as the Māthura Kāyastha of the same name mentioned in the Surwāyā inscription edited above. Lohata's son Śivanābhaka, described as a master of *padā* (vocabulary, etymology or grammar), *pramāṇa* (logic), *kaṭikā* (poetry) and *śikṣā* (literary composition or the science of rhetoric), is stated to have composed the *prastāva* or eulogy under study. It will be seen that the Surwāyā inscription was composed by Śivanābhaka's brother Jayasinha. This Māthura Kāyastha family hailing from Gwalior and settled at different places (such as Surwāyā and Narwar) in the Yajvapala dominions thus produced a number of scholars. The same stanza is also found in several other *prastāvas*² composed by Śivanābhaka with the third foot differently worded.

Verse 28 states that the eulogy was written (i.e., written on the stone to facilitate the work of the engraver) by Arasinha who also belonged to the Māthura Kāyastha community and was the son of Abhinanda. A prose passage following the above stanza states that the record was engraved by the *Sūtradhāra* (architect) named Dhanauka.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, Nalapura, Gōpādri or Gōpāchala and Prayāga are well-known. We have suggested the identification of Kirtidurga with the fort of Deogarh in the Jhansi District, U.P., although it is not quite certain. Śantāthala, as indicated above, cannot be satisfactorily identified.

TEXT³

(Metres : verses 1, 5, 12-13, 17, 24-25 *Upajāti*; verses 2 *Pajjhaṣikā*; verses 3, 20 *Āryā*; verses 4, 7, 10-11, 15, 18-19, 22-23, 26, 28 *Anuṣṭubh*; verse 6 *Indravajrā*; verses 8, 14 *Gūti*; verse 9 *Upajāti*; verse 16 *Upajāti* (*Indravajrā* and *Indravajrā*); verse 21 *Śrughārā*; verse 27 *Śāradulavikṛita*.)

- 1 Siddham⁴ || Ōm⁵ namaḥ Śivāya || Svabhāva-piṅgāḥ śaśi-raśmi-śubhā bhujamga-ratn-
āṅkura-nīla-bhāṣaḥ | rakṣasutu vō Maumathasūdanasya jayaḥ(tāḥ) śi(śi)-āṇḍa(bḍa)-
atha-surāyudh-ābhāḥ || 1 A-kalitaṁ-api yaḥ
- 2 kalayati kṛāṇi nija-gaty-ai-āmita-mahim-ālam | Rann-śaḥ kṛita-timira-nirāśaḥ pātu
Raviḥ sa Śa(Śa)misthala-vāsaḥ || 2 Āstā puṇyair-lalhyam pura⁶ ratnaḥ Nalapuram
śaśi(ch) śrīmat | iya-
- 3 m-āpi vakati sa-gurevā ca-pālyā vasumatī yēna || 3 Tatrān(tr-ā)jani jagad-vandyaś-
Chāhaḍaḥ prithivīpatiḥ | pratāp-ānala-dagdḥ-āri-bhūbhṛd-varṣaḥ nay-ācāyāḥ || 4
Abhūn-nīpas-tāya autō Nṛivarmā
- 4 vyarthikṛit-āśāha-vipakṣa-karmā | ajaśrarmā(aram-ō)v-āhita-sādhū-sa(śa)rmā yaśaḥ-
parābhūta-Maunasya-dharmā || 5 Āśāśāśāś-ātri-vidhaḥ(dha)-kṛitāśaḥ(sa)-chūḍā-
maṇi-bhūmipatiḥ-tatō-bhūt | āp-
- 5 ritaṁ yasya bhṛtāḥ yaśōbhīra(r-bra)hmāṇḍam-āpat-tanūt-ākhyā-dāśam || 6 Śri-
Gōpālō nīpas-tasmād-abhūt-taiś-tair-[n]jair-guṇaiḥ | gām-imām-akṣhām-uchchāir-
yāḥ pupūṣa-dadōḥa [cha] || 7
- 6 7 Ga[na]pati-nīpatiḥ-tasmād-nidhīr-ēkaś-tōjāśm-ajani | ādāya Kīrtti-durggam-chakrō
kīrtti-āśāśāś-āśa yaḥ || 8 Tasmān-gamayati sakalām vasudhā[śi⁷] m(sa)śāś-
pālāśa-tōśama(śam) |

¹ No. 146 of *A.R.Ep.*, 1952-53, App. B, seems to suggest that Lohata's master was Yajvapala Chāhaḍa of Nalapura. Cf. below, Vol. XXXIII, p. 68, 69 (text line 14; note 9).

² See, e.g., Nos. 139 and 141 of *A.R.Ep.*, 1952-53, App. B. Cf. below, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 139.

³ From impressions. This is No. 142 of *A.R.Ep.*, 1952-53, App. B.

⁴ Expressed by symbol.

⁵ An *anusvara* above *pi* seems to be rubbed off by the engraver.

- 7 satat-ōdita-nija-tējas-taraṇi-kar-āpūsta-santamaśān(sām) || 9 Asti **Gōpāchāṭṭ** durggaḥ
avarggād-apti-manō-haraḥ | anēko dhanadā yatra śrīyō-py-arthi-kṛgā(m-ā/pahā) || 10
Tatra Kā-
- 8 āyapa-gōtānūti **Māthurānūti** su-mēdhasām(sām) | Kāyasthānām-abhūd-vadāsā naya-
vikrama-sālinām(nām) || 11 Tammīnū(m-a)bhūd-Alhaṇa-nāmadhēyaḥ śrīyō-nidhīḥ
mavva-kalān-dakṣaḥ | yam-arthīnūḥ prā-
- 9 pya-machāt-ārth-ādhika-pradam tatyajur-artū-bhāvam(vam) || 12 Sa Kāchad-ākhyam
anta/ta-śaśāda vikāśi-Kṛṣṇa-āmīri-sa(sa)ṛṭṭja-bhūṭagamigam | yēn-āchirōbhīḥ śhīram-
maphatābhīḥ sphutari yasa[h*] śrī-
- 10 [bh]m-alam vitēnō || 13 Ya(Ja)ḥḥ Vijaḥḥa-sa(h*)ḥḥa-tasya va(ta)nūḥ jī-ārī-chaḍ-vaṛggaḥ
| kahīpati-kāryō dhuryō madatī-vaṛiṣṭhō vikāśi-sakṛita-śr[h] || 14 Tasya chandhra-kata-
śrēṇi-subhagaḥ tauratō yataḥ |
- 11 Mēḥnag-ākhyā¹ priyā jajñe-nurūpā pati-dēvatā || 15 Ārādhyā **Gangā-Yamunā Prayāgē**
sa prāpa putrau prathitan tad-ākhyayā | śrī-Gāngadēvam guṇinām garishṭham śrēyō-
nidhīm Yāmunadēvam-utta-
- 12 mām(mam) || 16 Dēva-dvī-ārādham-lavdha(bdha)-varṇṇaḥ kutūhva(ba)-bhaktāḥ pīṭi-
tōcha-kāṛi | sthītō gurūpām vachanā nayaḥḥaḥ śrī-Gāngadēvaḥ sukṛitī vibhātī || 17 Kīrti-
pūta-bhuvae-tasya chāritra-vrata-
- 13 ālini | asti Lō-ādhūḥḥa patni kutūhva(ba)-guru-va(t)saḥ || 18 Tasyām-utpādītā-tāna
tanayā naya-āliniḥ | chutvānā-chaṭināḥ puṇya-kṛtyēḥḥa cha kalān cha || 19 Jajñe
Palluḥ-
- 14 sadūḥḥo Harirājas-tad-ann sat-kalū-dakṣaḥ | Śivarāja-Hamsarājan nirmala-guṇa-vāridhī
śadhayan || 20 Bhartur-vvīraśubha-bhūmīḥ para-hita-nimataḥ satya-pūi-śūṭataraṅgē
vāgmi vāmechhā(chh-ā)dhī-
- 15 kair-yō nachayati guṇinām vitta-dānāḥ pramōdam | saktāḥ puṇy-ōpapatyan(tau) naya-
vinaya-vidhām-agraṇīḥ sad-guṇ-ādhyāḥ phullat-parikōja-bhūḥḥaḥ-dhavaḥajyati jagat-
kīrtibhūḥ Pa-
- 16 hadēvaḥ || 21 Śrēyāś Hamsarājasya lōrātūḥ prāṇ-ādīkasya saḥ | dāivād-divan gataśy-
ēdātū dharmma-sthānam-akārayat || 23 Svādūbhīḥ śīṭir-achchhairpu(chchhūḥ pu)-
ahpati sukṛitam jalaiḥ | śāvaḍ-ga
- 17 rjati vāp-tyam vichī-sandya(gha)ttajai ravaiḥ || 23 Sudhā-sitam lōḥsura-chitra-lōkham
sa-kānti Kailāsa(sa)m-iv-āti-tudgam | sō-chkarach-chaityam Um-āvitasya Śambhūr-
yasaḥ-puṇya-
- 18 tatēr-nmīlānām(nam) || 24 Raṇa[d*]-dvīrēpham vikasat-praśna(h) muraḥḥyama(va)t-
avāda-phal-ābhīrāmam | tāp-āpāha-chchāyām-ib-āndriyāpān sakhām navam kōḥi-ranām
tath-ēdam || 25 ||
- 19 Bārātā(trā) nirmāpitaḥ yāvach-chandhra-sūryam [hā]jyaty-alam | śrēyāś Hamsarājasya
dharmma-sthānam-īdam śubham || 26 **Gōpādrāu** Lāpīkṛit-kulē samābhavad-Dāmōdarō
Māthuraḥ pa²
- 20 putras-tasya viśuddha-kīrtir-anaghaḥ kōś-ādhipō Lōḥaḥḥa | putras-tasya pada-pramāṇa-
kavitā-sāhitya-dhuryaḥ kṛitī chakrē śrī-**Śivanābhukṛō** nīrapannar-vṛittaiḥ praśastiḥ
subhūd(bhām) [||] [27*]
- 21 27 Śrīman-**Māthura-Kāyastha**-vanās-muktā-maḥḥ kṛit || Arasūḥḥa-likhad-dhīmān
Abhinand-āntasambhavaḥ || 28 utkṛyāḥ sūtrādīhām-Dhānukēna || **Sarivat 1355**
Kārttika-vadi 5 Gauru [||]

¹ An unnecessary *anusvara* above the letter was rubbed off by the engraver.

² There is an unnecessary mark above this letter.

³ An unnecessary *anusvara* above this letter seems to be cancelled. The intended name may be Mēnātā.

⁴ This *akṣara* is redundant.

[illegible]

INDEX

By B. R. Gopal, M.A., Ootacamund

[The figures refer to pages, * after a figure to footnotes, and add. to additions. The following other abbreviations are also used : au.=author ; ca.=capital ; ch.=chief ; Chron.=Chronicle ; ci.=city ; co.=country ; com.=composer ; de.=deity ; di.=district or division ; do.=ditto ; dy.=dynasty ; E.=Eastern ; engr.=engraver ; ep.=epithet ; f.=family ; fe.=female ; feud.=feudatory ; gen.=general ; gr.=grant, grants ; hist.=historical ; ins.=inscription, inscriptions ; k.=king ; l.=locality, l.w.=linear measure, land measure ; m.=male ; min.=minister ; mnt.=mountain ; mytl.=mythological ; n.=name ; N.=Northern ; off.=office, offices ; pl.=plate, plates ; pr.=prince, princes ; prov.=province ; q.=queen ; rel.=religious ; ri.=river ; S.=Southern ; s.n.=same as ; set.=surname ; te.=temple ; Tel.=Telugu ; t.d.=territorial division ; tit.=title ; tn.=town ; tk.=taluk ; vl.=village ; W.=Western ; wk.=work ; wt.=weight.]

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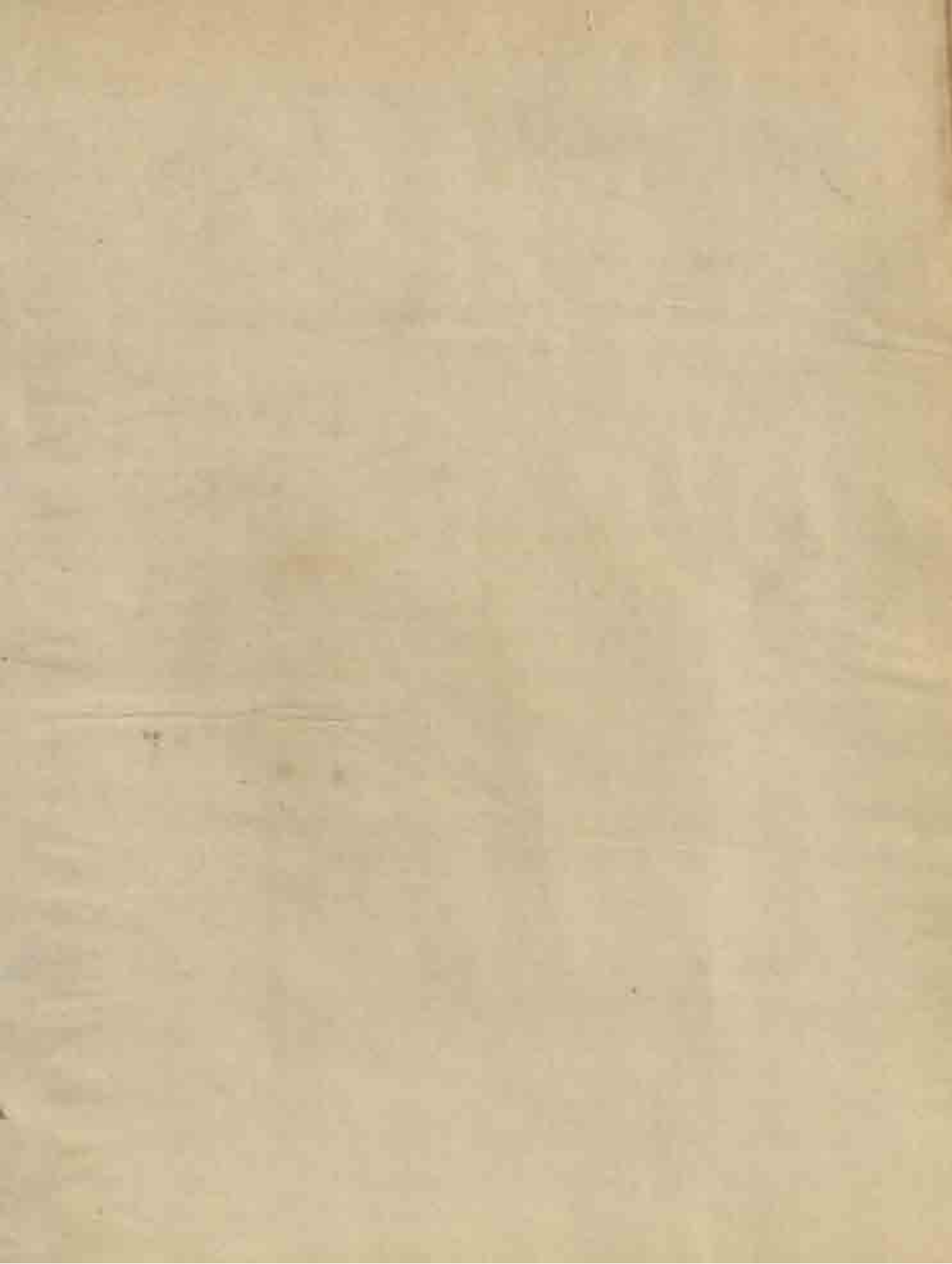
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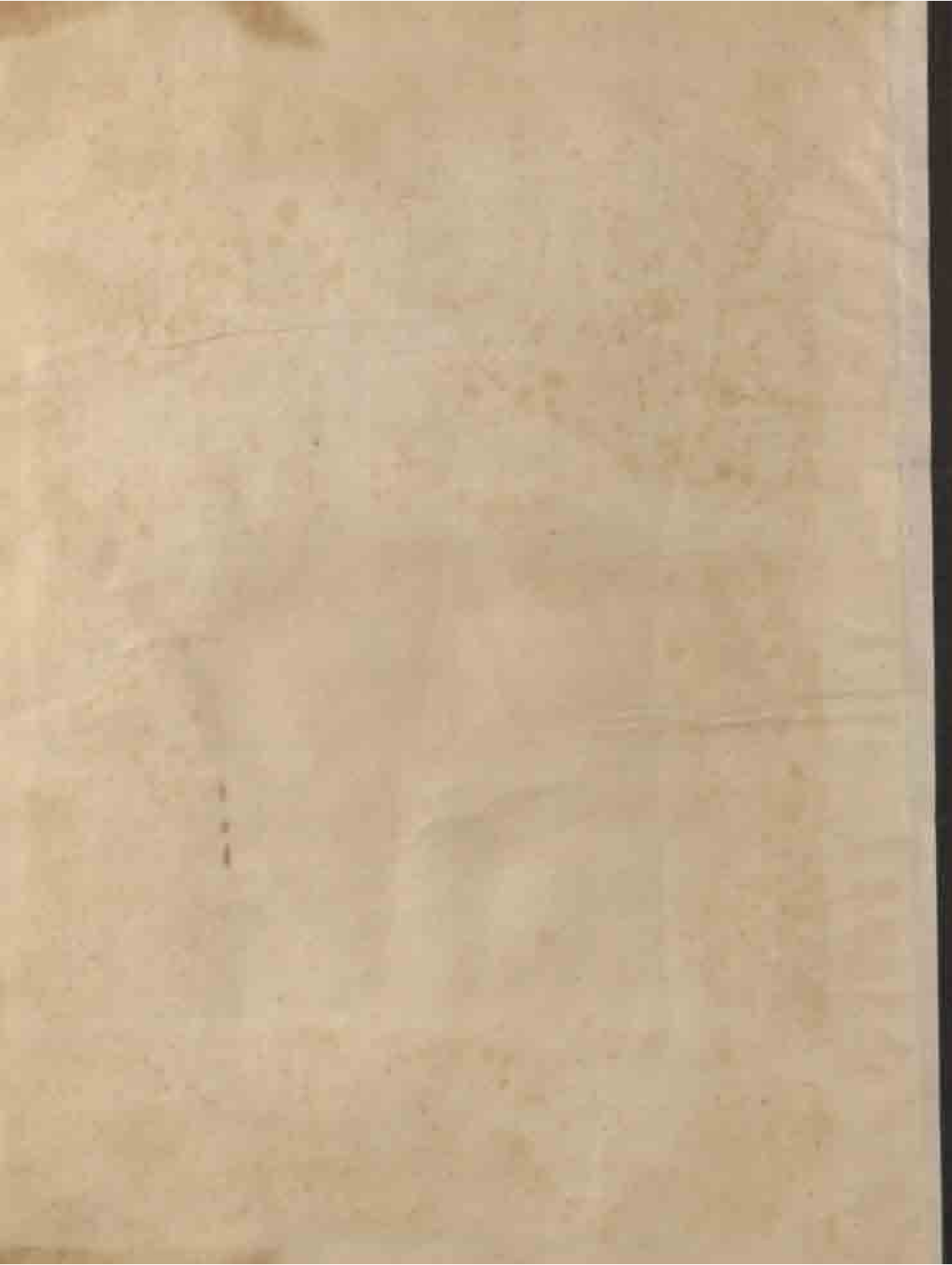
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